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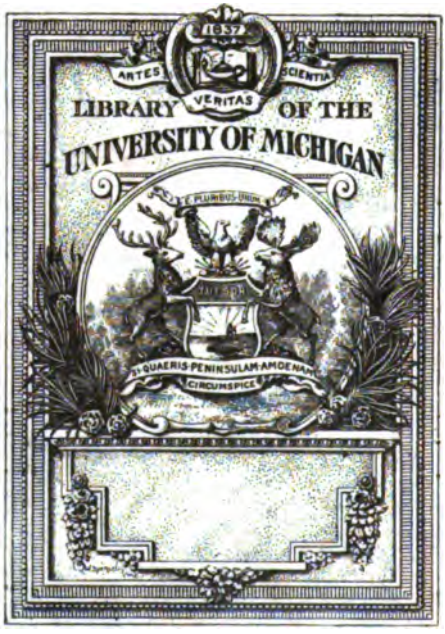

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THEODORI EPISCOPI MOPSUESTENI

IN EPISTOLAS B. PAULI

COMMENTARII.

VOL. I.

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THEODORI EPISCOPI MOPSUESTENI

IN EPISTOLAS B. PAULI

COMMENTARII.

THE LATIN VERSION WITH THE GREEK FRAGMENTS.

WITH AN INTRODUCTION NOTES AND INDICES.

BY

H. B. SWETE, B.D.,

RECTOR OF ASHDON, ESSEX;
LATE SENIOR FELLOW OF GONVILLE AND CAIUS COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

INTRODUCTION.

GALATIANS—COLOSSIANS.

EDITED FOR THE SYNDICS OF THE UNIVERSITY PRESS.

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PREFACE.

THE task of preparing for the press this edition of Theodore of Mopsuestia's newly recovered commentary upon the minor Epistles of S. Paul was taken in hand early in the year 1875. Its completion has been delayed partly by the laborious and intricate nature of the work, partly by unforeseen circumstances which brought upon me abundant occupation of another kind. As a foreign edition which was designed to embrace the greater part of the commentary had been discontinued on the understanding that the present work would shortly be ready for publication, it was thought right to issue the first volume at once. The second volume, if I am permitted to finish it, will follow in the course of another year, and will contain, besides the remainder of the commentary, an appendix and indices.

I have endeavoured to acknowledge particular obligations, as they have occurred. My thanks are more especially due to Professor Jacobi of the University of Halle, M. Garnier, Librarian of the Bibliothèque Communale at Amiens, Dr Ceriani, Librarian of the Ambrosian Library at Milan, Dr Ignazio Guidi of Rome, Mr E. Maunde Thompson, Keeper of the MSS. at the British Museum, Professors Hort and Mayor of Cambridge, and Mr Bradshaw, Librarian of the University

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Library, Cambridge, for assistance of various kinds liberally rendered to me in the course of my labours. To Mr Bensly, Fellow and Lecturer in Hebrew and Syriac of Gonville and Caius College, I owe the first suggestion of the work; he has moreover revised the Syriac quotations in my Introduction and notes, and offered an occasional criticism upon the Latin text. The proof-sheets of the first two Epistles and of a great part of the third have been read through by Mr Wallis, Fellow and Lecturer in Divinity of the same College; and to his vigilance I am indebted for not a few important corrections, together with suggestions which have here and there, in passages ambiguous or corrupt, set me upon the track of Theodore's or his translator's meaning.

Notwithstanding this kind help, I have often been at a loss to penetrate the obscurity as well of the translation as of the original work. In the *addenda* a list will be found of passages where, upon fuller consideration, I have been led to prefer another reading or explanation to the one which had been hazarded when the sheets were printed off. Other errors or dubious points may remain; and I shall thankfully add to the second volume any emendations of the text or corrections of the notes with which I may be favoured.

It remains for me only to express my grateful sense of the liberality with which the Syndics of the University Press undertook, at my request, the publication of my book; and the uniform courtesy and unwearied attention which the officials of the Press have displayed during the progress of the work.

ASHDON,
March, 1880.

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"SI QUID FORTE MINUS INTELLEGENS THEODORUS MALE SCRIPSIT, SUFFICIT NOBIS RESPUERE, NEC SUB ANATHEMATE CONDEMNARE...HAERETICUM ENIM NON HUMANAE INFIRMITATIS IGNORANTIA, SED PERVICACIA FACIT."

FACUND. HERM. *c. Mocian.*

I.

THE ORIGINAL COMMENTARY, ITS FRAGMENTS AND TRANSLATIONS.

THAT the exegetical writings of Theodore, Bishop of Mopsuestia, included commentaries upon some at least of the Epistles of S. Paul is attested by writers who had access to the original work. The evidence of Theodoret[1] is ambiguous; but S. Cyril of Alexandria, as quoted by Facundus[2], distinctly credits Theodore with an exposition of the Apostolic Epistles. In the next century Facundus himself cites[3] the commentary on the Epistle to the Romans, and Pope Vigilius[4] contributes an extract from Theodore's remarks on Heb. i. 9. The commentary on Hebrews is also mentioned by Leontius of Byzantium[5], who adds that Theodore wrote upon the Epistles to the Corinthians and Galatians. After the sixth century there seems to be no further trace in ecclesiastical literature of any reference to the original of these

Theodore wrote upon the Epp. of S. Paul.

[1] *Praef. in Epp. S. Pauli:* ἀδθαδείας μὲ τυχὸν καὶ θρασύτητος γράψουσι μετὰ τὸν δεῖνα καὶ τὸν δεῖνα τοὺς τῆς οἰκουμένης φωστῆρας τῆς ἀποστολικῆς ἑρμηνείας κατατολμῶντα. The allusion to Theodore is highly probable (cf. Theodoret. *hist. eccl.* v. 39, Θεόδωρος...πάσης...ἐκκλησίας διδάσκαλος); but Cave (i. 387, followed by Le Long, p. 985) was scarcely justified in asserting "D. Pauli epistolas...omnes a Th. fuse explicatas esse autor est Theodoritus." Comp. Fabric. *bibl. gr.* x. 360; Fritzsche, *de Th. u. et scr.* p. 86.

[2] *Def. iii. capp.* viii. 6: "scripti sunt a magno Th. aduersus Arianorum et Eunomianorum haereses xx forte et adhuc amplius libri, et alia praeter haec euangelica et apostolica scripta interpretatus est."

[3] *Def. iii. capp.* iii. 6: "quid autem idem Th. in commento epistolae ad Romanos praedictum capitulum (c. i. 1, sq.) exponens dixerit attendamus."

[4] *Constit.* 32: "in commento epistolae ad Hebraeos." The passage was also cited in the Acts of the fifth Council (iv. 32), and is reproduced by Pope Pelag. II. in his letters to the Bps. of Istria (Migne *P. L.* 72, 727). Fabricius (x. 359) was mistaken in supposing that Vigilius quoted also from the commentaries on Rom., 1 Cor., 1 Tim.; see Fritzsche *de Th. u. et scr.*, p. 87.

[5] See the passage cited below, p. 76, note 10.

commentaries[1]. There was little inducement for the scribes to multiply copies of writings condemned by the voice of the Church, when the excitement created by the controversy of the "Three Chapters" had once subsided; whilst it is at least possible that many of the existing MSS. shared the fate which is said to have overtaken the works of Theodore's master Diodore[2]. Moreover Theodore's exposition of S. Paul, even if it escaped the hands both of Arians and Catholics, may easily have been eclipsed by the popular and comparatively unsuspected commentaries of S. Chrysostom and Theodoret. An occasional copy however lingered in the libraries of the orthodox East down to the age of the Greek catenists, some of whom ventured to incorporate the more striking remarks of the great Antiochene Interpreter[3]. It is scarcely to be hoped that a single MS. of the original still exists.

Oriental translations of his commentaries.

The writings of Theodore, condemned and neglected by the Church, found shelter and an eager acceptance amongst the Nestorians, who at an early date translated them into Syriac and other Oriental languages[4]. That the commentaries upon S. Paul were among these translations there are two witnesses to shew; the Egyptian priest Abulbarakât [† A.D. 1365], who in a list of ecclesiastical writings extant in Arabic in his own day mentions an exposition by "Theodore the Commentator" of "certain Epistles of S. Paul[5]"; and the Nestorian metropolitan Ebedjesu [† A.D. 1318], whose catalogue of Syriac books accepted by the Nestorians of

[1] Photius in the middle of the 9th century had access to the comm. on Genesis (*biblioth.* cod. 38: ἀνεγνώσθη Θεοδώρου Ἀντιοχέως οὗ ἡ ἐπιγραφὴ ἑρμηνεία τῆς κτίσεως), as well as to several of his polemical works; but the exposition of S. Paul does not seem to have fallen under his eye.

[2] "Diodorus composuit libros numero LX, quos Ariani combusserunt" (Ebedjesu *ap.* J. S. Assemani *bibl. orient.* iii. 29).

[3] Fragments of the commentaries on Rom. and 1, 2 Cor. have been found in the following catenae: Cod. Vatic. 762 (*infra*, p. xxi.), Monac. 23, Bodl. E ii. 20, Paris. Reg. 227. The MSS. which have yielded Theodorean fragments on the later Epistles are described below, p. xvii. sq.

[4] Liberat. *breu.* 10: "Nestorii namque sectatores, uidentes libros illius blasphemos non posse proferri in publicum eo quod Synodo Ephesina anathematizante fuerunt condemnati et imperiali lege prohibitum fuerat ne quis eos legere auderet aut defendere, tunc coeperunt Diodori Tarsensis et Theodori...circumferre uolumina...et in eo tantum studii gesserunt ut ipsa eorum uolumina malitiose in Syrorum linguam et Armeniorum atque Persarum transferrent." The Syriac translations were ascribed amongst others to Ibas, Bishop of Edessa (A.D. 435—457), by the presbyters who accused him at the Council of Berytus (A.D. 448); see the Acts of that Council embedded in the Acts of the Co. of Chalcedon (Mansi vii. 211, sq.). Cf. Sachau, *praef.* p. vi.

[5] Assemani iii. p. 30: "Abulbarcatus in lib. de diuin. offic. cap. 7, haec Theodori Commentaria recenset. 'Theodorus,' inquit, 'Commentator Syrorumque doctor habet expositionem quarundum epistolarum Pauli et Actuum Apostolorum'."

the fourteenth century includes a detailed account of the entire work[1]. It is possible that a fuller acquaintance with the modern Nestorian communities may lead to the discovery of some at least of these lost treasures[2]. The manuscript collections of Europe, which have drawn their Syriac documents exclusively from Monophysite sources[3], have hitherto yielded nothing but fragments, chiefly belonging to the commentary on Genesis and the treatise on the Incarnation[4].

[1] Assemani, iii. pp. 32, sq. For convenience of reference I transcribe the passage here, so far as it relates to the Epistles included in the Latin version:

ܐܦܣܛܘܠܐ ܠܘܬ ܦܘܠܘܣ
ܐܪܒܥ ܐܝܬ ܕܠܘܬܗ ܐܢܐ
ܕܐܓܪܬܐ ܕܓܠܛܝܐ :
ܘܐܓܪܬܐ ܕܐܦܣܝܐ.
ܘܕܗܘܢ ܕܦܝܠܝܦܣܝܐ :
ܘܐܓܪܬܐ ܕܩܘܠܣܝܐ.
ܠܬܪܬܝܢ ܕܬܣܠܘܢܝܩܝܐ
ܡܦܫܩܘ ܕܢܦܫܗ ܦܫܛ.
ܠܐܓܪܬܐ ܕܛܝܡܬܐܘܣ
ܠܬܪܬܝܢ ܦܫܛ ܠܘܬ ܛܝܛܘܣ.
ܘܡܦܫܩ ܦܘܪܫܢܐ ܦܫܛ
ܗܘ ܕܛܝܛܘܣ ܘܕܦܝܠܡܘܢ.
ܘܐܓܪܬܐ ܗܘ ܕܥܒܪܝܐ
ܠܟܠܗ ܕܗܢܐ ܦܘܪܣܐ
ܘܡܫܩܠ ܦܬܓܡ ܦܫܩܗ
ܠܦܘܫܩܐ ܕܟܠܗ ܡܟܬܒܢܐ.

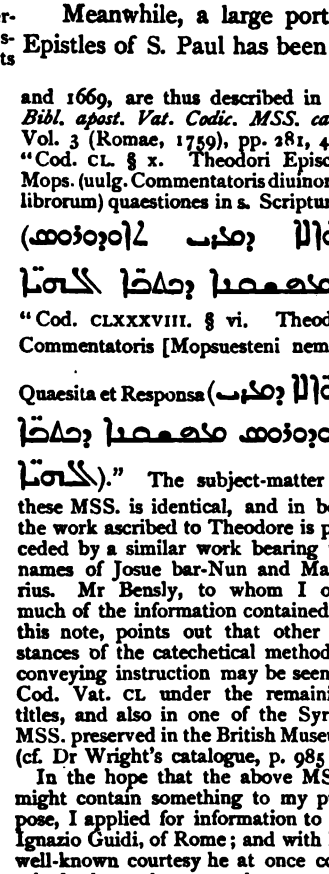
[2] Dr Cutts, however, who has recently visited the Nestorians of Kurdistan, in reply to my request for information as to the MSS. found amongst these people, writes: "They have few left; and I think all which I actually saw were portions of the Scriptures or Office Books."

[3] See R. Simon, *Histoire critique des principaux commentateurs du N. T.* c. xxxi. (p. 443). F. J. A. Hort, *Journal of Class. and Sacred Philol.* IV. § xii. (p. 304). Comp. Sachau, *Th. Mops. fragm.* praef. p. iv.

[4] Printed by P. de Lagarde, *Analecta Syriaca* (Lips. 1858), pp. 100—108; E. Sachau, *Theodori Mopsuesteni fragmenta Syriaca e codd. Musei Britannici Nitriacis* (Lips. 1869); P. E. Pusey, *Opp. S. Cyrilli Alex.* t. iii. (Oxon. 1872), pp. 510—537. Lagarde's fragments are drawn from Brit. Mus. MS. Add. 12156 (f. 83 c—86 c); Sachau's, from Add. 12155 (f. 111 b), 12157 (f. 82 b, 95 b, 129 b, 140 a, 141 a), 14538 (f. 100 b), 14668 (f. 32—36), 14669 (f. 1—18), 14682 (f. 15 a, 19 a), 17210 (f. 2 a, 23 b), 17214 (f. 35 b), 17217 (f. 20—32); Pusey's, from Add. 12155 (f. 117 b), 12157 (f. 17 § 5, 157 § 33, 44 b § 8), 14533 (f. 12 b). Little remains in our own national collection which has not been published by one or other of these editors; comp. Dr W. Wright's *Catalogue of the Syriac MSS.* Part III p. 1329. The Paris Library offers nothing to our purpose. Of the Vatican Library Assemani says mournfully enough (*bibl. orient.* III. p. 30): "Ex tot autem Theodori libris quos apud Syros Nestorianos extare affirmat Sobensis [sc. Ebediesu], habemus in Bibl. Vaticana liturgiam...quaestiones in Scripturam...quaestiones et responsiones...et hymnos." The second and third of these MSS., dated respectively A. D. 1709

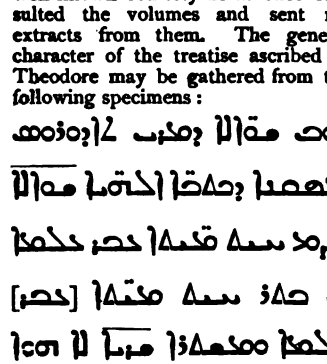
Latin version: history of its recovery.

Meanwhile, a large portion of the lost commentary on the Epistles of S. Paul has been recovered in the Latin version which



and 1669, are thus described in the *Bibl. apost. Vat. Codic. MSS. catal.* Vol. 3 (Romae, 1759), pp. 281, 405: "Cod. CL. § x. Theodori Episcopi Mops. (uulg. Commentatoris diuinorum librorum) quaestiones in s. Scripturam (ܫܘܐܠܐ ܕܡܪܝ ܬܐܘܕܘܪܘܣ ܡܦܫܩܢܐ ܕܟܬܒܐ ܐܠܗܝܐ)." "Cod. CLXXXVIII. § vi. Theodori Commentatoris [Mopsuesteni nempe] Quaesita et Responsa (ܫܘܐܠܐ ܕܡܪܝ ܬܐܘܕܘܪܘܣ ܡܦܫܩܢܐ ܕܟܬܒܐ ܐܠܗܝܐ)." The subject-matter of these MSS. is identical, and in both the work ascribed to Theodore is preceded by a similar work bearing the names of Josue bar-Nun and Macarius. Mr Bensly, to whom I owe much of the information contained in this note, points out that other instances of the catechetical method of conveying instruction may be seen in Cod. Vat. CL under the remaining titles, and also in one of the Syriac MSS. preserved in the British Museum (cf. Dr Wright's catalogue, p. 985 a.)

In the hope that the above MSS. might contain something to my purpose, I applied for information to Dr Ignazio Guidi, of Rome; and with his well-known courtesy he at once consulted the volumes and sent me extracts from them. The general character of the treatise ascribed to Theodore may be gathered from the following specimens:



ܠܘܩܕܡ ܫܘܐܠܐ ܕܡܪܝ ܬܐܘܕܘܪܘܣ
ܡܦܫܩܢܐ ܕܟܬܒܐ ܐܠܗܝܐ ܫܘܐܠܐ
ܩܕܡ ܫܡܗ ܩܕܝܫܐ ܥܒܪ ܥܠܡܐ
ܐܘ ܒܬܪ ܫܡܗ ܩܕܝܫܐ [ܥܒܪ]
ܥܠܡܐ ܘܡܫܬܪܐ ܫܪܝܐ ܠܐ ܗܘܐ
ܓܝܪ ܩܕܡ ܫܡܗ ܩܕܝܫܐ ܥܒܪ

ܥܠܡܐ ܘܡܫܬܪܐ ܡܐܬܝܬܗ ܕܝܢ
ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܡܪܢ ܡܬܚܙܝܐ
ܠܘܩܕܡ .....
ܫܘܐܠܐ ܐܝܠܝܢ ܗܘܘ ܡܬܚܠܦܝܢ
ܒܠܚܘܕ ܫܪܝܐ ܒܢܝܢܫܐ
ܕܐܬܒܪܝܘ ܠܗܘܢ ܫܝܢܝ
ܠܢܦܫܬܗܘܢ ....
ܠܘܩ ܫܘܐܠܐ ܡܠܝܠܬܐ
ܡܝܘܬܬܐ ܝܘܠܦܢܐ ܡܩܒܠܐ
ܘܫܒܚܬܐ ܘܦܪܘܫܐ ܒܟܠ ܪܓܫܐ
ܐܝܬ ܠܗ. ܫܬܐ ܐܝܠܝܢ ܐܢܘܢ
ܒܝܬܐ ܐܕܢܐ ܢܫܝܪܐ ܦܘܡܐ ܐܝܪܝܐ
ܪܓܠܐ ܡܢܐ ܫܪܪ ܟܠ ܫܪ
ܡܢܗܘܢ ܒܝܬܐ ܠܡܦܪܫ
ܓܘܢܐ .....
ܫܘܐܠܐ ܐܝܠܝܢ ܐܢܝܢ ܕܒܝܢܗ
ܕܒܪܢܫܐ ܘܐܝܠܝܢ ܐܢܝܢ
ܕܫܘܒܚܗ ܘܐܝܠܝܢ ܕܪܒܝܢܗ
ܫܪܝܐ ܕܒܝܢܗ ܕܒܪܢܫܐ
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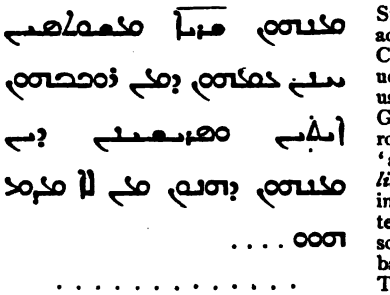
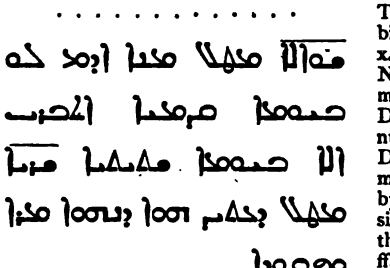
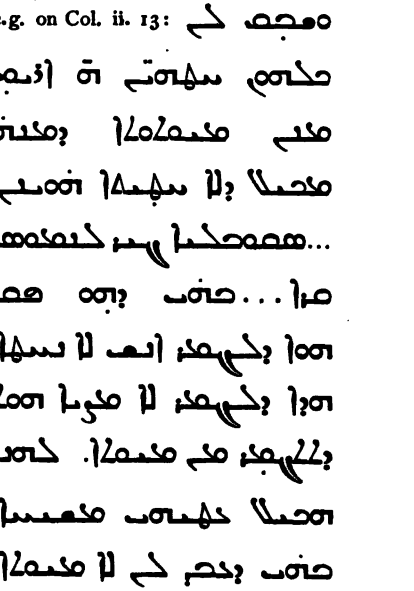
ܪܓܠܐ ....
ܫܘܐܠܐ ܒܡܢܐ ܕܡܝܢܢ ܠܐܪܥܐ
ܘܠܡܝܐ ܘܒܡܢܐ ܦܪܝܫܝܢ

is presented to the reader in these volumes. The history of the recovery and identification of this version is interesting and may be briefly told.





The Bodleian contains two Syriac commentaries on S. Paul's Epistles, Bodl. *Or.* 560 (Payne Smith, *Cat. Codd. Bodl. Syrr.* p. 415) and Marsh 86 (ib. p. 418). The former is the work of the Jacobite Bp. Dionysius Barsalibaeus (cent. xii.): the latter of Moses Barcephas († A.D. 913). There is a Latin translation of Marsh 86 (MS. Fell. 7), also in the Bodleian. Of the commentary of Barsalibaeus, which is in fact a catena from the writings of the Fathers, Dr Payne Smith says: "Raro auctoris nomen addit...quae sola notaui sunt Ath., Chrys., Cyril.-Al., Jacob.-Edess., Seuer.-Ant." Barsal. appears to have used our author in his comm. on the Gospels (Assemani, ii. p. 158); but his round abuse of Theodore in a tract 'against the Nestorians' (Renandot. *liturg. orient.* ii. p. 622) makes it improbable that he would have quoted him anonymously or without some emphatic mark of disapprobation. Barcephas also attacked Theodore in his *de paradiso* (Magn. bibl. vet. patr. [Colon. Agr. 1618] t. x. p. 464): "aiunt Theodorus et Nestorius, aliique qui hos sequuntur, mortem non ob peccatum legemque Dei uiolatam inuasisse genus humanum, sed mortali nos conditione a Deo genitos esse"—an *ex parte* statement of Th.'s view, but not marked by any special bitterness. His exposition is of the briefest, the whole of the Pauline Epistles occupying only ff. 32; and his authorities are scarcely ever given. But Theodore's peculiar interpretations occur here and there, e.g. on Col. ii. 13:



As far back as the end of the seventeenth century (1686—90), the Benedictine editors of S. Ambrose, in their preface to the commentary of the Ambrosian Hilary, had called attention to the circumstance that a MS. formerly belonging to the monastery of Corbie contained a Latin commentary identical with the Ambrosiaster's on the Epistles to the Romans and Corinthians, but altogether distinct from the latter and from every other known exposition in its treatment of the remaining nine Epistles[1]. The researches of Dom (now Cardinal) J. B. Pitra led him to a careful examination of this MS.; and believing himself to have found in it a genuine work of S. Hilary of Poitiers, he published in 1852[2] the commentary on Galatians Ephesians and Philemon entire, together with a collation of the commentary on the intervening Epistles with the copious and almost continuous extracts from it which the Benedictines had already[3] detected in the printed compilation of Rabanus Maurus, where they appeared, as in the Corbie MS., under the name of Ambrose. Pitra's publication was accompanied by an elaborate defence of his theory as to the authorship of the new-found exposition; and this theory was accepted by more than one of his reviewers[4]. It was,

ܘܠܐ ܡܟܣܘܒܐ. ܢܩܗܘܐ ܠܦܘܪܫ ܠܐ ܢܫܟܚ. The references are however too brief, and too much abbreviated and otherwise manipulated by Barcephas to be of any critical value; but they are interesting as establishing a probability that these commentaries were accessible to a Jacobite Bishop of Mosul at the end of the 9th or beginning of the 10th century.

1 "In bibliotheca Corbeiensi unum [exemplar] habetur tomis duobus comprehensum, quo nullum aliud, siue antiquitatem siue characterum elegantiam spectes, praestantius uidere nobis licuit. At cum in eo commentaria in omnes Pauli epistolas, illa excepta quae ad Hebraeos inscribitur, sub nomine Ambrosii contineantur, cum aliis codicibus scriptis atque editis tantummodo in priores tres Epistolas consentit, discrepat uero in ceteras" (Migne *P. L.* 17, 43—4).

2 In the *Spicilegium Solesmense*, tom. i. (Parisiis, 1852), pp. 49—159; comp. the prolegg., pp. xxvi—xxxiv; add. et corrig., 567—9; indices, 575—594.

3 "Rabanus Maurus in commentario suo...ea omnia nomine Ambrosii donat quae ex Ambrosiastro in epistolas quinque priores petita citat; sed in reliquas quidquid inserit sub titulo sancti doctoris ea in solo Corbeiensi codice reperire est..." (Migne, *l. c.*).

4 Jacobi (*Philipp.* prooem. p. iv): "confirmauerunt sententiam uiri doctissimi qui post eum de Spicilegio Solesmensi disseruere [cf. *Theologische Quartalschrift*, 1853: *Lutherische Zeitschrift* von Dr Rudelbach und Dr Guerike, 1855, 3]." Mr Bensly notes (*Missing Fragment*, p. 8, n.) that the commentary is quoted as Hilary's even in the 2nd edition of Rönsch's *Itala und Vulgata* [comp. Rönsch's art. in the *neue Jahrbücher für Philol. u. Päd.*, cited below p. 2, l. 23, n.]; and Dr Lightfoot (*Galatians*, p. 230, n.), that Reinkens (*Hilarius von Poitiers*, 1864) "states fairly the objections to Dom Pitra's view, but is apparently ignorant that the question of authorship is no longer a matter of conjecture." It may be added that in the recent edition of Forcellinus by De Vit

however, convincingly disproved by Prof. J. L. Jacobi, of Halle, in two articles which appeared in the *Deutsche Zeitschrift für christliche Wissenschaft und christliches Leben* for Aug. 5—12, 1854[1]; and the work was shewn to be a translation of a Greek commentary, of which the original was due to the exegetical school of Antioch and to its greatest expositor, Theodore. Dr Jacobi's essay was followed in 1859 by an article in the Cambridge *Journal of Classical and Sacred Philology*[2], in which the same conclusion was quite independently reached by the Rev. F. J. A. Hort. Mr (now Professor) Hort was guided to the Theodorean authorship of the new commentary partly by the nature of its contents, partly by the character of the text of S. Paul's Epistles which it exhibited[3]. Both in Prof. Jacobi's and in Mr Hort's essays the identification was clenched and placed beyond reasonable doubt by a reference, in Mr Hort's article worked out with some minuteness of detail[4], to the Greek fragments of Theodore's commentary already printed in Dr Cramer's *Catenae Graecorum Patrum*.

Within the last few years the interest excited by this discovery has been revived through the detection by Dr Hort of another copy of the same commentary among the MSS. of the Harley collection at the British Museum[5]. This second MS. seems to be somewhat earlier than the first; and though less carefully written and perhaps less trustworthy as a whole, it is a valuable witness in many places where the Corbie MS. is corrupt or doubtful, and it has occasionally supplied words or even lines which were wanting in the latter. A third MS. is now known to exist in one of the private libraries of Europe[6]; but its

the error of attributing the work to Hilary is unfortunately perpetuated.

[1] They were entitled: *Ueber zwei neu entdeckte exegetische Werke des kirchlichen Alterthums.* The other work is the fragment of Victor of Capua's Scholia (*Spic. Solesm.* I. 265 sq.).

[2] *Journal of Classical and Sacred Philology*, Vol. IV. pp. 302—8 (Camb. 1859).

[3] His words are: "What led me to the true authorship was, first, the character of the text used in the quotations; and secondly, two passages on Gal. iv. 24—29" (p. 303).

[4] Pp. 305—7.

[5] See below p. xxv. sq.

[6] On learning from Prof. Jacobi in Feb. 1878 that Cardinal Pitra was aware of the existence of this MS., I wrote to the Cardinal requesting particulars, and received the following courteous reply dated 15 Apr. 1878: "Le MS. de Theodore de Mopsueste, qui vous préoccupe, est fort loin de moi et très peu accessible dans une bibliothèque privée, qu' à mon grand regret je ne suis pas encore authorisé à vous faire connaître...Je vous engagerai donc à terminer votre impression, et si avant de clore votre préface et vos dernières pages, vous voulez bien me communiquer votre ouvrage, je me ferai un plaisir de vous transmettre pour un appendix les leçons

evidence has not been accessible during the preparation of the present work. The sources from which this edition has been derived are the Corbie and Harley MSS., the printed compilation of Rabanus, excerpts from the Latin version in the works of other compilers from the 8th to the 12th century, and the Greek fragments of the original, published in Cramer's *Catenae*, and collated anew with the MS. in the Bibliothèque Nationale.

Editions of the Latin translation.

The present is the first complete issue of the Latin version. An edition was commenced by Prof. Jacobi shortly after his discovery of the true authorship, in the form of a series of University "programmes," of which the first six, printed at Halle in the years 1855, 1856, 1858, 1860, 1866 and 1872 respectively, contained the commentary on Philippians, Colossians, 1 and 2 Thessalonians and 1 Tim. c. i. Dr Jacobi's text was based on a comparison of Pitra, Rabanus and Cramer, aided by occasional conjectural emendations, of which many are strikingly confirmed by a fuller examination of the MS. authorities. The learned editor had intended to complete his work so far as to embrace in it as much of the commentary as had not been printed *in extenso* by Cardinal Pitra[1]; but on ascertaining that the present edition had been undertaken, he courteously refrained from proceeding with his design.

II.

THE MSS. ON WHICH THIS EDITION IS BASED.

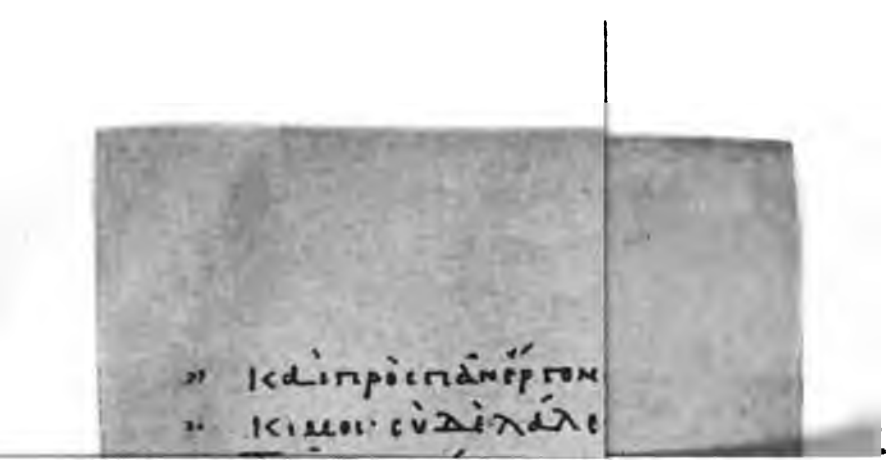
§ 1.

Account of the MSS.

I proceed to give a more detailed account of the MSS. used in the preparation of this edition.

qui peuvent avoir quelque valeur pour votre texte." In a subsequent letter Card. Pitra explained that he was unable to trust the notes hastily taken nearly twenty years ago, and could not furnish any fuller information without a fresh examination of the MS. It is possible that circumstances may prevent his Eminence from undertaking this labour and fulfilling the promise of his first communication. Should the variants be received before the completion of this work, they will be found in the form of an appendix at the end of the second volume. Meanwhile it is a consolation to me to learn from Prof. Jacobi that the inaccessible MS. is regarded by its discoverer as inferior in importance to the Amiens volume.

[1] "Fuit igitur meis in uotis ut opus inceptum ad eum finem producerem ut omnes commentarii praeter eos quos Pitra E. R. Cardinalis publici iuris fecisset, ederentur" (*praef. ad programma paschale*, Halis, 1878).



1. The Greek fragments, with one exception[1], are derived from the Paris MS. catena, Coislin 204, described by Montfaucon, *bibl. Coisl.* p. 264, and printed by Dr J. A. Cramer in his *Catenae Graecorum Patrum in N. T.*, tom. vi., pp. 4—398; vii., 1—278 (Oxon. 1842—4). Most of the comments in this compilation which are due to Theodore were extracted and carefully edited by O. F. Fritzsche (*Theodori episcopi Mops. in N. T. commentariorum quae reperiri potuerunt*, Turici, 1847: pp. 121—159); his labours, however, were not aided either by a personal inspection of Cramer's MS., or by a comparison of the excerpts with any ancient version[2]. It is not surprising therefore that Cardinal Pitra's discovery should have led to the rejection of a few of the passages which Fritzsche had regarded as Theodorean[3], and to the identification of more than a few which he had been unable to recognize[4]. Greek MSS. Coislin, 204.

The Coislin MS. 204 is described by Montfaucon (*l. c.*) as "xi. circiter saeculi", and by Cramer (vi. p. iv.)[5] as "undecimo saeculo ineunte exaratus". It consists of 313 leaves of vellum measuring 12 × 8½ inches. There are 39 quires, of 8 leaves each, with signatures as shewn in the accompanying facsimile[6]. The

[1] Viz. the comment on 2 Tim. iv. 13, where see notes.

[2] Wegnern's promise to continue his Theodorean labours (*prolegg. ad comm. in proph. minor.* p. xi) seems never to have been redeemed.

[3] I.e. Fr., p. 122, 28—123, 16 (τὸ δὲ ἐξέληται...οὕτω λέγων): 123, 31—35 (εἰ μήτινες...φανταζόμενοι): 124, 11—15 (ὁρᾷς πῶς...Ἰουδαϊσμοῦ): 126, 19—21 (εἶδες πῶς...δεδομέναι): 131, 9—13 (εὐλογίαν...πολιτευσώμεθα): 146, 7—147, 6: 158, 1—4 (ἐλέγχειν...ὑποκείμενα). It is right to add that Fritzsche succeeded in detecting the non-Theodorean character of several extracts which had been assigned to Theodore in Cramer's book through the oversight either of the copyist or of Cramer's transcriber.

[4] The following were identified by Prof. Hort (*Journal*, &c., pp. 305, 306)—the pages are Cramer's:—Eph. "100. 8—19; 122. 25—29; 129. 14—22; 153. 9—13; 166. 3; 177. 19—21; 177. 28—178. 4. Phil. 262. 30—263. 10; 277. 20—22, 25—28; 278. 30—32; 279. 1—3. Col. 327. 23—26, 29—34. 1 Thess. 365. 12—20. 2 Thess. 384. 20—26. 1 Tim. 13. 16—22; 22. 20—29; 27. 25—29. 17; 32. 3—8; 38. 5—11; 40. 2 f., 5, 7—9, 23—28; 44. 27—45. 7. 2 Tim. 73. 21—26." To these passages I have added only: Gal. 46. 27—30; 52. 12—18; 55. 6—12; 93. 21—32; Eph. 225. 10—15; Phil. 264. 32; 272. 9—11 [rejected by Fritzsche through an error on the part of Cramer]; 278. 30—32; 1 Thess. 346. 25—29; 349. 31—34; 352. 25—30; 362. 9—11; Philem. 109. 3—5.

[5] Cramer adds: "compendiis abundat ideoque non raro difficilis lectu est." The facsimile will enable the reader to judge how far this statement is justified by the facts. It appears to rest on the authority of the transcriber, of whom Cramer certainly had cause to add: "uereor ne scriba Parisiensis cuius opera in eo describendo usus sum, non semper codicis lectionem uere repraesentauerit."

[6] It represents fol. 228 a = Cramer vii. 93. 12—94. 21. For permission to photograph this leaf I am indebted to the courtesy of M. Leopold Delisle, Administrateur Général of the Paris Library.

matter is arranged throughout in double columns; the text of the Epistles, embedded in the commentary, is distinguished by semi-uncial characters. Each Epistle is headed by a rectangular band or fillet consisting of devices in red, green, blue, and yellow; and the initial letter of the text in each is similarly ornamented. There is no other ornamentation. The Epistles with the commentary occupy the following leaves respectively: Galatians, ff. 1 a—46 b; Ephesians, 46 b—108 b; Philippians, 109 a—138 b; Colossians, 139 a—161 b; 1 Thessalonians, 161 b—176 b; 2 Thessalonians, 177 a—186 b; 1 Timothy, 186 b—210 b; 2 Timothy, 210 b—223 b; Titus, 223 b—231 a; Philemon, 231 a—234 b; Hebrews [to c. xiii. 17], 234 b—311 a[1]. Ff. 311 b—313 b are filled by an anonymous and imperfect *θεωρία* upon the Tabernacle[2], which seems to have been added by way of an appendix to the commentary on Hebrews ix.

Four of the Epistles are followed by colophons stating the sources from which the catenist has borrowed. At the end of Ephesians we read: *τῶν εἰς τὴν πρὸς Ἐφεσίους ἐπιστολὴν Παύλου τοῦ ἀποστόλου ἐξηγητικῶν ἐκλογῶν τόμος ἀπὸ φωνῆς Ὠριγένους, τοῦ μακαρίου Ἰωάννου, Σευηριανοῦ, Θεοδώρου.* Philippians concludes: *τῶν εἰς τὴν πρὸς Φιλιππησίους ἐπιστολὴν ἐξηγητικῶν ἐκλογῶν τόμος ά. τοῦ μακαρίου Ἰωάννου. Ιω. Σευηριανοῦ. C. Θεοδώρου. Θ.* Colossians: *αἱ ἐκλογαὶ τῆς ἑρμηνείας τῆς παρούσης ἐπιστολῆς ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ πλάτος ὑπομνήματος τοῦ σοφοῦ καὶ οἰκουμενικοῦ διδασκάλου Ἰωάννου τοῦ ἐπισκόπου τῆς βασιλίδος πόλεως καὶ Σευηριανοῦ τοῦ Γαβαλῆς καὶ Θεοδώρου τοῦ Μοψουεστίας. ἔχει καὶ μίαν χρῆσιν τοῦ μακαρίου Κυρίλλου.* Philemon: *ἡ ἑρμηνεία τῆς ἐπιστολῆς τοῦ μακαρίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ χρυσοστόμου, Σευηριανοῦ, Θεοδώρου Μοψουεστίας.* Besides the writers thus enumerated Eusebius of Emisa contributes about a dozen short extracts, whilst SS. Athanasius, Basil, and Gregory of Nazianzus, are each quoted once. There are also some twelve anonymous fragments which apparently are not due to Theodore. Origen is largely quoted on the Epistle to the Ephesians, but his name does not occur elsewhere. Thus, with the exception of the Epistle to the Ephesians, this catena is, as far as regards the Epistles covered by the Latin version of Theodore, almost exclusively derived from the writings of the four Antiochene expositors, Eusebius, Chrysostom, Severianus, and Theodore. Of these Chrysostom largely pre-

[1] "Ante 243 deest folium" (Montfaucon, *l.c.*).

[2] Printed by Cramer (vii. 275—278).

dominates, both in the named and in the anonymous portions. Theodore is next in the frequency of the extracts which bear his name; but his commentaries have been used with caution, *e.g.*, of his interesting but questionable remarks on Philipp. ii. 5—11, scarcely anything has been preserved, whilst the exposition of Coloss. i. 15, sq. is quoted in part, but with an eager disclaimer on the part of the catenist of any sympathy with his views.

Out of about 130 excerpts from Theodore I have noticed only some 30 which are assigned to him by the catenist with the introductory formula Θεόδωρος δέ φησιν or the like; of these 21 are in the catena on the Epistle to the Ephesians. In the great majority of instances the name is added in the margin in the same hand as that in which the catena itself is written; whilst in the body of the catena the paragraph is introduced with the words ἄλλος [δὲ] φησίν, or is left without introduction of any kind. The phrase ἄλλος, κ.τ.λ., occurs in 54 instances; the wholly unappropriated extracts are few, most of those which seem to be such being in fact mere continuations of comments previously assigned. Very occasionally the marginal ascription proves to be in error, and a passage marked as Theodore's appears to be no part of his work[1], or a Theodorean fragment is assigned to another writer[2]; more frequently, a Theodorean excerpt is attached to a comment of Chrysostom[3], or Chrysostom succeeds to Theodore without due notice of the change. But on the whole the identification in the margin of this MS., so far as our author is concerned, is singularly accurate and trustworthy.

Whilst engaged in examining other MS. catenae of the Biblio- Other Greek

[1] Viz. Cramer vi. 78. 3—12 ("ex Chrysostomo," Fritzsche); 386. 34—387. 18 (accepted by Fritzsche, but cf. Jacobi *ad l.*: "quum neque Pitrae codex [it may now be added, "nor the Harleian MS."] neque Rabani textus idem nouerint neque tale sit argumentum quale Mopsuesteni ingenii sententiarumque certa uestigia prodat, Theodoro potius abnegandum esse opinamur."

[2] Cramer vi. 55. 6—12 is wrongly assigned to Chrysostom.

[3] E.g. Cramer vi. 346. 25—31 is under Ἰωάννου Χρυσοστόμου. The reverse of this is less uncommon. The omission of Th.'s name is sometimes due to Cramer's transcriber, e.g. Cramer vi. 52. 12; 93. 21; 225. 10 (where he has represented ΘεοΔ^ω/ φ^H. as Θεοῦ φησίν).

The abbreviations by which our author's name is indicated in the margin of this MS. (ff. 1—234 b) are as follows: θ̂/, θε°/, θε$\overset{\Delta}{\text{ό}}$/, θεόΔ^ω/, and once [f. 196 b = Cr. vii. 22], θε$\overset{\Delta}{\text{ό}}$ $\overset{\text{Ϙ}}{\text{Μ}}$—i.e. Θεόδωρος Μοψουεστίας. The last contraction is not uncommon in the margin of the comm. on the Ep. to the Hebrews, where we also find $\overset{\theta}{\alpha}$ i.e. Θεοδώρου Ἀντιοχέως. For Theodoret, where he is cited by name, as in the last-named Ep., the abbreviation is ΘεοΔω$\overset{\text{Ϙ}}{\text{Ρ}}$.

catenae in the Bibliothèque Nationale. Coislin, 26.

thèque Nationale[1] with the hope of lighting upon fresh excerpts from Theodore's commentaries on S. Paul, I found in Coislin 26[2] (Montfaucon, p. 82) a considerable number of passages substantially identical with the Theodorean fragments preserved in Coislin 204. None, however, appeared under the two Epistles which I was able to test (Galatians and Colossians) which were not to be found in 204, whilst scarcely a third of the fragments yielded by 204 occurred also in 26. Moreover a comparison of the extracts common to both MSS. with each other and with the Latin led to the suspicion that the compiler of 26 had derived his Theodorean passages from the catena represented by 204[3]. The former MS. diverges from the Latin where the latter agrees with it, the variations being often obviously due to an abridgement or recasting of the sentences in which they occur. Even the hostile remarks of Cramer's catenist upon Theodore's comment on Col. i. 15, are reechoed in Coislin 26[4], with just enough of difference to mark the desire of the second-hand compiler to assume the position of an independent critic. To collect and print the variants afforded by a witness of this kind, appeared worse than useless.

Cod. Mediol. C. 295, inf.

A MS. catena exists in the Ambrosian Library at Milan[5],

[1] The MSS. inspected with this view were the following: Reg. 101, 103, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 222, 223, 224, 225, 237, 849, 1017; Coislin 26, 27, 28, 30, 95, 217. The examination was necessarily very cursory, but sufficient to discourage the expectation of finding Theodore cited in any of these books, at least by name. The abbreviations θ/, θεο/, θεοδ/, θεοδ^{ωρ}/, appeared in every case, excepting the comment on 2 Tim. iv. 13, to denote Theodoret.

[2] This MS. consists of 381 leaves of vellum, the ten Epistles with comm. occupying ff. 227 b—340 b. The Epistles are paged as follows: Gal., ff. 227 b—245 b; Eph., 245 b—264 a; Phil., 264 a—277 b; Col., 277 b—290 a; 1 Thess., 290 a—301 b; 2 Thess., 301 b—306 b; 1 Tim., 307 a—322 b; 2 Tim., 323 a—332 b; Tit., 332 b—337 b; Philem., 337 b—340 b. The volume also contains a commentary on the Acts and Catholic Epistles, and on the remaining Epistles of S. Paul. The text is embedded in the comm., but for the most part written in red ink; both text and commentary are carried across the page. The comm. is much briefer than in Cramer's catena, whilst the text is given in larger portions. Montfaucon assigns to Coislin 26 a slightly higher date than to 204—"decimi circiter vel undecimi ineuntis saeculi"; but that the catena itself is of inferior antiquity there can be little doubt. His further remark—"magnam habet cum Oecumenio affinitatem, cuius expositiones fere semper mutuatur"—is certainly not justified by a comparison of the commentary on Colossians (which was transcribed for me by M. Graux of Paris) with the Oecumenian catena on that Epistle.

[3] Compare e.g. Coislin 204 f. 29 a [inf. pp. 57, ll. 25—30; 58, ll. 16, 17] with the corresponding quotation in Coisl. 26, f. 238 a: *οὐ γὰρ ἐν ἀθανάτῳ φύσει διακριθήσεται περιτετμημένος ἢ ἀκρόβυστος, πάσης ἀνωμαλίας πραγμάτων ἀνῃρημένης· εἶτα συλλογιζόμενός φησιν*, κ.τ.λ.; and both with the Latin.

[4] See the textual notes on Col. *l. c.*

[5] My attention was directed to this MS. by Dean Burgon's valuable letters in the *Guardian* for 1873 on

which, like Coislin 26, contains at least a portion of the Theodorean matter printed in Cramer's catena. It is numbered C 295 *inf.*, and entitled "Oecumenius in S. Paulum[1]". Dr Ceriani has furnished me, by way of specimen, with the excerpts on 1 Tim. which bear the marginal ascription Θεο$^{\Delta}$/, Θεοδ$^{\omega}$/, Θεοδωρ$^{\tau}$η, or Θεοδωρητου, and are not to be found in the printed text of Theodoret (ed. Sirmond.). All of these but one prove to belong to Theodore of Mopsuestia. They are, however, all in Cramer, form less than a third of the extracts which his catena supplies, and offer no various readings of any significance.

Further enquiries unsuccessful.

Enquiries made in other quarters have met with even less success. Cardinal Mai had more than once dropt a hint that the treasures of the Vatican might be made to yield further contributions toward the recovery of Theodore's lost works[2]. He named two Greek *catenae*, Vat. 762 and 765[3]; and these were examined in Dec. 1875, by Prof. J. E. B. Mayor, who communicated to me the particulars which will be found in the note below[4]. It will be seen that the former catena does not go beyond

"MSS. Euangelia in foreign libraries" —a series which it is to be hoped may yet be given to the world in a more permanent form.

[1] Dr Ceriani, writing to me of this and another MS. catena, says: "Duo codices sunt antiquissimi, non posteriores saec. X et pro textu et pro catena, quae...in C, si non eiusdem manus, est tamen certe eiusdem aetatis".....in C...catena interdum paene stenographia uidetur."

[2] In the *Script. uet. nou. coll.* vi. (1832), *praef.* p. xxii., he says: "Constitueram olim cuncta Theodori fragmenta ex Vaticanis praesertim catenis graecis atque orientalium linguarum codicibus coniunctim edere." *Spicil. Rom.* IV. (1840) *praef.* xvi.: "nunc demum ex eius commentario in ep. ad Rom. partem non modicam ... de catena inter Vaticanas ferme praestantissima scripsi, reliquas deinde Pauli epistolas pari munere, si Deus annuerit, prosecuturus."

[3] *Nou. patr. biblioth.* vii. (1854) pp. 407, 408. The fragments printed *ib.* p. 408 belong to Theodoret; see Lightfoot, *Galatians*, p. 229, n.

[4] "MS. Vat. no. 762, in fol. 411 leaves of 36 lines, bound up with fragments of smaller MS. (2 leaves Lat., 6 Gk.) at end. Very distinct with no erasures and very few marginal notes. The authors cited are sometimes noted in the margin, generally in the body of the text; a little blank space on each side of the name generally makes it easy to find any author, and Theodoret is mostly distinguished from Theodorus (Θεοδωρ$^{\tau}$ from Θεοδρ$^{\upsilon}$). The catena on Rom. extends from ff. 1—217; 1 Cor. 218—339; 2 Cor. 340—end. On f. 2, r°. a later hand has noted the expositors excerpted viz. Jo. Chrys. Theodoret. Theodorus. Cyr. Athan. Euseb. Isid. Phot. Severianus. Orig. Apollinarius. Gennadius. Anthemius(?). Diodorus. Oecumenius. *ανεπιγραφος.* Severus Antioch. Methodius. Alexandr. Nic. I have noticed besides extracts from Dionys. Areop. Greg. Nyss. Basil. Didymus. Andreas. Theodulus chorepisc. Acacius. Clem.

I found Theodorus on 4 v. 5 r. 25 v. 18 r. 19 r. 22 r. 26 r. 32 r. 35 r. 36 r. 48 v. 50 v. 51 r. 52 r. v. 54 v. 57 v. 58 v. 60 v. 63 r. 66 r. 67 r. v. 71 r. 72 v. 73 v. 75 v. (bis). 77 r. 79 v. 81 v. 85 r. 89 r. v. 92 v. 94 r. 95 v.

2 Corinthians, whilst in the latter the name of Theodore is not to be found.

Researches at Oxford and at the British Museum[1] have yielded no better result; nor have I succeeded in obtaining even a single fragment from the Cambridge University MS., Ff. i. 30, which had been supposed to contain one passage, if not more, of the missing commentary[2]. For the Greek extracts in this edition I have thus been compelled to draw simply on the catena published five and thirty years ago by Dr Cramer. They have, however, been collated afresh with the MS., and occasional corrections have

96 v. 97 r. 100 r. 101 r. 103 r. 105 r. 106 r. 107 v. 108 v. 109 v. 111 v. 112 v. —Folios 113—9 a modern insertion. —113 v. 114 r. 115 v. 116 v. 117 v. 122 r. v. 128 r. 132 v. 137 v. 143 v. 146 r. v. 149 r. 150 v. 151 v. 153 v. 155 v. 165 r. 166 r. 167 v. 169 r. 170 r. 171 r. 175 r. 188 v. 189 r. v. (bis). 190 r. 191 r. v. 193 v. 194 v. 196 v. 197 v. 198 v. 199 v. 200 v. 201 r. v. 202 v. 203 v. 204 v. 206 r. v. 207 v. 208 v. 209 v. 210 r. 211 v. 212 r. v. 213 r. v. 216 r. 217 r. 219 r. 220 r. 222 v. 227 r. 229 v. 232 v. (bis) 238 v. 246 v. 251 r. 253 r. v. 254 r. 255 v. 256 r. v. 257 v. 261 r. (bis). 265 v. 267 r. 268 v. 270 v. 280 v. 282 v. 284 r. 285 r. 292 r. 293 r. 294 r. v. 295 r. 296 r. (bis). 297 v. 300 v. (bis). 302 r. 303 v. 304 v. 305 v. (marked as *Θεοδώρου* but corrected in pencil *Θεοδωρίτου*). 309 v. 318 r. 332 r. 335 v. 338 v. 341 r. 342 r. 345 r. v. 348 r. 353 r. 358 v. 361 r. 365 v. 367 v. 370 v. 371 r. 381 r. 388 v. 392 r. 393 r. 344 v. 403 v. In MS. 762 the text is in uncials, the commentary in cursives, each stretching across the page.

Cod. Vat. 765 parchment fol. ff. 177, text in uncials, surrounded, except in inner margin, by comm. in cursives.

F. 1—36 v°. ep. Rom. References in red ink above the line of the text, inserted in their place on the line of margin, make it easy to find the commentary on each clause. Many contractions (in 762 there are very few, and those the simplest), clear and perfect (a few of the last leaves wormed).

Authors cited (in red ink) Gennad. Isid. Theodoret. Severianus. Cyr. Oecumen. Basil. Anastas. Sinait.

F. 36 v.—68 v. 1 Cor. f. 69 r.—91 v. 2 Cor. 91 v.—101 r. Gal. 101 r.—111 v. Eph. 111 v.—120 r. Phil. 120 r. —126 v. Col. 126 v.—133 r. 1 Thess. 133 v.—137 r. 2 Thess. 137 v.—145 r. 1 Tim. 145 r.—150 r. 2 Tim. 150 v.—153 r. Tit. 153 r.—154 r. Philem. 154 v.—end. Hebr."

[1] At Oxford, Roe xvi (v. Cramer I. p. xvi) and Wake xxxviii were consulted in vain; at the British Museum, Add. 7142 and 22,734 and Arundel 534, besides the Parham MS. 15, which is for the present in the custody of the Museum. Mr Coxe's voyage of discovery in the Greek Archipelago leaves little hope of anything being gained from that quarter; the *Archives des Missions Scientifiques et Littéraires*, troisième série, t. iii. (Paris, 1876), p. 440, mention however a MS. catena (saec. x.) at Patmos, which does not appear to have been examined. And it is at least possible that the library at Constantinople which has already yielded a second MS. of S. Clement's Epistles, may offer assistance to some future investigator in this field.

[2] *Journal of Class. and Sacred Philol.* IV. p. 304, n. 2; cf. the published Catalogue of the Camb. Univ. MSS., ii. p. 330, sq. On fol. 235 there is the following comment on 2 Tim. 2, 11: *ὁ σαυτῷ, φησίν, οὐ δυνάμενος σωτηρίαν περιποιῆσαι, ἀλλ' ἰδοὺ ἀποθνήσκειν μέλλεις, καὶ ἑτέροις προξενεῖς*; opposite to this the margin bears the note $\overset{\theta'}{\text{ἀντι}}$. The remark however is not Theodore's. In Coisl. 28, a boldly written copy of the Oecumenian catena, I found the same remark with *ἀντιθ.* (i.e. *ἀντίθεσις*) written in the margin; and this is doubtless the import of the abbreviation in the Camb. MS.

been made by the help of the Latin version. In a few instances I have hazarded a restoration of the original; but such conjectures have in every case been distinguished from the MS. text by the use of square brackets.

2. The Latin text, as I have already intimated, rests upon the evidence of two MSS. in which it is preserved entire, supplemented by that of several printed compilations and of one still in MS., which contain portions of the version more or less extensive. Latin MSS.

(i). *Codex Ambianensis*, olim *Corbeiensis* (*C*). Cod. Amb. 88.

This MS., Cardinal Pitra's sole authority, forms the second of the two magnificent volumes described by the Benedictine editors of S. Ambrose[1]. Both volumes formerly belonged to the Abbey of S. Peter's, Corbie, where they remained until the end of the last century[2]. They are now deposited in the Bibliothèque Com-

[1] See above, p. xiv.

[2] The removal of a portion of the Corbie MSS. to Amiens took place probably in the course of the year 1791 (Delisle, *Manuscrits de la Bibl. Nat.*, Vol. III [Paris, 1874], p. 140). Previous to that date, we have the following indications of the presence of these MSS. in the Corbie collection. (1) They are represented in the list which was furnished to Montfaucon by the then Prior of Corbie (*bibl. biblioth.* II. p. 1406: "§ iv. D. Commentarii in epist. Pauli S. Ambrosio attributi, Vol. I. cod. membr. saec. 9. Eiusdem commentarii in ep. Pauli S. Ambrosio attributi Vol. 2. cod. membr. saeculi 9"). (2) An ancient catalogue (MS. Vat. 520), belonging to the early part of the 13th century, (Mai, *Spic. Rom.* V. 206) contains the entry: "61. Ambrosius super ep. ad Rom. et ad Cor. 62. super ep. ad Galatas et sequentes." Card. Mai thought that this "catalogus librorum Corbeiensis monasterii" referred to the monastery of New Corbey in Germany; but M. Delisle has convincingly shewn that he was wrong, and asserted the identity of these MSS. with the Amiens MSS. 87 and 88. A slightly earlier catalogue, now in the collection of Sir T. Phillipps, enumerates "Amb. exp. in ep. ad Galathas" [MS. 43], and "exp. eiusdem in epp. Pauli, et item ad Thess. expositio"; but the description is ambiguous. The other fragment which Mai prints, perhaps the earliest of the three Corbie lists, makes no mention of Ambrose on S. Paul. From these facts we may gather that *C* was already in possession of the Abbey of S. Peter's Corbie, about the year 1200; further than this our present knowledge does not enable us to go. With regard to the sources from which the Corbie MSS. were derived, Delisle has pointed out (p. 111, sq.) that (*a*) a succession of scribes flourished at Corbie from cent. viii. to cent. xiii.; (*b*) many of the MSS. were brought to Corbie from Italy (especially from Monte Cassino), and some from its German namesake, whilst Ireland supplied a few; (*c*) purchases were sometimes made by the Abbey from other libraries in France. A letter of Pope Alexander III (fl. A.D. 1166—1179) records a resolution on the part of the monks of Corbie to repair their books and to add by purchase to the number. It would seem then that our MS. might have been either (1) written at Corbie in the 9th or 10th century; or (2) imported from Germany at some period between A.D. 900 and 1200; or (3) procured from some other French house towards the end of this interval.

munale of the neighbouring city of Amiens[1]. The second volume contains the commentary on the Epistles from Galatians to Philemon inclusive. It consists of 182 leaves of vellum, measuring 15 × 10 inches, gathered into 24 quires. Each quire, except the last, has its proper signature in Roman numerals at the foot of the last page; each contains 8 leaves, with the exception of the 5th, 19th and 24th, which have five, five and four leaves respectively. The Epistles with their commentary are thus distributed: Galatians (i), ff 1—28 a: (ii), 28 a—46 b; Ephesians, 46 b—68 b; Philippians; 68 b—85 a; Colossians, 85 a—102 a; 1 Thessalonians, 102 a—115 a, 2 Thessalonians, 115 b—121 b; 1 Timothy, 121 b—155 b; 2 Timothy, 155 b—167 b; Titus, 167 b—176 b; Philemon, 176 b—182 a. The last page and a half are blank.

The Carlovingian minuscule is the character employed. The text is written in semi-uncials, and for the most part in red or green[2]. The initial letters are occasionally foliated, or formed after some grotesque device; but no other ornamentation occurs.

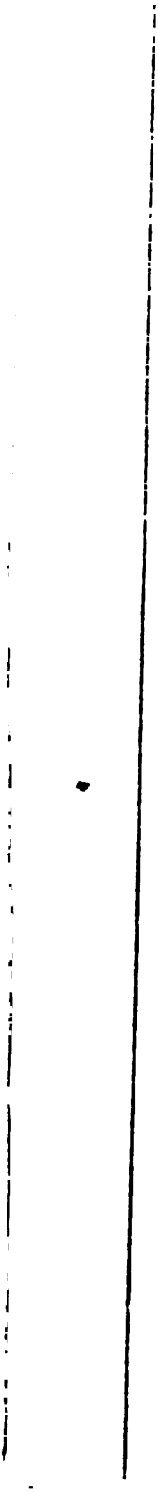
In M. Garnier's excellent catalogue this MS. is ascribed to the 9th century, in conformity with the view expressed in a recent hand on the first page[3]. It may be questioned, however, whether the MS. exhibits clear indications of a date earlier than the 10th century. The accompanying facsimile, from a photograph taken by M. Garnier's kind permission and under his superintendence, will assist the reader in forming his own judgement upon the point.

The text of the Epistles is divided into *capitula* according to a system which generally coincides with that adopted in the Codices Amiatinus and Fuldensis, i.e. Galatians, 37; Ephesians,

[1] See the *Catalogue descriptif et raisonné des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Communale de la ville d' Amiens*, par M. J. Garnier (8vo: Amiens, 1843), p. 62, sq. M. Garnier's description begins: "88. Expositio Sancti Ambrosii in Epistolas Beati Pauli. Vélin in folio 181 f. d. r. L [= demi reliure de M. Le Prince] Corbie 51 F. Précieux MS. du ixe siècle, à longues lignes, 29 par pages; réglées a la pointe sèche: bonne écriture, sans ornement; le titre en capitales romaines occupe le premier feuillet." The remainder of the notice relates to the contents of the MS. and its place in earlier catalogues.

[2] Green is used in 2 Cor. (MS. 87) and in Galatians, part i (MS. 88). I did not notice this colour elsewhere.

[3] Fol. 1a is occupied with eleven lines, six of which, in characters for the most part nearly an inch long, contains the heading, "Incipit argumentum in epistola[m] beati Pauli apostoli expositu[m] a beato Ambrosio episcopo.' Above, and between the lines of this page, are written the words: "9° saeculo. Commentarii S^{i}. Ambrosii in Epistolas S^{i}. Pauli uolumen secundum. numer. quinquagesimus Primus. num. 51us Monasterii S^{i}. Petri Corbeiensis." The handwriting of this note is modern, and the date as-



31; Philippians, 18; Colossians, 31; 1 Thessalonians, 25; 2 Thessalonians, 8; 1 Timothy, 30; 2 Timothy, 25; Titus, 10; Philemon, 4[1]. The capitulation is by no means regularly marked, e.g. in Philippians, only vi. vii. viii. appear; but its character is sufficiently indicated to shew the system which was familiar to the writer of the MS. or of its archetype, possibly to the translator of the commentary.

The MS. has been carefully corrected throughout, by a later as well as by a contemporary hand, and possibly more than once. The corrections are partly orthographical, partly attempts to improve upon the Latinity of the version; in some few cases the corrector has hit upon a successful emendation of an undoubtedly corrupt reading.

(ii) *Codex Harleianus*, olim *Cusanus* (*H*). Cod. Harl. 3063.

This MS. belongs to the Harley Collection in the British Museum, and is briefly described in the Harley Catalogue[2]. The present Keeper of the MSS., Mr E. Maunde Thompson, has favoured me with a fuller account which I now append—the result of an examination of the MS. which he kindly offered to undertake.

"Harley MS. 3063.

Vellum; 192 leaves, measuring $10\frac{3}{8} \times 8$ inches, with twenty-eight, sometimes twenty-six, lines in a page. Several of the leaves at the end of the volume have been gnawed round the margins by mice, but the text of only the last three leaves has suffered from this cause and from damp.

The MS. now consists of twenty-four, but originally contained thirty-two, quires; eight having been lost from the beginning. Each quire is made up of eight leaves, with the exception of the fifth, originally thirteenth, quire, which is of six leaves. The earlier quires have no signatures, but the rest (ff. 39—192) are regularly numbered at the foot of the first page of each with Roman numerals from XIIII. to XXXII. The ruling is drawn on

cribed to the MS. is doubtless derived from Montfaucon.

[1] See Cod. Amiat. *prolegg.*, xx; Cod. Fuld. *prolegg.* xxii, sq., and comp. Thomasii *Opp.* i. pp. 451—471; *Dict. of the Bible*, III p. 1704, n. The following are the only *capitula* in which *C* distinctly differs from both *Am.* and *Fuld.*: Phil. viii, "confido autem;" 1 Thess. xiiii, "itaque qui haec spernit;" 1 Tim. xviiii, "dicit enim scriptura."

[2] The description is as follows: "3063. Commentarius in S. Pauli Epistolas *ἀκέφαλος*: literis Langobardicis scriptus. xii. Codex membranaceus in quarto, cuius finis madore corrosus."

one side of the leaf with a hard point, with double bounding lines on both inner and outer margin.

The writing is in Lombardic minuscules of the 9th century. There are two hands: the first occupying the five unsigned quires to the middle of the last page, where it is replaced by the second which continues to the end of the volume. The first hand is the bolder, and, in some respects, the more elegant; the other rather heavier, but very even and regular. The spaces which separate the words, though narrow, are sufficient. The contractions are of the ordinary character; and, as is usual at this period, generally occur in the sacred names and titles and in words of common use.

The system of punctuation varies slightly in the two hands. In the first, in common use are the fullpoint generally placed in the middle of the line of writing, a short horizontal curve or tick, and the comma. The second hand uses the fullpoint, the inverted comma or oblique upstroke, the semicolon, simple and inverted, and the comma or 7-shaped stop. The comma or 7 is the highest power. The punctuation at the beginning of the volume has in places been altered by a later hand.

The text has been corrected by contemporary hands, and also by a hand using Caroline letters of the 10th century. A hand of the 10th century has likewise marked in the margins passages to be copied or read as lessons[1]. A few other marginal marks of an early date by readers or correctors also occur. The only notes of later times are some which are written in the margins of the Epistle to the Ephesians by an Italian hand late in the 14th century[2].

[1] Comp. *Biblioth. Casinensis* II p. 154: "hic codex [cod. Casin. LX, containing Ambrosiaster] in distinctas partitur lectiones juxta monachorum liturgiam qui eo in choro uti solebant." The whole of the Harley MS. seems to have been thus treated—Ambrosiaster as well as Theodore. The following may serve as specimens of the length and character of the lections: p. 12, l. 5—p. 15, l. 15; p. 44, l. 15—p. 51, l. 16; p. 60, l. 8—p. 64, l. 6; p. 72, l. 9—p. 87, l. 11.

[2] I owe the following transcript of these notes to Mr Thompson. The writer, it will be seen, has seized with some acumen the leading points of importance in the prologue and commentary, so far as he has gone.—F. 75 b. "scribit ephesiis" [cf. infra, p. 112, l. 1.] "nota uult dicere paulum ad romanos doctrinam absolutam tradidisse aduersariis christi respondendi" [p. 113, 12 sq.]. "uult dicere quod paulus in epistola ad romanos melius destruit infidelitatem quam probet christi fidem, hic autem sub specie graciarum accionis ostendit quod bona nobis a christo eueniunt; de quibus &c. doctrinam absolutam facit" [p. 113, l. 18 sq.]. f. 76. "primo dogmaticos consumit sermones qui sunt de christi aduentu, postea ad ethicam exorta^{em} transit" [p. 114, l. 3, sq.]. "argumentum epistole. doctrina illorum bonorum que a christi aduentu in nos collata uidentur, que sub specie graciarum accionis sunt explicata" [p.

The MS. belonged to the Hospital of Saint Nicholas near Cusa, on the Mosel, founded by Cardinal Nicholas of Cusa, who died in 1464[1]. Several other volumes in the Harleian Library came from the same place."

To this full and lucid statement of the palæographical features of the Harley MS., it is only necessary to add some particulars as to its contents. The eight quires missing from the beginning appear to have been occupied by the commentary of Ambrosiaster on Romans, 1 Corinthians and 2 Cor. i. 1—17; for the first page of the existing volume begins with the words "[appa]ratibus uincitur quod apostolus semper spreuit," &c.—part of Ambrosiaster's exposition of that verse[2]; and this commentary proceeds without break as far as the prologue to the Galatians, where the Latin Theodore takes its place. It is worthy of note that the second hand of which Mr Thompson speaks replaces the first precisely where the Theodorean matter begins, and without the slightest interruption, the first two words of the prologue to Galatians ("Beatus apostolus") completing the line in which the commentary of Ambrosiaster on 2 Cor. had come to an end. The following is the order in which the Theodore is distributed: Galatians (i), ff. 38 b—60 b: (ii), 60 b—75 b; Ephesians, 75 b—97 b; Philippians, 97 b—111 b; Colossians, 111 b—126 a; 1 Thessalonians, 126 a—136 a; 2 Thessalonians, 136 a—141 b; 1 Timothy, 141 b—171 a; 2 Timothy, 171 a—181 a; Titus, 181 a—187 a; Philemon, 187 a—192 a. Ff. 192 a (in part) and 192 b are blank. As in *C*, the text of the Epistles is divided into *capitula*, which accord generally with the system adopted in the best MSS. of the Vulgate; in two of the three instances where the *capitula* in *C* begin differently from those of the Vulgate, *H* holds with *C* against the ordinary division.

114, l. 20, sq.]. "nota" [p. 115, l. 13]. "nota apostoli omnes a iudea recesserunt quando bellum iudaicum exortum est" [p. 114, ll. 13, 14]. f. 76 b. "paulus scripsit epistolam tempore quo non uiderat eos" [p. 116, ll. 4, 5). "paulus bis romam uenit, quando appellauit et postea" [p. 116, l. 15, sq.] "concludit ante aduentum sancti iohannis ad ephesum hanc epistolam scriptam" [p. 117, ll. 11, 12]. f. 80. "exponit deum omnia que in celo et terra sunt in christo instaurasse, uel pocius recapittulasse, quasi quandam compendiosam renouacionem et reintegracionem tocius faciens creature per eum" [p. 130, l. 2. sq]. "nota quod hanc intencionem olim opifex habuit et ad hoc omnia a principio construxit quod nunc impleuit" [p. 130, l. 15 sq].

[1] Cf. Fabric. *bibl. lat. med. et inf. aet.* (Florent. 1858) i. p. 405: "Poseuinus memorat eum prope Cusam uicum, ubi natus fuit, domum hospitalem exstruxisse amplisque reditibus et diuite librorum Graecorum Latinorum et aliorum supellectile ornasse."

[2] Migne *P. L.* 17, 273.

The accompanying autotype, taken by permission of Mr E. A. Bond, late Keeper of the MSS. at the British Museum, represents fol. 98 a (Philipp., prologue, and commentary on i. 1.)

Cod. Cantabr. 448 (Roberti Scribae compilationes).

Some account must be added under this head of an unedited compilation in which considerable portions of the Latin Theodore have been detected.

The Library of the University of Cambridge possesses a MS. which is thus described in the published catalogue (1. pp. 341—2): "448. Dd. viii. 14. A folio, on parchment, of 292 leaves and a fragment, in double columns, of from 36 to 42 lines each, of the xiith century. The initial letters are illuminated, 'Roberti Prioris de Berlintona[1] compilationes in epistolas Pauli Apostoli'." Another copy of the same work exists in the Library of Emmanuel College (Coll. Emm. MS. 1. 1. 8). Like the University MS., it is a folio, in double columns, with illuminated initial letters. The general condition of this MS. is excellent, but the first page has suffered at some earlier stage of its history through the loss of a cover; and, probably from the same cause, a leaf is missing at the end of the volume, the commentary terminating abruptly at Heb. xii. 27[2].

Robert of Bridlington, the author of this book, flourished in the second half of the twelfth century[3], when he was the fourth Prior of the Augustinian house at Bridlington. To the biographers he is best known as "Robertus Scriba"—"a scribendis libris" says Tanner, adding: "ita iuuentutem suam sacrarum litterarum lectione exercuit ut uniuersum fere orbem Latinorum theologorum uiderit, euoluerit, intellexerit." Oudin, however, thinks that the *cognomen* may have been simply a family name "quale hodieque inter Gallos extat." His compilations on Scripture embraced the Pentateuch, the Psalms, the Minor Prophets, the Gospels of SS. Matthew and John, and the Apocalypse, besides the Epistles of S. Paul.

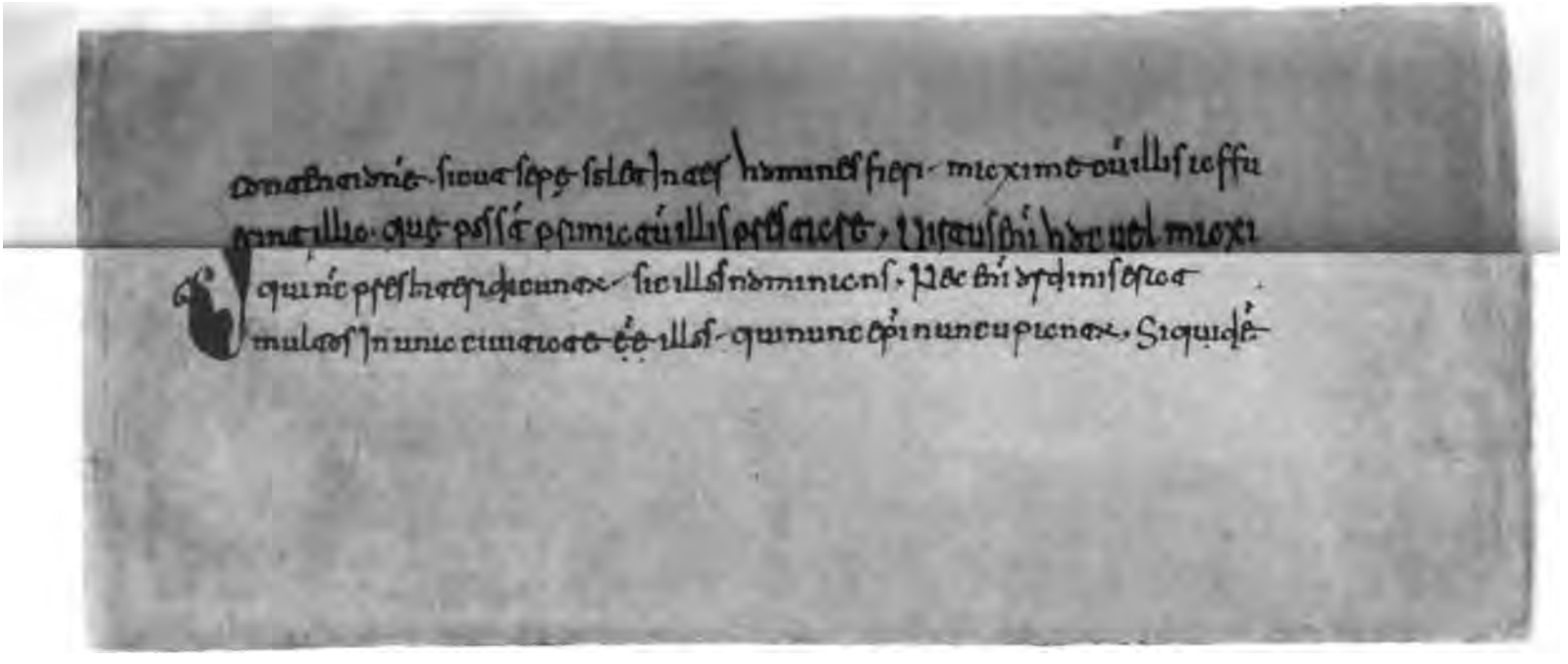
In the prologue to the present volume the compiler thus speaks of the occasion and method of his work:

"Sicut et aliarum mearum compilationum quas ad honorem Dei et ad petentium fratrum utilitatem composui, ita multae preces amicorum compilationis huius ex scriptis patrum in epis-

[1] "Berlinctona," infra: MS. Coll. Emm., "Berlinctuna."

[2] Leland had seen a copy of this same compilation in the Library of Queens' College, Cambridge, and Tanner himself examined one at Bridlington. The Queens' MS. has disappeared.

[3] c. A.D. 1180 (Oudin, Fabricius); in the time of Henry II. (Tanner).



HARLEY MS. 3063

(to face p. xxviii.)

tolas uenerabilis apostoli Pauli exordium ut fieret praecesserunt, multae quoque ut perficeretur subsecutae sunt....Sane sententias appositas illorum auctorum aut certis titulis aut testium relatione fore cognoui quorum eis nomina praelata sunt; quas diuerso modo composui, nunc totum quod congruum uisum est scribendo, nunc quod nimium erat abbreuiando, nunc quod parum mihi uidebatur sicut ratio postulabat ampliando. quod simul in uno loco duorum aut trium dicta consimilia posui, non solum ob firmitatis indicium, immo potius ob quorundam inuidorum reprehendentium uitium eo modo compescendum feci."

In the body of the compilation I have noticed the names of Origen, Ambrose, Jerome, Augustine, Leo, Gregory, Bede, Haymo, Lanfranc, Ivo, Anselm, and Lambert (?). The identification of the sources becomes less frequent as the work proceeds, and in the commentary on 2 Tim., Tit., Philemon, very few names occur. "Ambrosius" appears to be (1) Ambrosiaster (Rom., 1 and 2 Cor.); (2) Theodore (Gal.—Philemon, but not in all cases); (3) the writer of the commentary on Hebrews printed in the Paris edition of S. Ambrose (1632).

The extracts from Theodore agree pretty closely with those which are to be found in the printed Lanfranc; any important divergences have been pointed out in the footnotes. I have used the Emmanuel MS., which was the first that came to my knowledge; but the copy in the University Library has been subsequently compared throughout, without exhibiting however any noteworthy variants.

§ ii.

Comparison of the Corbie and Harley MSS.

With the view of testing the relation in which our two MSS. stand to one another, I have compared the readings of *C* and *H* in the commentary on the first and last of the Epistles contained in this volume. My examination of these portions of the text has led me to the following results.

(1) The two MSS. nearly related.

(1) The MSS. agree in presenting a number of errors which point distinctly to a source not far remote. Both substitute *praeuaricatum* for *praedicatum* (p. 33), *Christum* for *Spiritum* (36), *suam* for *fidem*, *dominum* for *quoniam*, *aestimaret nos* for *aestimaremus* (53), *agilis* for *angelis*, *confusus* for *confossus* (110), *laetitia* for *laodicia* (253), *agens* for *agentes* (258), *rediens* for *redigens* (271), *incipiunt* for *inspiciunt* (276), *uobis* for *uos* (279), *eruditi* for *eruti* (287), *commemorationem* for *commorationem* (298), *uestrae* for

uestris (305), *dicentes* for *discentes* (311). Of minor clerical errors common to both MSS. and of too marked a character to admit of their appearance in both being set down to mere accident, there is an abundance; the following may serve as specimens: *eam quam* for *eandem* (25), *pecuniae rei* for *pecuniariae* (27), *structorum* for *structuram* (32), *sentialiter* for *sententialiter* (33, 67), *habet* for *abest* (41), *inormem* for *enormem* (72), *ultraque* for *utraque* (77), *se dixit* for *edixit* [after *igitur*] (79), *in magnis* for *imaginis* (261), *separationem* for *reparationem* (267), *uti cum* for *utrum* (270), *hominum* for *hominem* [after *erga*] (273), *expleto* for *expleta* (298). I have noticed five instances in which *C* and *H* are at one in the interchange of *non* and *nunc*, thirteen in which they both use the active infinitive for the passive, thirteen in which they both place a wrong case after a preposition, fifteen in which they both substitute an accusative for an ablative or *vice versa*, when no preposition precedes. Occasionally they agree in omitting words essential to the sense—examples may be seen on pp. 41, 85, 89, 100, 101, 262, 274, 295; and more rarely in adding words which are unnecessary or inappropriate—see pp. 39, 49, 51, 106, 109, 263, 298.

(2) Neither MS. the archetype of the other.

(2) Close as their relationship may be, it seems clear that neither of our MSS. is the immediate original of the other. On the one hand *C* is frequently a stage nearer to the original than *H*. Thus for *donationis* (p. 37) we have donationi *C*, dominationi *H*; for *iusta ratione* (59), iusta rationem *C*, iuxta rationem *H*; for *ostensionem* (69), osfensionem *C*, offensionem *H*; for *sequentiam* (78), sequentia *C*, sapientia *H*; for *mos est* (95), more *C*, morem *H*; for *non fuerant* (103), namq. fuerant *C*, iamq. fuerant *H*; for *aliquibus* (271), aliiquibus *C*, reliiquibus *H*; for *quo* (294), qua *C*, quae *H*; for *facient* (308), faciet *C*, faciat *H*. On the other hand *H* sometimes stands alone in representing the true reading: e.g. p. 7 licebat *H*, liceat *C*; 22 fuerant *H*, sua erant *C*; 28 discutere *H*, discurre *C*; 53 inperfectioribus *H*, inperfectionibus *C*; 75 sicut *H*, siue *C*; 92 quae inde sunt *H*, quae desunt *C*; 97 contentionis uestrae *H*, contentiones uestras *C*; *ib.* minoratione *H*, in oratione *C*; 101 promissioni *H*, provisione *C*; 106 optimum *H*, aptum *C*; 107 confinxisse *H*, confixisse *C*; 261 *et passim* adiecit *H*, adicit *C*; 268 propinquitatis *H*, propinquitas *C*; 285 dicit *H*, docuit *C*; 291 in meliorem statum *H*, in melioris tantum *C*; 293 ista *H*, ita *C*; 295 nesciunt *H*, nec sunt *C*; 301 seipsum sequentes *H*, sed ipsum sequens *C*;

306 reverente *C*, revertente *H*. These examples seem to exclude the supposition that *C* is a copy from *H* or *H* from *C*[1].

(3) Further, each MS. exhibits a certain number of independent readings which cannot be explained as due to mere error; e.g. p. 3 abscedentes *C*, discedentes *H*; 50 uerum *C*, uenturum *H*; 69 propellere *C*, praecellere *H*; 81 data *C*, sita *H*; 108 uitae *C*, mundo *H*; 255 cognouerunt *C*, agnouerunt *H*; 259 cognitionem *C*, agnitionem *H*; 261 deo uerbo *C*, dei uerbo *H*; 268 in idipsum *C*, in unum *H*; 274 facere *C*, accipere *H*; 301 deponite *C*, deponere *H*. Some at least of these divergences seem to forbid the belief that our MSS. were copied from a common original. On the other hand, having regard to their general agreement, even in minute errors, we may, I venture to think, suppose that the MSS. from which *C* and *H* were derived had themselves been transcribed from the same copy. If the Harley and Corbie MSS. are not sister documents, they may certainly be related to each other as first cousins. (3) The two not derived immediately from the same original.

(4) There can be little doubt that the Harley MS., though possibly of somewhat earlier date than the copy now at Amiens, has been less carefully executed than the latter. (*a*) It abounds in omissions of minor words, many of which are necessary to the sense. I have noticed over twenty-five such omissions in *H*, whilst *C* presents only six. Consecutive words or whole lines are occasionally dropt *per homoeoteleuton* (e.g. on pp. 40, 52, 56, 61, 68, 100, 103, 298), a fault from which *C* is almost wholly free. (*b*) *H* exhibits far more than *C* of such marks of carelessness as the iteration of words, and copyists' blunders, e. g. the writing of *praedictum* for *praedicatum*, *ita* for *ira*, *confersam* for *confessam*, *facultate* for *facilitate*, *apostolus* for *apostolicus*, *produnditatem* for *profunditatem*, *praestitus* for *praestitutus*, *reformata tamen* for *re, forma tamen*, *uenerabis et diserabilis* for *uenerabilis et desiderabilis*, *cognitionem* for *cognationem*, *reducti* for *seducti*, *manifesta* for *manufacta*, *demecieratis* for *demetiebatis*. In the Corbie MS. such errors, though not wanting, are both less common and less gross. (4) The Harley MS. the less careful and trustworthy of the two.

Moreover, whether through the fault of the scribe or of his original, the Harley MS. is the less trustworthy of our two autho-

[1] This result is to some extent confirmed by a comparison of the capitulation. The gaps are generally speaking the same in both MSS., so that the numbers have probably been copied together with the text. But the agreement is by no means complete; *C* adds 32 *capitula* which *H* omits, and omits 18 which *H* inserts.

rities. It manifests a tendency to interpolate words, sometimes to the detriment of the sense; e.g. p. 22 euidens *ratio* est; 27 hinc *nos delectatio* uoluptatum; 29 *de* legitimo decreto; 30 caueri *oportet;* 31 in praesenti *uita*; 39 *de* illis. In the text of the Epistles there is an occasional attempt to conform to the Vulgate (p. 71 *legistis* for *audistis;* 263 *praedestinauit* for *praeordinauit*). On the other hand the Corbie MS. or its archetype endeavours to correct grammatical irregularities, e.g. it substitutes *Petro piguit* for *Petrus p.* (p. 20); its usual preference of *adicit* for *adiecit* is probably due to this cause. In the order of the words, also, *H* is often, I think, the safer guide; *C* having frequently replaced the original sequence by one more customary and agreeable to the ear.

(5) Orthography.

(5) In the matter of orthography, it may be sufficient to notice that *H* usually adopts assimilation, whilst *C* (*prima manu*) in many cases rejects it. But neither MS. follows any absolute rule, or is quite consistent with itself in every particular case. Where the MSS. agree in regard to any word or class of words, I have generally followed their guidance; where they differ, the printed text for the most part accords with *C*, which, as being the more carefully written of the two MSS. and affording the purer text, has been accepted on the whole as the basis of the present edition.

Comparison of the text of the Commentary as given by Rabanus with the witness of *C* and *H*.

The Latin text of the commentary as it appears in Rabanus Maurus[1] offers a considerable number of variations from the MS. authorities. In Philippians alone I have noticed nearly 100 instances in which Rabanus departs from the text presented by both *C* and *H*. Occasionally the compiler has without doubt preserved the true reading (e.g. p. 198 *ad ineundum, existimabat;* 202 *faciebat;* 243 *constituti, alterutram*), or a trace of it (p. 197 *uindicat;* 200 *illic*). But the great majority of these divergences are attributable to error or design. Attempts are repeatedly made to emend either orthography or grammar; thus *diaconos* is substituted for *diacones, episcopos dicens* for '*episcopis*' *dicens, ductus est Romam* for *d. e. Romae, non...in ullo* for *non...in nullo, lucra* for *lucros, lucratum esse* for *lucrasse, necessario* for *necessarie, quibus*

[1] I have used throughout the *editio princeps* of Rabanus's work upon the Epistles, viz. the Cologne edition of 1626 (tom. v. pp. 455—538). The Abbé Migne professes to have given a purer text "iuxta editionem G. Coluenerii...mendis quibus scatebat innumeris cura qua par erat expurgatam;" but as his emendations appear to have been merely conjectural, or at least he appeals to no MS. authority, it seemed advisable to adhere to Colvener's edition, omitting only the obvious errors of punctuation and orthography into which the editor or the press had been betrayed.

nocetur for *nocitos*, *necesse habebantur* for *necessabantur*. A difficult word is replaced by an easier, e. g. *in dubitationem* is written for *in aporia* (p. 211), *temporalia* for *corporalia* (p. 240). There is also the usual proportion of mere blunders (e. g. p. 207 *peruenit* for *perueni*; 211 *ut ducam* for *ut dicat*, *apparatus* for *aporiatus*; 220 *dicit* for *dici*, *quo diuina* for *quod in una*, *nam* for *non*; 226 *profectus* for *prouectus*; 237 *immortalia* for *inmortali*; 250 *mercedes* for *mereedis*; 251 *numquid* for *nam quod*.

Most of these errors and corrections are doubtless due to Rabanus or his copyists; a few may be chargeable to his editor. The MS. from which Rabanus drew seems to have been near of kin to the archetype of *C* and *H*. It shared their errors; in common with them both it gave *seipsis ceteros* for *seipsos ceteris* (p. 201), *contemplationem* for *contemplatione* (p. 205), *impietatis* for *pietatis* (p. 207), *laborem* for *laborum*, *dispensationem* for *desperationem* (p. 210), *uitam* for *uos* (p. 212), *concedebant* for *condecebant* (p. 218), *diuisam* for *indiuisam* (p. 220), *forti* for *forte* (223). Nearly forty such coincidences may be found in the commentary on the Epistle to the Philippians alone. It shared their omissions; examples may be seen on pp. 201, 217, 235, 251. In one remarkable instance it agreed with our MSS. in inserting a whole verse of the Epistle at a wrong place; see p. 216, l. 14, note. This case seems to shew that Rabanus's copy was an earlier one than the archetype of *C* and *H*, since a double error which occurred in the Fulda MS. had been partly corrected in the MS. from which both *C* and *H* were derived.

Where the Corbie and Harley MSS. are at variance, the MS. used by Rabanus sided sometimes with the one, sometimes with the other, but most frequently with *C*. An earlier copy than either *C* or *H*, it would seem to have had more affinity to the MS. from which *C* was transcribed, than to the original of *H*. Where it differs from both, it occasionally presents a singular coincidence with the corrections of *C*; see e. g. p. 245, where for *secundum* Rabanus and the Corbie corrector give *sed cum*.

The extracts from this translation preserved by Lanfranc[1] and Critical worth of

[1] I have cited Lanfranc's extracts from the Abbé Migne's reprint of J. L. D'Achery's edition (Paris, 1646). D'Achery found Lanfranc's commentary in a MS. belonging to the Benedictine Monastery of S. Melanius at Redon in Brittany. Of this copy he says: "Caducae adeo erant litterae ac minutissimae (coaetanea tamen et non ineleganti manu exaratae), uti uisum fugerent aliquando; lituris insuper commentarius plerisque in locis contaminabatur, mendis non carebat, asteriscis et obelis subobscuris marginulae onerabantur." Enquiries in England and Belgium and personal

the extracts in Lanfranc.

Robert of Bridlington are for critical purposes of little value. There are signs that Lanfranc's MS., like that which Rabanus used, was closely related to *C* and *H*, approaching perhaps nearest to the former. But both these compilers abbreviate their author, reconstruct his sentences, and alter his language with so much freedom that it is often impossible to say what text they may have had before them. Omissions of words necessary to the sense are frequent, difficulties are evaded by the arbitrary substitution of something more or less appropriate to the matter in hand; and thus the evidence fails us just where it is most needed. Here and there, however, Lanfranc has either retained or conjectured the true reading; e. g. p. 33 *praedicatum*, where both our MSS. have fallen into the prodigious blunder of repeating *praeuaricatum* from the previous line; p. 261 *imaginis*, where *in magnis* has passed muster in Rabanus as well as in *C* and *H*.

Treatment of the text of the Epistles by Rabanus, Lanfranc, and Robert.

With regard to our translator's version of S. Paul's Epistles[1], its peculiarities are altogether overlooked by Lanfranc and Robert, who uniformly substitute the Vulgate. Rabanus follows a middle course, citing now from the Vulgate, now from the Latin Theodore, without any apparent rule to guide his choice. Thus, to take the first of the Epistles upon which he quotes our author, rather more than half of the Epistle to the Philippians is given as it stands in the translated Theodore, the following being the passages which are presented in this form: Phil. i. 1—30; ii. 1, 2, 7—12, 14, 28—30; iii. 1—4, 6—12; iv. 13, 23. In the remaining verses, though for the most part they immediately precede extracts from Theodore, or are even embedded in them, the Vulgate is adopted. It would seem as if the compiler had begun by simply transcribing the MS. before him, but upon becoming aware of its serious divergence from the Vulgate, he had provided himself with a copy of the latter, and had endeavoured though with only partial success to substitute the authorized version of the Epistles for that which he found in his MS.

investigations at Paris failed to bring to light any second MS., and the learned Benedictine was compelled to make what he could of the copy before him. Dr J. A. Giles, of Oxford, in 1844 published an edition of Lanfranc's works, in which the commentary on S. Paul appears in a different and shorter form. He accounts for the great discrepancies of the MSS. on the supposition that the commentary consists, in fact, of notes taken down more or less at length by persons who attended Lanfranc's lectures on S. Paul. Dr Giles used three Paris MSS., but he professes to have employed them only for the purpose of correcting D'Achery's edition (Giles, vol. ii, pp. v, vi, 311).

[1] On the peculiarities of this version see below, p. xli sq.

III.

INTEGRITY, PECULIARITIES, AND HISTORY OF THE LATIN TRANSLATION.

My next business is to ascertain how far the Latin version may be trusted as a faithful representation of the lost original. I shall also endeavour to answer certain questions connected with its literary character and history.

§ i.

Relation of the catenist's Greek to the original.

By comparing with the translation the Greek extracts in Cramer's catena we are enabled to form some estimate of the fidelity of both catenist and translator. As we might have expected, the former has usually abridged his original by omitting words, paragraphs, or larger portions of the text (Gal. ii. 20; iii. 19, 23, 27, 28; iv. 1—3, 6, 15, 21, 30; v. 16; vi. 16; Eph. *arg.*; i. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 17; ii. 16, &c.); less frequently by remodelling sentences (e. g. Gal. iv. 24; vi. 2; Col. i. 15; 1 Tim. v. 3). Of an attempt to explain a difficulty by paraphrasing I have noticed a very occasional instance (e. g. on Tit. i. 12, 13, where *ἀποδέχεσθαι τὴν τοῦ ποιητοῦ φωνὴν καὶ ἐπιμαρτυρεῖν αὐτῷ ὡς ἂν...εἰρηκότι* seems to have been substituted for the more obscure phrase *ἀποδέχεσθαι τὸν ποιητὴν ὡς ἂν...εἰρηκότα*). Generally speaking, the catenist appears to have confined himself to Theodore's words; and he has thus frequently assisted toward the correction of the errors into which the translator or his copyist had fallen, or has supplied what was wanting in the Latin (Gal. i. 15, 16; ii. 20; iii. 42; iv. 29; vi. 17; Eph. i. 10; 13, 14; ii. 14—16; iv. 4; Phil. i. 1, 2; ii. 7; iii. 4, 15; Col. ii. 18, 23; iii. 23; 1 Thess. iv. 17, &c.).

Substantial integrity of the Latin translation.

Of the substantial integrity of the translation as it appears in our MSS., there is no reason to entertain any doubt. Here and there a line has dropt out through *homoeoteleuton*; occasionally a word or two may have been overlooked by the translator himself (e. g. *καὶ τῆς ἀθανασίας*, Gal. iii. 4; *καὶ οἰκονόμους*, iv. 1—3; *ἔτι τότε*, iv. 24; *ἔξωθεν*, 1 Tim. iii. 14, 15; *διδασκαλίαν*, iv. 13). But judging from the unbroken sense of the Latin, and from a comparison with the Greek in such longer extracts as afford a

fair field for enquiry (e. g. the comment on 1 Tim. iii. 8), we may suppose that the translator aimed at giving a complete version, corresponding line by line with his original, and faithfully reflecting its sense[1]. How far, it may be asked, has he succeeded in this intention?

Instances in which the translator has failed to represent his original aright.

In not a few instances he has without doubt misunderstood or inadequately expressed the meaning of the Greek (Gal. i. 3—5; iv. 25; Eph. i. 8—10; Phil. i. 1, 2 [σὺν ἐπισκόποις, *coepiscopis*], 12—14; Col. i. 27; ii. 13, 23; iii. 3; 1 Thess. iv. 5); or has obscured the sense by misplacing a word or a dependent clause (as *tunc*, Gal. iv. 1—3; *eius*, vi. 16; *qui fiet in melius*, Phil. ii. 15); or offered a paraphrase rather than translation (as of ποῦ ποτε στήσεται αὐτῷ; Gal. iv. 19; ὁμοίως ἐμοί, Phil. iii. 17; πρὸς ἀντιδιαστολὴν ἐκείνων, 1 Thess. i. 10; τὸν τοιοῦτον, 1 Tim. iii. 2); or changed the construction (Gal. iv. 24; v. 8; Eph. i. 13, 14; ii. 22, &c.); or manifested carelessness in the choice of conjunctions, using *nam* for δέ (Eph. iii. 19), and *autem* for γάρ (1 Tim. iii. 2, *bis*). Again, a remarkable disregard for the amenities of composition is shewn in his rendering of certain unimportant passages, such as Theodore's brief comments upon the salutations at the end of the several Epistles; whilst in abstruse dogmatic passages (e. g. Phil. ii. 6 sq.; Col. i. 13 sq.), though he labours to do his best, his powers are unequal to the task of turning his author's obscure Greek into intelligible Latin. On the other hand his conscientiousness is proved by (*a*) the frequent use of an alternative or a double rendering (e. g. διάστημα, *prolixitas uel distantia*; πατριά, *patria uel paternitas*; τὸ δέον, *quae conueniebant uel agi debebant*; τοὺς ἄνδρας παιδεύειν τὴν εὐσέβειαν, *ut maritos suos ad pietatem uel inuitarent uel docerent*; εἰρῆσθαι, *et definitum esse et statutum*; γνώμη, *arbitrium uel propositum*; ἀπὸ τῆς συντυχίας, *ex euentu et ex accidente*; αὐθεντεία, *dispensatio et auctoritas*; πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτῶν ὠφέλειαν, *ad suam utilitatem uel pro defectione* [leg. *delect*[*at*]*ione*]); (*b*) the resolution of compound words for which the Latin tongue offered no exact

His conscientiousness and general trustworthiness.

[1] Dr Jacobi (*prooem. in Philipp.* iii. sq.) expresses the conviction that in Pitra's codex (i. e. *C*) "non pauca inesse eaque larga interdum amplitudine quorum neque indoles cum nexu sententiarum neque scribendi genus cum totius uersionis Latinae stylo consonet." Most, however, of the passages to which he excepts are not contained in *C*, although Pitra had omitted to notice that they were wanting; the rest (e. g. pp. 233, 4—6; 251, 4—5; 256, 10—13; 259, 11—13; 266, 4—7) are rejected by Dr Jacobi, as I venture to think, on insufficient grounds. Only in a very few instances have I noticed an undoubted interpolation (e. g. pp. 106, 217, 293), and in all or nearly all of these it is the copyist who is probably at fault.

equivalent into their component ideas (e.g. *ἀντιπαρεξετάζειν, discutere...conferens; ἐναποτιθέναι, menti imprimere*); (*c*) the frequent reproduction of the Greek almost word for word, even the order of the words being retained (e.g. 2 Thess. ii. 8—12; 1 Tim. iii. 2 ["ut autem silentio," &c.].

Imperfections of style and Latinity.

There are, however, several serious drawbacks to this general fidelity. Our translator (*a*) constantly uses periphrases formed with *uideor, possum*, &c. (e.g. *uidetur scripsisse* = *γεγράφηκεν*); (*b*) shews a tendency to add expletives (*εἰς τὸ μετὰ σπουδῆς... ἐπιτελεῖν σὺν ἡδονῇ* = *ut cum summa diligentia...expediat cum omni alacritate;* (*c*) is inconsistent in his choice of equivalents—in the same contexts we have *commutans...demutatione* for *ὑπαλλάξας...τῇ ὑπαλλαγῇ, accipere* and *suscipere* for *ἐκλαμβάνειν, legislatio* and *definitio* for *νομοθεσία*—and (*d*) *vice versa*, employs one Latin word for two or more distinct terms in the original—thus *mutabilitas* serves for both *μεταβολή* and *ἐναλλαγή, congregatio* for *φρατρία* and *σύστημα, forma* for *σύμβολον* and *τύπος, ad plenum* for *καθόλου* and *δι' ὅλου, luxuriose uiuere* for *ὡς οὐ προσῆκεν, ὅπως ποτέ, ἀκολάστως βιῶσαι, contemplatione* (though not in the same passage) for *ἀπό, κατά* and *ἕνεκεν*. To these imperfections must be added a poverty of Latin words and constructions, which manifests itself in the wearisome recurrence of such phrases as *locum implere, diligentiam adhibere*, in such forms of sentence as *eo quod, ex* (*pro*) *quibus* followed almost indifferently by the indicative or conjunctive, and in a limited vocabulary drawn in great part from the vulgar idiom rather than from classical Latinity.

§ ii.

Latinity of the translation.

In order to enable the reader to form some idea of the translator's Latinity, I have collected from all parts of his work examples of his lexical and grammatical peculiarities. The list is far from being exhaustive, but I trust it will be found fairly representative and sufficient.

1. Words of late or rare occurrence.

1. Late or rare words.

(*a*) *Substantives.* In *tas:* credulitas, deitas, dubietas, generalitas, incorruptibilitas, incredulitas, inpossibilitas, inrationabilitas, inuertibilitas, longaeuitas, miserabilitas, natiuitas, nimietas, nocibilitas, nociuitas, otiositas, parcitas, possibilitas, prolixitas, rationabilitas, scrupulositas, sempiternitas, uerbositas, uiuacitas, unan-

imitas. In *io:* adinuentio, adquisitio, aduentio, arguitio, capitulatio, copulatio, dehonoratio, demiratio, destructio, digestio (deg.), directio, firmatio, fruitio, indeuotio, inhabitatio, inoperatio, interceptio, minoratio, oboeditio, opificatio, ostensio, praeelectio, praehonoratio, praeordinatio, prodificatio, quaesitio, receptio, recreatio, reparatio, subreptio, suspect[at]io. In *ntia:* concupiscentia, inoboedientia, sequentia. In *tor, sor:* dominator, donator, mediator, praecessor, principator, saluator. In *ura:* creatura, factura, pressura. In *ela:* cautela, corruptela, incorruptela, turbela. In *are:* luminare, salutare(?). In *ium:* aedificium, dominium, exterminium, turpiloquium. In *aculum:* signaculum. In *men, mentum:* deliramentum, indumentum, iumentum (= iuuamentum), iuuamen. In *erium:* inproperium. In *us* (4th decl.): clericatus, cogitatus, exinanitus.

(β) *Adjectives.* In *bilis:* acceptabilis, contemptibilis, inaccessibilis, inconuertibilis, inpossibilis, insuadibilis, inuertibilis, nocibilis, odibilis, possibilis, praehonorabilis, rationabilis, sensibilis, uertibilis. In *alis:* coniugalis, corporalis, maritalis, poenalis, scripturalis, specialis, temporalis. In *osus:* affectiosus (affectuosus), compendiosus. In *iuus:* lucratiuus, nociuus. In *anus:* mundanus. In *arius:* cooperarius, fornicarius, operarius, plenarius. In *tus:* absolutus, cauteriatus, confessus, indisciplinatus, placitus, primocreatus.

(γ) *Adverbs.* In *e:* absolute, abusiue, affectiose, compendiose, consentanee, consuete, definitiue, indiscrete, indisciplinate, indubie, mystice, omnifarie, placite, plenarie, probate(?), putatiue. In *im:* particulatim, semotim, summatim. In *iter, nter:* competenter, consequenter, incessanter, inconuenienter, magnanimiter, nuncupanter, sententialiter, specialiter, terribiliter.

(δ) *Verbs.* Formed by *composition:* adimplere, aduti; coadunare, coaptare, condescendere, coextendere, coinquinare, condecere, condolere, confortare, congaudere, conpati, conpermanere, conplacere, conresurgere, constabilire, conuiuere; contrascribere, contrasistere; depostulare, deproperare, deputare, deturpare; edolere, euacuare; immorari, inaptari(?), indipisci, inoperari, inproperare; pertransire; praeeligere, praehonorare, praeordinare, praeuaricare; prolongare; recapitulare, reinsinuare, repropitiare, retitulare; subintroducere, subrelinquere; superabundare, supereminere, superexaltare, superoptare. Formed by *derivation:* adiectare, aporiari, clarificare, detrimentari, elongare, examinare, glorificari, ignire, infirmari, iustificare, mediare, minorare, mirifi-

care, necessari, principari, salvare, sequestrare, sublimare, taediari, tubicinare.

2. Peculiarities of word-forms: 2. Word-forms.

(α) *Nouns*, &c.: diacones, diaconibus, exter, lucros, paucibus, nuptu=nuptui, sinceres, tactum (n.); nostrorum=nostrum; haec=hae (?), illum = illud, ipsud = ipsum, ipso = ipsi, duobus =duabus.

(β) *Adverbs*, &c.: desursum, fortuitu, multum = multo, propemodo.

(γ) *Verbs:* aleri, odire, suadĕre(?); adnitebor, adnitescens, enitescens, custodibor, poterint; absconsus, cognotus, iuuatus, adiuuatus; adhortare, adtestare, aemulare, commorare, consolare, demirare, demetire, imitare, interpretare, lucrasse; caueri, demonstrari, dirigi, liberari, reputari, somniari (*deponents*).

3. Peculiarities in the signification and use of words: 3. Use of words.

(α) *Nouns*, &c.: capitulum (κεφάλαιον), correptio, cultura (θρησκεία), directio (κατόρθωσις), humanitas (ἀνθρωπότης), idipsum (τὸ αὐτό), lector (ἀναγνωστής, *eccles.*), mutabilitas = mutatio, nepos (ἀνεψιός), opinio (φήμη), pietas (ἡ εὐσέβεια, "the Faith"), propositio (προαίρεσις), proprietas (ἰδίωμα), prouisor (πρόξενος), remedium (μεθοδεία), uiuax (=uitalis).

(β) *Adverbs*, &c.: absolute (ἁπλῶς), nimis (σφόδρα), adubi (atubi) = ubi, quando = quoniam, erga (κατά, &c.)

(γ) *Verbs:* adnasci = oboriri, consummare (τελειοῦν), corrigere, dirigere (κατορθοῦν), incipere (μέλλειν), insinuare ("intimate"), possidere (κληρονομεῖν), saluare = seruare *s.* custodire; contrasistere (*trans.*), defundere (*intrans.*)

4. Phrases: 4. Phrases.

(α) *Adverbial:* ad plenum, ad similitudinem, contemplatione (with gen., "on the score of"); de accidente, de euentu, excepto, excepta (= χωρίς), ex superfluo (ἐκ περισσοῦ), paulo minus (μικροῦ), per partes (κατὰ μέρος).

(β) *Verbal:* habeo, incipio, scio, uideor, with inf. ("I must, shall, can, do, am"); minus esse = λείπειν.

5. Constructions: 5. Constructions.

(α) *Case.* Abuti, carere, derogare, frui, fungi, inhaerere, inuidere, nocere, potiri, with acc.; misereri with dat.; differre sibi = inter se; dignus with gen., dat., acc.; ab, cum, de, in (ἐν), super

(περί), with acc.; in (εἰς), ob, with abl.; pro, propter, with gen. The acc. is not unfrequently used for the abl. abs. (*e. g.* omnem creaturam...inspicientem, Eph. i. 10).

(β) *Comparison.* Comparative followed by gen., or abl.; superlative used for positive (e. g. carissimi et desiderantissimi = ἀγαπητοὶ καὶ ἐπιποθητοί, cautissime = ἀκριβῶς, ditissime = πλουσίως, instantissime = πολλά).

(γ) *Dependent sentences.* Use of quoniam, &c., with ind. for acc. with inf. Indicative for conjunctive in indirect narration.

6. Hellenisms.

6. Greek forms and constructions:

(α) *Words directly from the Greek:* aenigma, agon, allegoria, apocryphus, aporia, apostasia, apostolicus, brauium, catechizare, chrisma, diaconia, diaconicum, diaconissa, hypocrisis ("the part of an interlocutor") phantasia, prophetissa, schema.

(β) *Combinations in imitation of the Greek:* ad-oculum-seruus (ὀφθαλμόδουλος), mutabilitas-in-melius, domesticus fidei, compermanere (συμπαραμένειν), aliquid nouius (νεώτερόν τι) dicere; medii quidam, spiritales quidam (μέσοι τινές, πνευματικοί τινες); qualis aliquando (ὁποῖός ποτε), quando quidem...quando uero (ποτὲ μέν... ποτὲ δέ), pro quibus (ἀνθ' ὧν), et quidem (καίπερ), solummodo non (μονονουχί), aliter non...sed si.

(γ) *Constructions:* quae pietatis sunt continua (τὰ ἐχόμενα τῆς εὐσεβείας), domina haec soluere (κυρία λῦσαι ταῦτα) debitores id facere (ὀφειλέται ποιῆσαι τοῦτο), teneri with gen., prohibeor with inf., suaderi alicui (πείθεσθαί τινι), deponere mortalitatem = deponendo (τῷ ἀποθέσθαι), catechizari uerbum, complexi sibi inuicem, conligatus sibi, contentus ei, conuiuere alicui, communicare alicui in aliqua re, participare alicuius rei; use of double negative; gen. absolute; gender of the Greek noun retained (instantem saeculum, testamentum...data, propositum...quam fecit).

General inferences.

Two or three observations may be added with regard to the general character of these peculiarities. A few are directly due to the influence of the Vulgate or of earlier Latin versions of the Scriptures with which the translator was familiar; a few more, to his desire of faithfully representing his original[1]. Some, again,

[1] See Prof. Jacobi's remarks in the *Deutsche Zeitschrift*, &c. (1854), p. 250. He regards the repeated occurrence of Greek words and constructions as indicative of a Greek original; and the inference is doubtless just. At the same time a comparison of the Latin translation with the catena has convinced me that the Hellenisms are not exclusively due to this cause, but belong, in part at least, to the Latinity of the translator; comp. Rönsch, *Itala u. Vulgata*, p. 471 sq.

are merely the ordinary forms of post-Augustan Latinity. But (*a*) a large proportion are, without doubt, characteristic of the African dialect; and in my notes to the translation I have had frequent occasion to call attention to points of contact between our translator's diction and that of such writers as Apuleius, Tertullian, and Cyprian. (*b*) Noteworthy also is the circumstance that in his choice of words he continually treads in the steps of the law-books and jurists. The coincidences are so marked that one might readily suspect him of having been at some time in his life engaged in the practice of the law, or of having at least received a legal education. (*c*) Lastly, there are certain words and forms in the use of which our translator seems to stand alone, and some of these he repeats with a remarkable pertinacity. Words, too, which in other writers are of the rarest, are amongst his commonest. These and other singularities of style ought certainly to assist us in identifying the author of the translation, should any other work of his survive and bear its writer's name.

§ iii.

Our translator's version of the Epistles, how far independent of existing versions.

1. The version of S. Paul's Epistles presented in this translation is to some extent an independent rendering of the Greek text, as the translator found it in the original of Theodore's commentary. This independence is shewn in a variety of ways. (*a*) The translator follows the readings of Theodore's text, when they are directly opposed to the current of Western tradition (e.g. Gal. iv. 14, *temptationem meam;* 21, *audistis;* 25, *Agar enim Sina mons;* Eph. ii. 5, *in delictis et in peccatis;* 17, *qui longe estis et qui prope;* v. 9, *Spiritus;* Phil. i. 17, *inferre;* ii. 5, *sapiatur uel sentiatur;* iii. 16 [order]; iv. 13, + *Christo;* 23, *cum omnibus uobis;* Col. ii. 2, *Dei Patris et Christi;* 11, *corporis peccatorum carnis;* iv. 13, *zelum;* 15, *eorum*), or even to the tradition of the whole Church (Eph. iii. 15, *congregatio* [φρατρία]). Sometimes he renders in accordance with the view expressed by his author, even though Theodore stood alone in his interpretation (Phil. i. 20, *desperationem* [MSS. *dispensationem*] = ἀποκαραδοκίαν], or follows him into textual errors (Eph. ii. 21, *tactum* (= ἁφή); Phil. iii. 20, *secundum bonum placitum*). (*a*) He closely follows Theodore's text.

(*b*) He manifests a constant desire to approach as near as possible to the Greek both in the choice of words, and in grammatical forms. [i] Of the former the following may serve as examples:

(*b*) He approximates as nearly as possible to the Greek.

Gal. iii. 3, *insensati* (ἀνόητοι), *inchoantes* (ἐναρξάμενοι, cf. Phil. i. 6); 8, *ante euangelizauit* (προευηγγελίσατο, cf. *ante confirmatum*, iv. 17); Eph. iv. 3, *adcelerantes* (σπουδάζοντες); 29, *necessitatis* (τῆς χρείας); v. 31, *adiungetur* (προσκολληθήσεται); Phil. i. 7, *comparticipes gratiae* (συγκοινωνοὺς...τῆς χάριτος); ii. 14, *disceptationibus* (διαλογισμῶν); 19, *aequanimem* (ἰσόψυχον); iii. 16, *occurrimus* (ἐφθάσαμεν); iv. 3, *coniugalis* (σύνζυγε), *simul mecum decertauerunt* (συνήθλησάν μοι); 15, *exii* (ἐξῆλθον); Col. iii. 16, *ditissime* (πλουσίως, cf. p. xl). Occasionally, a word of Greek origin is either preferred to the usual Latin equivalent, or placed side by side with it; e.g. *aporior* (Gal. iv. 20), *arra* (Eph. i. 14), *schema* (Phil. ii. 7), *agon* (Col. i. 29; ii. 1), *mysterium* (passim); but on the whole our translator is careful not to overload his pages with Hellenisms, and uses Latin words where he can find or form any sufficiently close to the Greek. To his fidelity to the Greek text we may also refer at least in part the steady use of certain equivalents, such as *bonum placitum* for εὐδοκία, *caritas* for ἀγάπη, *cognitio* for ἐπίγνωσις, *cooperarius* for συνεργός, *gloria* for δόξα, *inhabitare* for κατοικεῖν, *inoperari* for ἐνεργεῖσθαι, *minorari* for ὑστερεῖσθαι, *nocere aliquem* for ἀδικεῖν τινα, *sacrificium* for θυσία. [ii] He adheres as far as possible to the grammar of the Greek text, as for instance in the use of the infinitive (Gal. i. 16, *reuelare;* Eph. i. 4, *esse;* iv. 28, *retribuere;* Col. i. 25, *adimplere;* iv. 3, *loqui;* 6, *scire*); of the active participle (Gal. ii. 1, *adsumens;* 9, *cognoscentes;* iii. 3, *inchoantes*; Eph. i. 12, *audientes;* Phil. ii. 28, *uidentes;* iv. 18, *suscipiens*); of constructions alien or even abhorrent to the Latin idiom (Gal. v. 17, *ueritati non suaderi;* Phil. i. 28, *non...in nullo;* iii. 4, *et quidem ego habens;* Col. ii. 16, *quae* [ἅτινα] est; iv. 13, *pro...eorum*). To the same cause we may attribute his repeated employment of the clumsy periphrasis introduced by *is qui*, *ille qui*, in cases where the Latin Vulgate is content with the simple relative (Gal. iv. 22, *ille quidem qui... ille uero qui* [ὁ μὲν...ὁ δέ]; v. 24, *ille autem qui;* Eph. i. 15, *illam quae est secundum uos* [τὴν καθ' ὑμᾶς]; Phil. i. 11, *fructum illum... qui per*, &c. [καρπὸν τὸν διά, κ.τ.λ.]; 27, *illa quae de uobis sunt* [τὰ περὶ ὑμῶν]; iii. 13, &c.).

(*c*) He takes his own course even where the Greek does not require a

(*c*) Our translator's independence of the Latin versions is still more clearly shewn in the large number of renderings for which there is apparently no Latin authority, yet which do not seem to be attributable to any of the above-mentioned causes; e.g. *gentilis* (Gal. iii. 28), *dispensatoribus* (iv. 2), *obduci* (v. 1), *appeti-*

tores (v. 26), *fero* (vi. 17); *delictorum* (Eph. i. 7), *progenies* (iii. 21), *aedificium* (iv. 12), *assiduitate* (vi. 18); *datum est* (Phil. i. 29), *perditio* (iii. 19), *affectiose* (iv. 3), *dilectionis*, *bonae opinionis* (iv. 8); *cautionem* (Col. ii. 14), *idolorum custodiam* (iii. 5), *uigeat* (iii. 15), *nepos* (iv. 10). Here and there a verse may be said to have been translated anew, with little if any aid from any existing version; e.g. Eph. iv. 16; Phil. iii. 20; iv. 3, 10, 18; Col. ii. 18, 19, 23. departure from the Latin Vulgate.

2. That the translator, though thus far independent, was perfectly familiar with the Latin versions and largely indebted to them, is beyond a doubt. It is not uncommon to find two, three, or more consecutive verses agreeing almost word for word with the purest text of the Vulgate as represented by the Codex Amiatinus and the Codex Fuldensis; as, for example, Gal. i. 13, 14; iii. 15, 16; iv. 1—4; Eph. iv. 4—10; Phil. ii. 8—12; Col. i. 1—3; iii. 1—4. A collation of the four Epistles contained in this volume with the published texts of the above-mentioned MSS. has yielded some 750 variations, distributed in nearly equal proportion over the surface of the translation. But when we have deducted these, there remains a residuum of Vulgate renderings which forms the backbone of the whole work, and includes most of its lexical clothing. On the average the translator does not depart from the best MSS. of the revised Vulgate more than twice in every three verses. Yet he is influenced to a great extent by existing versions; by the revised Vulgate,

The discoverer of the Latin Theodore, whose belief in the Hilarian authorship of the commentary compelled him to ascribe it to a date prior to A.D. 368, called attention (*Spicileg. Solesm.* I. pp. xxix, 52) to the existence of ante-Hieronymian renderings in the text of the Epistles. It is now certain that the translation was produced subsequently to S. Jerome's edition of the Epistles, which is thought to have been issued as early as A.D. 385[1]; most probably, it was subsequent also to 420, the year of S. Jerome's

[1] That Jerome edited the Epistles as well as the Gospels is inferred from his letter to Lucinius (Migne 22, 671), in which he says: "nouum testamentum graecae reddidi auctoritati;" and that the work was issued in or before the year 385 seems to follow from another of his letters (*ad Marcellam*, A.D. 385—6, Migne, 432) where he defends his own readings of Rom. xii. 11, 1 Tim. i. 15, v. 19 against those who adhered to the unrevised text. With regard to the character of his revision, Mill (*prolegg.* 862) is doubtless right in extending to the Epistles Jerome's own remark as to his treatment of the Gospels (*praef. ad Dam.*): "ita calamo temperauimus ut his tantum quae sensum uidebantur mutare correctis, reliqua manere pateremur ut fuerant." The corrections were probably even more sparing in the Epistles, as being less needed there than in the Gospels (Horne, *ed.* Tregelles, p. 245); indeed, it may be doubted whether Jerome himself attempted anything like a formal revision of the latter part of the N. T.

death. And, as far as I can judge, having regard to the great uncertainty which prevails as to the nature and extent of Jerome's work upon the latter part of the New Testament, the text with which our translator was familiar must have been more or less fully influenced by the revision which is connected with his name. It contains renderings which appear to be peculiar to the revised text, e.g. *sorte uocati* (Eph. i. 11), *cogitationum* (ii. 3), *carissimi* (Phil. ii. 12), *festinantius ergo* (ii. 28); and others which though not admitted by Jerome into the text of the Vulgate were adopted or suggested by him in his own works, such as *incedunt* (Gal. ii. 14), *ministrat* [Hieron. *adm.*] (iii. 5), *fermentat* (v. 9), *laborem mihi nemo adhibeat* [Hieron. *labores ...exhibeat*] (vi. 17), *recapitulare* (Eph. i. 10), *arra* [Hieron. *arrhabo*] (i. 14), *donantes uobis ipsis* [Hieron. *uobismetipsis*] (iv. 32), *omnia arma* (vi. 11).

and by the *Vetus Latina.*

On the other hand our translation exhibits a great preponderance of ante-Hieronymian renderings over those admitted or proposed by Jerome. The following list of Old Latin renderings from the text of the Epistle to the Ephesians is offered as a sample of the indebtedness of our translator to the unrevised Vulgate. I have in each case added to the rendering the names of Latin fathers who used the Vetus Latina or Itala, and in whose works the particular word or phrase is also found. Eph. i. 4, *coram eo* (Ambrstr.); 12, *audientes* (Aug.); 14, *propter hoc* (Aug.); 18, *inluminatos habere oculos* (Ambrstr.); 19, *fortitudinis* (Hil. Ambrstr.); ii. 3, *uoluntates* (Lucif., Ambrstr.$^{mss.}$, Aug.); 4, *multam* (Ambrstr., Ambr., Aug.); 12, *abalienati* (Victorin.); ib., *peregrini* (Tert., Ambr., Aug.); 20, *existente*[*m*] (Aug.); iii. 2, 9, *mysterium, mysterii* (Ambrstr.); 16, *confortari* (Lucif., Ambr.); 19, *cognoscere* (Ambrstr., Aug.); iv. 2, *sustinentes* (Firm., Cypr., Aug.); 14, *remedium* (Lucif.); 16, *partis* (Iren.$^{int.}$, Lucif., Ambrstr., Ambr., Tich., Aug.); 19, *et auaritiae* (Ambrstr.); 22, *concupiscentiam* (Tert. Lucif.; *concupiscentias*, Hil., Aug.); 25, *alterutrum* (Tert.); v. 5, *fornicarius* (Zen.-Veron); 14, *inluminabit tibi Christus* (Ambr.); 32, *mysterium* (Iren.$^{int.}$, Hil., Ambrstr.); vi. 4, *nutrite* (Cypr.); 9, *ad eos* (Cypr., Ambrstr.); 12, *principatus* (Ambrstr.); 16, *super* [*his*] *omnibus* (Ambrstr.); ib. *ignita* (Ambrstr.).

§ iv.

Witnesses to the circulation of this

I now turn to the history of this interesting translation. My first endeavour will be to trace its circulation in the Latin Church up to the end of the twelfth century.

version prior to A.D. 1200.

(*a*) Primasius of Adrumetum (?)

(*a*) In his learned and brilliant prolegomena (*Spicil. Solesm.* i. p. xxxii.) Cardinal Pitra speaks of the African Bishop and Commentator Primasius as indebted to "Hilary" (*i.e.* to the exposition contained in the Corbie MS. and made up of Ambrosiaster on Rom.—2 Cor. and the Latin Theodore on the remaining Epistles). This remark led me to examine the commentary of Primasius on Gal.—Philemon with the view of detecting any references to our author which might be latent there. I found many comments of a decidedly Theodorean type; but with few exceptions they proved to have been taken almost *verbatim* from Pelagius[1]. Examples may be seen in Migne *P. L.* 68, coll. 587, 590, 593, 596, 599, 601, 604, 606, 627, 630, 653, 665, 668. However, in coll. 598, 638, 652, 653, 656, 665, there are partial coincidences with Theodore, where Pelagius has nothing corresponding; and it seems not unreasonable to suppose that Primasius, who was one of the Africans who visited Constantinople in A.D. 550 and signed in 553 the *Constitutum* of Vigilius, had access to the original of Theodore's commentary, and even brought a copy back with him to Adrumetum. But his references to Theodore are in any case of too general a character to prove his acquaintance with the Latin translation. In fact, the evidence which they afford looks rather the other way; for had the translation been accessible, why should not Primasius have cited it directly?

(*b*) Cassiodorus (?)

(*b*) Writing a few years after the middle of the sixth century[2] Cassiodorus says that he had heard of an exposition of all the Pauline Epistles ascribed to S. Ambrose, but up to that time had been unable to get a sight of the book, though he was still making diligent enquiry for it. He had given orders for certain MSS. of this description to be sent to Viviers from Africa[3]. May not this have been one of the

[1] On the remarkable affinity which exists between the commentaries of Pelagius and Theodore, see below, p. lxxiv. sq. I may mention by the way that future editors of Pelagius will probably obtain much assistance from Primasius, and possibly also from Sedulius and other later compilers into whose pages Pelagius has flowed through the channel of Primasius's commentary. Two corrections of the printed text of Pelagius, yielded by the extracts of his work in Primasius, may be noted here: 2 Thess. i. 6, for *foris ... iustitia* read *fons ... iustitiae*; 2 Tim. i. 11, after *ad comp.* (2°) add *Christi.*

[2] *Inst. diu. litt.* ix: "dicitur etiam et B. Ambrosium subnotatum codicem epistolarum omnium S. Pauli reliquisse suauissima expositione completum; quem tamen adhuc inuenire non potui sed diligenti cura perquiro." The *De Institutione* was written after the 5th Council: "circa annum 556" (Cave).

[3] *ib.*: "qui [sc. Petri abbatis Tripolitani codex subnotatus] uobis inter alios codices diuina gratia suffragante de Africana parte mittendus est."

commentaries which he hoped to receive from that quarter? And if under the name of Ambrose a commentary partly Ambrosiaster's, partly consisting of the Latin Theodore, was at this time already in circulation among the African Churches, may not our translation in this manner have found its way into Italy, and from Italy into Western Europe?

(*c*) Sedulius Scotus.

(*c*) The first Western writer who quotes the translation is probably the Irish scholar known as Sedulius Scotus Junior. In his *Collectanea* on S. Paul Sedulius cites 'Ambrose' twice, on Rom. vi. 6, and on Gal. iv. 25[1]; the extract being in the former instance from Ambrosiaster[2], in the latter from Theodore[3]. It is not easy to fix the age of this Sedulius. That he was not the fifth century poet of that name is now acknowledged on all hands. Archbishop Ussher had already noticed[4] that the decrees of the Roman Council of 721 were signed by a Sedulius who describes himself as "episcopus Britanniae de genere Scotorum[5]." More recent opinion, however, has identified the commentator with a third Sedulius who is stated by Hepidanus († A.D. 1080) to have flourished about the year 818[6]. Montfaucon in his *Palaeographia graeca* describes a MS. Graeco-Latin Psalter, undoubtedly as he thinks of the ninth century[7], which bears the subscription ϲΗΔΥΛΙΟϹ·ϹΚΟΤΤΟϹ·ΕΓΩ·ΕΓΡΑΨΑ; and he points out that the Greek writing is of a distinctly Western type[8], and that the author of the commentary displays a knowledge of Greek which would have qualified him to write such a MS.[9]. Again, the treatise *de rectoribus Christianis* printed by Card. Mai in his

[1] Migne *P. L.* 103, 60, 190: in both instances with the same formula, "secundum Ambrosium."

[2] Cf. Migne *P. L.* 17, 106. The Benedictine editors say (*ib.*, 41—2): "inde quoque [sc. ex Ambrosiastro] nonnulla in priorum eiusdem Pauli epistolarum explicationem transtulit Sedulius, Ambrosii nomine semel ascripto."

[3] See below, p. 81, n.

[4] *Brit. eccl. antiq.* c. xvi (*Works* [Dubl. 1847] vi. p. 331).

[5] Mansi 12, 265: "Sedulius episcopus Britanniae de genere Scotorum huic constituto a nobis promulgato subscripsi." This subscription is preceded by the name of an "episcopus ex Hispania," and followed by that of an "episcopus Scotiae Pictus."

[6] *Annales*, ap. Duchesne, *hist. Franc.* iii. p. 473: "anno DCCCXVIII. Sedulius Scotus clarus habetur." See however Pertz, *mon. Germ.* i. p. 76, n.

[7] *Palaeogr. Gr.* p. 236: "noni saeculi notam praefert tam in Graecis quam in Latinis." A specimen of both may be seen in Montfaucon *l. c.*; the Greek hand is represented in Westwood's *Palaeogr. sacra pictoria*, plate 3. The MS. is now in the library of the Arsenal at Paris; in Montfaucon's time it belonged to the monastery of S. Michael at Verdun.

[8] *Ib.*: "forma literarum aliquid peregrinum olet, ut in aliis paene omnibus qui a Latinis conscripti sunt graecis codicibus obseruatur."

[9] *Ib.*: "peritia graecae linguae quam in commentariis suis in epistolas Pauli iamdiu editis praefert Sedulius ille Scottus; nam frequenter ibi de lectione graeca nec prorsus indocte disserit."

Spicilegium Romanum and ascribed to "Sedulius" in the MS. which he employed refers to Charlemagne and Lewis the Pious in such terms as in the opinion of Mai to assign the composition to the year 813[1]. Lastly, the *editio princeps*[2] of the commentary of Sedulius was taken from a MS. which the editor describes as *adorandae uetustatis* and which he had from the then Abbat of Fulda. These facts seem to shew that another Sedulius lived in the early part of the ninth century; that he was very probably, as has been conjectured, one of the Irish scholars who were attracted to the court of Charles by the fame of Alcuin; and that there is nothing to preclude and something to encourage the supposition that he is identical with Sedulius the Commentator. On the other hand, it is certainly possible that the Commentator may have been the signatary of A.D. 721[3]; and there is a piece of evidence yet to be produced, which, if it can be trusted, raises this possibility into the region of the probable.

In Ware's *History of the Writers of Ireland*, edited by Harris (Dublin, 1764), under the name of the second Sedulius[4], mention is made of a MS. then existing in Spain which contained a work entitled *Concordantia Hispaniae atque Hiberniae a Sedulio Scoto genere Hiberniensi et Episcopo Oretensi.* The occasion of this treatise is said to have been as follows. Sedulius, who had acquired a reputation from his expositions of S. Matthew and of S. Paul's Epistles, was sent by the Pope [Constantine I.?] to Spain in the character of Bishop of Oretum[5], to settle some differences

[1] Migne *P. L.* 103, 307: "eadem [sc. clementia et pacifica serenitas] quoque magnum Carolum inter cetera uirtutum insignia in sacratissimum prae ceteris terrarum principibus Augustum dedicauit; haec Ludouicum pissimum adordinauit imperatorem." Mai argues that the word *adordinauit* points to the recent association of Lewis with his father in the imperial dignity.

[2] Published by J. Sichard, Basle, 1528.

[3] The Sedulius who commented on S. Matthew is said to have quoted Arculfus (fl. c. 690) and Beda († 735); see Oudin. t. ii. p. 27. But he may surely have done this although himself a junior contemporary of those writers. An exposition of the four Gospels written "a Sedulio uiro scholasticissimo" was added to the MSS. of the Abbey of Fontenelles between A.D. 742 and 747 (Pertz, ii. 287).

[4] Bk. i. p. 47 sq. I owe the reference to Mr Bradshaw.

[5] Oretum (*Nuestra Señora de Oreto*) was in the province of Toledo. See Wiltsch, *Geogr. and Statist. of the Ch.* (E. T.), i. 97. Ware remarks (p. 9) that the author of the Chronicle ascribed to Dexter under the year 428 makes Sedulius the Elder Bishop of the same see; and Damian à Goës [*Hispania* (Cologne, 1602), p. 24] and Sebastian Munster place him among the Spaniards. The Chronicle is however probably spurious (Fabric. *bibl. lat. med. et inf. aet.* [Florence, 1858], ii. 442 sq.), although the Abbé Migne has thought it worthy of a place in his great patrology (*P. L.* 31); and it is not improbable that the endeavour to connect the poet Sedulius

which had arisen amongst the clergy of that country. The Spaniards, however, resented the interference of a foreigner; whereupon the Bishop wrote his *Concordantia* to shew that the Irish people were originally of Spanish extraction. "He enjoyed his bishoprick but a short time (the writer adds), when the invasion of the Moors drove him back to Rome and destroyed his episcopal see. But the Pope provided him with a titular bishoprick in England, by virtue of which he assisted at the Council beforementioned" [viz. the Roman Council of 721]. I have no means of investigating the truth of this story, but it rests upon the statement of a credible writer, who asserts that he received it from a friend who had had access to the MS.[1] The circumstances are not improbable, for the invasion of the Moors in 710 was immediately preceded by a serious quarrel between the Spanish Church and Rome, caused by the action of the King Witiza (Baronius *s. ann.* 701). If the account is trustworthy, it may have been in Spain that Sedulius had the opportunity of seeing the Latin Theodore; in which case it will follow that the translation was extant in that country under the name of Ambrose at the beginning of the eighth century.

(*d*) Rabanus Maurus.

(*d*) The next collector who uses the Latin Theodore is Rabanus Maurus, Abbat of Fulda from 825 to 847, and from the latter year to his death in 856, Archbishop of Mainz. His *Enarrationes* on S. Paul belong to the last days of his life at Fulda and are said to have been finished about the year 842[2]. The interesting letters which form a preface to his commentaries establish two facts[3]; first, that the excerpts were made by Rabanus and his assistants directly from the works of the several authors who are quoted; secondly, that with the exception of Origen he believed all the contributors to have been orthodox. It seems

with the see of Oretum sprang out of a local tradition that a Sedulius had been Bishop of that place, or even from an acquaintance with the MS. to which Harris refers.

[1] "This account I received from Sir Christopher Glasscock...who had the liberty of copying extracts out of the said MS." The document "is said to have been found in a monastery of Gallicia by Sir John Higgins, late Councillor of State and first physician to the present King Philip the Vth of Spain," and is described as "a fair MS. written on parchment in the Gothic character."

[2] So Mabillon (*ap.* Migne *P. L.* 107, 37). They were certainly written before Rabanus left Fulda, and some little while after the departure of Lupus; i. e. between 836 and 847 (Cave ii, p. 20).

[3] Migne, *P.L.* 111, 1275—6: "quantum mihi licuit et possibilitas siuit, adiuuantibus etiam consortibus lectionis nostrae, ex sanctorum patrum dictis in unum collegi quod illi in diuersis opusculis suis...posuere ...quorum dicta ex libris suis excerpsi ...doctores enim ipsi omnes catholici fuerunt excepto Origene."

clear, therefore, that at this time the Abbey of Fulda possessed a MS. in which a portion of the Latin Theodore appeared under the name of Ambrose. It is equally certain that in this MS. the work of Ambrosiaster was carried on to the end of Ephesians, his place being usurped by Theodore only in the eight following epistles. Whilst Sedulius had access to the Latin Theodore on Galatians, in the Fulda 'Ambrose' Theodore did not begin before Philippians. The fact is remarkable as shewing that the substitution of Theodore for Ambrosiaster had in some copies been partial, in others coextensive with the limits of our translation. Are we to infer that the translation, if by the same hand throughout, was not all produced at the same time, the commentary on Galatians and Ephesians being the first instalment of the work, and the remainder having originally followed by itself? Or did the translator begin with the Epistle to the Philippians, perhaps because the commentary on this and the following Epistles offered more abundant illustrations of Theodore's peculiar theology? In any case, we have in the work of Rabanus distinct evidence that, so far as the last eight epistles are concerned, the Latin translation had found its way to Germany in connexion with the commentary of Ambrosiaster before the middle of the ninth century.

(*e*) Compilers contemporary with and subsequent to Rabanus.

(*e*) Two other compilations upon the Epistles of S. Paul belong to the ninth century, and of the reputed authors Haymo of Halberstadt[1] was a contemporary of Rabanus at Fulda, and Walafrid Strabo his pupil. In neither work does any use appear to have been made of the Latin Theodore. The *Glossa ordinaria*[2] is said to have been founded on the commentary of Rabanus; but if so, its compiler has contrived to avoid the lengthy extracts from Theodore which Rabanus offers under the name of Ambrose; and when Ambrose is cited in the margin, the reference is uniformly to Ambrosiaster (e. g. on 1 Cor. vii. 11, xi. 21; Gal. iii. 1, vi. 8; Eph. iv. 11; 1 Tim. i. 2). In the tenth century Atto of Vercellae (†960) produced a commentary which in the Epistle to the Colossians and the four following Epistles is little

[1] Haymo's commentary is printed in Migne *P. L.* 117. It is right to add that it has been attributed by some to Remigius of Lyons, by others to Remigius of Auxerre, both of whom lived later in the century.

[2] Migne *P. L.* 114. Cf. Simon, *histoire critique*, c. 27: Lightfoot, *Galatians*, p. 236. Walafrid died in 849, within the decade which had seen the issue of his master's compilation; so that the coincidences between his work and that of Rabanus are probably due to the oral instruction he had received at Fulda, perhaps before the Abbat became acquainted with the Latin Theodore.

else than an abridgement of Ambrosiaster, although strangely enough he does not appear to acknowledge the debt; but of Ambrose = Theodore there is again no trace. Another period of a hundred years passes before we once more encounter Theodore in the pages of a Latin commentator. When we do, the country where we meet him is France, although the author who cites him is an Italian by descent and education. D'Achery, who first gave Lanfranc's brief commentary to the world in the year 1648[1], observed with surprise that the Ambrosian extracts on the Epistle to the Galatians and the eight following Epistles were not to be found in the extant works of Ambrose or in Ambrosiaster, adding: "Magna mihi suspicio est B. Lanfranci aeuo commentaria S. Ambrosii exstitisse quae ad nostra tempora haudquaquam peruenerunt, uel latere alicubi." The mystery is now explained; for with the exception of a few paragraphs on Galatians, all Lanfranc's extracts from "Ambrose" upon these nine Epistles appear in the Latin Theodore. It is clear that Lanfranc had access at Bec to a complete copy of our translation, or more probably to a MS. similar to *Amb.* 87, 88, and containing Ambrosiaster on Romans—2 Corinthians, supplemented by the Latin Theodore on Galatians—Philemon.

Two or three sentences of this translation were noticed by the Benedictine editors of S. Ambrose in the works of a younger contemporary of Lanfranc, Ivo, Bp. of Chartres (A.D. 1093—1115)[2]. Ivo had been a pupil of Lanfranc at Bec; and though the Theodorean passages he quotes are not to be found in Lanfranc's catena, it may reasonably be supposed that he derived them from the MS. which supplied his master. Later in the twelfth century the Latin Theodore is cited throughout the ten Epistles by Robertus Scriba. But Robert's extracts for the most part are obviously abbreviated from Lanfranc's; and the few which are not in the editions of the latter may have been derived from a fuller MS. of Lanfranc possessed by the Abbey of Bridlington. I have not noticed any certain indication that the Prior of Bridlington had access to a MS. of the Latin Theodore.

In the commentaries of Bruno (†1125), Hervaeus (†1149), and Peter Lombard (†1160), I have searched in vain for traces of an acquaintance with our translation[3].

[1] See above, p. xxxiii, note 1.

[2] See Migne *P. L.* 17, 43; the extracts may be found, *ib.* 172, 921. The fragment of Theodore on 1 Tim. vi. 1 is strangely headed "Ambrosius *super epistolam primam ad Corinthios.*"

[3] Pitra's remark (*Spicil. Solesm.* i.

Thus it appears that only five writers anterior to the thirteenth century are known to have cited Theodore under the name of Ambrose. Of these the first is of uncertain date, but not earlier than the beginning of the eighth century; the second belongs to the age of Charlemagne and Lewis; the last three lived in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Three MSS. might have supplied these writers with their knowledge of the book; one MS. was possibly derived from Spain or seen there by Sedulius, a second was probably the property of the Abbey of Fulda in the time of Rabanus, the third was either brought from Italy by Lanfranc[1], or, as seems more likely, found by him at Bec[2]. General results.

§ v.

We are now in a position to approach the problem of the age and authorship of the Latin Theodore. Our enquiry will lie within the limits determined on the one hand by the date of the original commentary and on the other by the date of the first ascertained appearance of the present translation. Age and authorship of this translation.

It may be assumed that the task of translating without abridgement so large a work and one so full of passages expressive of Theodore's distinctive theology would not have been undertaken by any scholar, Eastern or Western, who was not more or less in sympathy either with the views or with the ecclesiastical position of the author. This assumption is strengthened by the probability that the version was originally either anonymous or ascribed, as we find it in our present MSS. and by all the Opponents of Theodore excluded from the list of possible translators.

p. xxxiii.): "ex eodem fonte uix guttulas hausere Walafridus Strabo, Remigius, Haymo, Atto Vercellensis, Petrus Langobardus," must be restricted, I think, to the original Ambrosiaster, of whose work the Cardinal conceived our translation to have formed a genuine part. Prof. Hort (*Journal*, &c. p. 303, note) naturally inferred that short extracts of *Theodore* had been detected in all those compilations.

[1] It makes against this that both the *Vita* (Migne 150, 30) and the *Chronicon Beccensis Abbatiae* (Migne, 642) represent Lanfranc as having been stripped of all he possessed by robbers on his way to Bec.

[2] It is certainly remarkable that in the 12th century catalogues of the Bec MSS. printed by M. F. Ravaisson (*Rapports sur les bibliothèques des départments de l'Ouest*, Paris, 1841, pp. 375, 389), no commentary on S. Paul appears among the works of S. Ambrose; nor does the Abbey seem at this time to have possessed any book from which Lanfranc could have drawn his Theodorean extracts. Had the MS. been lost in the interval, or carried over to England by Lanfranc? Or is it possible that it had been purchased by the richer Abbey of Corbie (cf. p. xxii. n. 2), and that in the MS. now preserved at Amiens we have the very copy to which Lanfranc and Ivo were indebted for their knowledge of the Latin Theodore?

extant writers who quote it, to S. Ambrose. We may thus eliminate from the list of possible translators such staunch opponents as Marius Mercator, whose scanty excerpts from Theodore[1] are carefully branded with the author's name[2]: and perhaps also such sound Catholics as Cassiodorus, who, if he had thought the commentary as a whole worthy of translation by his Greek-loving friends[3], would assuredly have taken the precaution of warning the West against its heterodoxy[4]. Dismissing these from our field of enquiry we will seek for the author of the version amongst sympathizers of the Nestorian or of the Pelagian school, or amongst those Catholics who sought to vindicate the orthodoxy of Theodore from the aspersions of Justinian.

The translator may be sought among the (*a*) Pelagians.

(*a*) In the last decade of his life Theodore was brought into contact with several of the followers of Pelagius, who upon their expulsion from Italy sought refuge with the Bishop of Mopsuestia[5]. Among these was Julian of Eclanum—a Greek scholar, according to Gennadius[6], and a warm admirer of Theodore's writings[7]. Another Pelagian, the deacon Anianus, is identified by Garnier and Montfaucon[8] with the translator of S. Chrysostom's *Homilies on S. Mat-*

[1] These consist simply of the *Symbolum*, and of passages from the two polemical works which Mercator entitles *Contra S. Augustinum*, and *Aduersus Dominum I. Chr. et eius incarnationem* (Migne *P. L.* 48, 217—232; 1043—1064).

[2] Comp. the *praef.* (Migne, 1041, sq.): "Graecus sermo Theodori est...hunc ego pro facultate qua ualeo in Latinum sermonem uerbum de uerbo transferre conatus sum, prauum eius...sensum...Latinis uolens auribus insinuare cauendum modis omnibus, non sequendum."

[3] *I.e.*, Bellator (*inst. diu. litt.* i, vi), Epiphanius (*ib.* v, viii), Mutianus (*ib.* viii). To the first of these Huet would ascribe the ancient version of Origen on S. Matthew (Migne *P. G.* 17, 2222; the version is printed in in *P. G.* 10).

[4] Comp. what Cassiodorus says as to Origen (*inst.* i) and Tichonius (*ib.* ix). Theodore's work might doubtless have received a similar treatment, or it might have been expurgated in translation. But the Latin Theodore bears no marks of either process. And there is no evidence that Cassiodorus was acquainted with Theodore's commentary on S. Paul or indeed with any of his writings; cf. Dr Hort's remarks in the *Journal of Class. and Sacred Philol.*, pp. 307—8.

[5] Mar. Merc. *ap.* Migne *P. L.* 48, 214, sq.: "admonere uolens Iulianum...hunc secutum esse Theodorum, ad quem peragratis terris et exarato mari atque Oriente lustrato cum sociis et participibus et συνταλαιπώροις suis magno nisu tamquam ad Christianorum dogmatum praedicatum magistrum tetendit." Cf. Garner. *Dissert.* i. ap. Migne, 293. On the question whether Theodore afterwards joined in the condemnation of Julian by a Cilician Synod, see Fritzsche *de u. et scr. Th.*, p. 115.

[6] *De scriptor. eccl.* 45: "Graeca et Latina lingua scholasticus."

[7] *Mar. Merc. l. c.*: "cuius in libris suis infinitas laudes exsequitur, cujusque se niti auctoritate sententiae in suo errore gloriatur." Cf. Aug. *op. imp. c. Julian.* iii. 111, where Julian is represented as enumerating S. Chrysostom, S. Basil and Theodore amongst "disputatores catholica sanitate fulgentes."

[8] *ap.* Migne, *P. L.* 41, 298, sq.; *P. G.* 57, 9, sq. Sigebert (Migne,

thew and *Panegyric on S. Paul*, whose avowed object was to strengthen by means of S. Chrysostom's eloquence and reputation the hands of the advocates of human freedom[1]. To either of these, or to some other representative of the same views who shared their opportunities, the task of translating Theodore's commentary might have seemed worth attempting. (*b*) If the version is not to be ascribed to the immediate disciples of Pelagius, may it not be due to the school which arose in the South of France after his death, and occupied a position midway between the Pelagian and Augustinian camps? Dr Hort has thus stated this view in the essay to which reference has already been made. "On the whole", he writes (*Journal of Class. and Sacred Philol.*, p. 308), the translator may be sought with more probability in the monasteries of Gaul which propagated the learning and (so-called) Semipelagianism of their originator Cassianus through the fifth and at least part of the sixth centuries. Cassianus's Eastern education and reverence for S. Chrysostom would open the way for the reception of the works of a man so closely connected with his master by friendship, and even affinity of opinions, as Theodore. Moreover his own monastery of Marseilles produced Leporius, whose recantation as Neander has shewn (IV, 332 f.) indicates no express Pelagian doctrine, but much that is identical with Theodore's distinctive theories." (*c*) Both Dr Hort[2] and Dr Jacobi[3] have suggested another epoch at which the Latin translation may have been produced. The controversy of the "Three Chapters" could not have failed to awaken in the West, at least here and there, a brief interest in the writings of the condemned heretic. The Bishops of Illyria[4] and those of

(*b*) Semi-pelagians.

(*c*) Defenders of the "Three Chapters."

P. L. 160, 562) has confounded him with a later Anianus: see Garnier, *l.c.*

[1] See the prologue to his work (in Migne *P. G.* 58, 275, sq.). Anianus also found his way to the East, and took part in the Synod of Diospolis, A.D. 415; cf. Hieron. *ap.* Aug. *Ep.* 202: "Aniani pseudodiaconi Celedensis, qui copiosissime pascitur ut alienae blasphemiae uerba friuola subministret...quidquid enim in illa miserabili synodo Diospolitana dixisse se denegat, in hoc opere profitetur."

[2] *Journal of Philol.*, p. 307: "Facundus the energetic African defender of Theodore against Justinian's edict, to whom we owe the preservation of some important passages of his writings in Latin, naturally occurs to mind."

[3] *Deutsche Zeitschrift*, &c., p. 252: "Facundus von Hermiane scheint sie nicht benutzt zu haben...Aber um diese Zeit, die Mitte des sechsten Jahrhunderts, veranlasste der Dreikapitelstreit ... die Abendländer zur Kenntnissnahme von seinen Schriften, und leicht möglich ist dass damals auch diese exegetischen nach dem Occident gebracht und übersetzt wurden."

[4] Cf. Victor. Tunens. *Chron.*: "post consulatum Basilii V. c. anno [A.D. 549] Illyriciana synodus in defensione trium capitulorum Justiniano Augusto

the Patriarchate of Aquileia were doubtless in the first instance content to oppose the principle of Theodore's condemnation without entering into the question of his orthodoxy. But Popes Vigilius and Pelagius II. expressly appealed to the works of Theodore; and the Roman deacon Rusticus wrote or proposed to write a treatise[1] in which a discussion of Theodore's distinctive theology, based upon extracts from his writings, must have found place. In North Africa, where from the first Justinian's edict encountered a determined resistance, attention seems to have been still more widely drawn to the books which had brought upon the memory of Theodore the fanatical displeasure of the Emperor. The African Bishop Pontianus indeed in his letter to Justinian (A.D. 546) avows that these were as yet unknown to his countrymen[2]. But within the next two years Facundus, then at Constantinople, quotes copiously from them; and as in his preface he complains of the *incuria translatorum*[3], it may be assumed that some attempts had already been made to clothe portions of Theodore's writings in a Latin dress. It has been remarked[4] that no reference is made by Facundus to that part of the commentary on S. Paul which is represented in our translation; and it is certainly against his claim to be the translator that wherever he quotes the minor Epistles the revised Vulgate is used, with only a slight admixture of Old Latin readings[5]. On the other hand, although the solitary passage which he cites from Theodore's exposition of the Epistle to the Romans is perhaps as Prof. Jacobi says[6] too short to admit of a serious comparison with the style of our translation, it is impossible not to be struck by the general resemblance in manner and occasional agreement in diction between the latter and the various Theodorean extracts scattered through the work of Facundus[7]. If Facundus himself was not the translator, it is at

scribit." The Aquileian synod was held in 553; see Baron. 553 § 222.

[1] *Contr. Aceph.* (Migne *P. L.* 67, 1232): "hoc uero negotium illi sernabimus tempori quando de Diodoro et Theodoro et Iba et Theodoreto disputabimus, causas personarum quaestioni de fide miscentes."

[2] *Ad Justinian.* (Migne 67, 997): "in extremo itaque epistolae uestrae cognouimus quod nos non mediocriter remordet, debere nos Theodorum et scripta Theodoreti et epistolam Ibae damnare. Eorum dicta ad nos usque nunc minime peruenerunt."

[3] Migne 67, 528.

[4] By Dr Hort, *l. c.*: "he nowhere, it would seem, refers to the commentary on these particular Epistles."

[5] A comparison of Phil. ii. 19, sq. as cited by Facundus in bk. v. c. 4 (Migne *P. L.* 67, 516—517), with the same passage in the Latin Theodore will be enough to shew the independence of the two versions.

[6] *Deutsche Zeitschrift*, p. 252. The passage is to be found in Fac. iii. 6. It will be seen to have points of contact with the commentary on 2 Tim. iii. 16 and Phil. ii. 8.

[7] The extracts from Theodore's

least not improbable that he was the means of transmitting to Africa the commentary on Galatians and the nine following Epistles. Once brought to Africa the book would not have wanted a translator. The names of the Carthaginian deacon Liberatus, and of the Bishops Primasius and Victor will readily occur; but it is uncertain whether any of these possessed a sufficient knowledge of Greek[1]. Junilius[2], although possibly a layman and a jurist, may have been willing, as he certainly was able, to render this service to his party; and there are some *a priori* reasons for crediting him with the translation. Or the work may have been due to some more obscure hand, the pastime of a weary exile or incarceration endured on behalf of the Church's independence and the sanctity of the dead. A perusal of Victor's *Chronicon*[3] will shew that at this period there were not a few African Churchmen qualified by their knowledge, zeal, and enforced leisure for the performance of this task. (*d*) The resemblance which the Christology of the Spanish Adoptianists bears to some of Theodore's statements led Neander[4] to suggest, although

(*d*) Adoptianists or precursors of Adoptianism.

commentaries on the N. T. are given in a convenient form by Fritzsche, and reprinted in Migne *P. G.* 66.

[1] Liberatus seems to have depended on translations or at least to have preferred them (*breu.* c. 1, Migne *P. L.* 68, 689). Dr Kihn (p. 253: see next note) infers from the language of the *Constitutum* (Migne *P. L.* 69, 104) that Primasius was ignorant of Greek; but the words *graecae linguae ...sumus ignari* may fairly be limited to Vigilius himself. It makes more against the identification of Primasius with the translator of Theodore that the Latin of the Epistles as given by the former (if his editors may be trusted) is usually of the purest Vulgate type.

[2] See the interesting preface to his *de part. diuinae legis* (Migne *P. L.* 68, 15, sq.), and the remarkably Theodorean passage, *ib.* i. 16: "quot modis loquitur Scriptura de filio? quinque. nam uelut sola nonnumquam deitas eius significatur...nonnumquam uero solus homo ab eo susceptus et deitas consequenter, ut est: *nouissime locutus est nobis in filio* [cf. Th. on Col. i. 18]; nonnumquam simul utrumque, ut est: *hoc sentite in uobis*, &c. [cf. Th. on Phil. ii. 8]." I had printed this note so far, when the elaborate monograph of Prof. H. Kihn (*Theodor u. Mopsuestia u. Junilius Africanus als Exegeten*, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1880) came into my hands. Dr Kihn, whose book ends with the text of Junilius's work carefully edited after the MSS., endeavours to shew that the *Instituta regularia*, as he calls the treatise, is simply a summary of Theodore's principles of exegesis, derived from Paul of Nisibis. He points out (p. 314) that Junilius has uniformly used the Itala, not the revised Vulgate. I may add that I have noticed in this writer's citations from the Epistles a few readings in which he agrees with the translator of Theodore against both Itala and Vulgate: e.g. in Eph. i. 20 he has *sedere facit;* in 1 Tim. i. 17, *incorrupto.*" His Latinity also shews some points of contact, but the general style of his book is distinct and greatly superior to that of the Latin Theodore.

[3] Migne *P. L.* 68, 937, sq. Among the names are those of Reparatus, Archbp. of Carthage, Felix, hegumenus of an African monastery, Theodorus, Bp. of Cabarsussita, and the Bps. Musicus, Brumasius, Donatus and Chrysonius.

[4] V. 219. He adds: "Still, however, we are not warranted by the few fragments of Felix which remain

doubtfully, that Felix of Urgel had been influenced by the writings of the Bishop of Mopsuestia, which in that case might have reached him from Africa in a Latin form. The extant remains of Felix are too brief to allow of the theory being either supported or disproved. But supposing that Latin translations of Theodore were at this period circulated in Spain, which is not improbable, it seems not quite certain that we must look to Africa as the source from which these translations came. There is the alternative that they were executed in Spain during the age which preceded the outbreak of Adoptianism. Influences had long been at work within the Spanish Church which predisposed her to this form of heresy; her weary struggle with Priscillianists, Sabellians and Arians, her remarkable interest in dogmatic speculations, her partial isolation, manifesting itself in a certain independence of Christian life and thought, all contributed to this result[1]. Elipandus was able to appeal to expressions in the national liturgy which appeared to give countenance to his view[2]. One Spanish Bishop at least seems to have anticipated the conclusions of the Adoptianists by one hundred and fifty years[3]. Theodiscus, the successor of S. Isidore at Seville, was deposed and banished for teaching that "Our Lord is not One God with the Father and the Holy Spirit but rather an adopted Son"—a statement which he probably meant to apply only to the Human Nature of Christ. According to the chronicler, this forerunner of the party of Felix and Elipandus was a "Greek by descent, and skilled in a variety of languages;" and he is charged with having falsified some posthumous works of his predecessor, and procured their translation into Arabic in this altered form. Such a person would not have scrupled to circulate Theodore's commentary under the name of Ambrose[4];

to form any certain conclusion with regard to the nature of this agreement, which may have resulted independently of such outward derivation from a resemblance of intellectual character between the two men." Dr Jacobi (*D. Zeitschrift*, l. c.) remarks upon the fact that our translation appears to have been unknown to the theologians of Germany before the days of the Adoptianist controversy.

[1] See the interesting and pertinent remarks of Dorner ii. 1, pp. 248—251.

[2] Elipandi *epp.* iv. (Migne *P. L.* 96, 874, sq.).

[3] See Baronius *ann.* 636 § 9; 649 § 85.

[4] It may be worth noticing that Elipandus cites S. Ambrose as using the expression *adoptiuus filius* (Migne 96, 872): beatus Ambrosius in suis dogmatibus dicit, 'Nostro usu adoptiuus filius et uerus filius;'" to which the Council of Frankfort replies: "quod sequitur in epistola assertionis uestrae beatum dixisse *Hilarium* 'nam et in ipso usu nostro est adoptiuus filius et uerus filius;' adoptiuum filium non dicimus natura esse qui uerus est filius."

whilst his Greek origin, and varied learning, coupled perhaps with a lengthened residence in the West, would have insured him the literary qualifications necessary for the task. There was however no lack of Greek scholarship in Spain during the century which followed the time of S. Isidore, nor were occasional opportunities of intercourse with the East wanting[1]. The indications of this translation having obtained circulation in Spain are doubtless faint[2]. There is no direct evidence that it was used by the Adoptianists, although if they had known of its existence, it would have suited their purpose to cite more than one of its Christological passages. The Spanish commentator Claudius Taurinensis († 839)[3] shews no trace of its influence in his exposition of the Epistle to the Galatians. But if the Latin Theodore was circulated in Spain at all, it is at least possible that the work was executed in the Peninsula itself, the original having been brought thither direct from Constantinople.

Viewing the question then from an *a priori* standpoint, we shall assign the translation either to the fifth, sixth, or seventh century, according as we suppose its author to have been a Pelagian, a Semipelagian, an opponent of Justinian's edict, or a precursor of Adoptianism. Conclusions.

But this large field may be narrowed by taking into consideration the facts already ascertained with reference to the internal characteristics and early circulation of the work. Its Latinity seems to be of too late a type to justify the belief that it proceeded from a Pelagian or even a Semipelagian writer anterior to the 6th century. Moreover it abounds in forms and constructions strongly indicative of a North African parentage. The version of S. Paul's Epistles with which its author was familiar contained such a large preponderance of Old Latin readings as to point distinctly to the same locality. From Africa the translation might readily have passed into Spain on the one hand, and into Italy on the other; and the actual circulation of the MSS. accords with this view of

The words do not seem to occur in the extant works either of S. Hilary or of S. Ambrose. But it appears that the treatise which contained them was in the hands of the Caroline divines as well as of the Adoptianists, for the former quote from it at greater length than the latter; and that it passed sometimes under the name of Hilary, sometimes of Ambrose (Migne 101, 1332). For an instance of an heretical work being palmed off as S. Ambrose's, see Ivo Carn. *decr.* iv. 65 (Migne 161, 281): "liber physiologus ab haereticis conscriptus et b. Ambrosii nomine praesignatus."

[1] Lumby, *Greek learning in the Western Church during the 7th and 8th centuries* (Camb. 1878), p. 4 sq.

[2] See p. xlviii.

[3] Migne *P. L.* 104. Cf. Simon, p. 353 sq.

its origin. Lastly, in the second half of the sixth century the Church of North Africa is known to have been passing through a crisis most favourable to the production of such a work. Many of her clergy, a few perhaps of her educated laity, were suffering persecution imprisonment or exile in behalf of Ibas, Theodoret, and Theodore. What wonder if the far-famed Commentator was studied by the sufferers, or if an attempt was made to justify their attitude by the translation of one of his most important works into the vulgar tongue? The translator may have learnt to sympathize with the teaching as well as with the ecclesiastical troubles of his author; and in this case after the fashion of the times he would naturally have endeavoured to gain a hearing for him among Latin-speaking Churchmen by placing his work under the sanction of a great Western name.

If the above conclusions are sound, the work of translation was probably accomplished in the interval between the publication of Justinian's edict and the Emperor's death (A. D. 544—565). That the name of the translator will ever be discovered is perhaps unlikely. There are objections to the claims of Facundus, Junilius, and Primasius of Adrumetum; and of the other African opponents of the edict we know too little to form an opinion. The unequal execution of the work, alternating between a fair imitation of the style of contemporary writers and a slipshod laxity suggestive of haste or inexperience, leads to the supposition that we have before us the first and perhaps the only literary effort of a person used merely to the language of the Church or of the law courts, a Bishop, or it may have been a jurist, who had recourse to the assistance of the pen when his mouth was stopped by the severity of the Emperor[1]. That his work has survived is due to the protection of S. Ambrose's name, which has covered at once the faults of the Latinity and the theological eccentricities of the original.

[1] In my study of the translation it has more than once occurred to me that the writer may have been a person of Greek descent, who had passed the greater part of his life in N. Africa. Such a combination of circumstances might account for the extreme inequality of his work, without leaving unexplained his African Latinity and evident familiarity with the Latin versions of S. Paul's Epistles.

IV.

DATE, STYLE, AND EXEGETICAL WORTH OF THIS COMMENTARY.

§ i.

Chronology of Theodore's life.

The life of Theodore[1] falls into two great divisions, the former extending over his first forty-two or forty-three years, and mainly spent at Antioch (c. A.D. 350—392-3); the latter embracing the thirty-six years during which he was Bishop of Mopsuestia (A.D. 392-3—428-9). The first division may again be broken up into three sections, viz. (i) boyhood and youth (c. A.D. 350—369); (ii) ascetic and student life (A.D. 369—382); (iii) presbyterate (A.D. 382—392). Speaking roughly, during the first of these periods he was the pupil of Libanius[2], during the second of Diodore[3], during the third of Flavian[4]. Each was a season of growth; the first in secular knowledge, the second in spiritual

Preparation for his work.

[1] The scanty materials available for the biography of Theodore have been collected by the industry of Fabricius (ed. Harles. x. 346), Leo Allatius (*diatriba de Theodoris*, 65), Cave (i. ann. 407), Oudin (i. ann. 400), Tillemont (xii. 433), Schröckh (xv. 176), Mai (*script. uet. nou. coll.* vi.), Fritzsche (*de Th. Mops. uita et scriptis*, Halae, 1836). Amongst other authorities the following may be specified: Chrys. *ad Th. laps.* (Migne *P. G.* 47); Socr. vi. 3; Sozom. viii. 2; Theodoret. *H. E.* v. 39; Hesych. Hierosol. *H. E.* (fragm. cited in the proceedings of the 5th Council, *coll.* 5); Mar. Mercator (Migne *P. L.* 48); Gennadius, *de scriptor. eccles.* 12 (Migne *P. L.* 58); Facundus Herm. (Migne *P. L.* 67); Liberatus (Migne *P. L.* 83).

The dates which I have given are approximate, and for the most part are founded on the investigations of O. F. Fritzsche.

[2] Socr. vi. 3. Sozom. viii. 2. Tillemont supposes that he also studied philosophy under Andragathius; cf. Sozom. *l. c.*: *καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν βίβλων καὶ τῆς ἄλλης παιδείας ῥητόρων τε καὶ φιλοσόφων ἱκανὸς ἐπιστήμων...ἦν γὰρ πολιτικώτερος.*

[3] Theodoret. *H. E.* v. 39: *τῆς μὲν Διοδώρου τοῦ πάνυ διδασκαλείας ἀπήλαυσεν.* Carterius was associated with Diodore in the conduct of the *ἀσκητήριον*; to which Theodore and his friends repaired: Socr. vi. 3. Theodore's first application to the study of Scripture was marked by extraordinary fervour: cf. Chrys. *ad Th. laps.* ii. 1: *τίς γάρ σου τὴν ὀξεῖαν καὶ εἰλικρινῆ καὶ ζέουσαν ἐπὶ τὰ ἀγαθὰ μετάθεσιν οὐκ ἐθαύμασεν;...πᾶσα ἡ περὶ τῶν ἔξωθεν σοφίαν σπουδὴ ἀθρόως ἐπὶ τὰ θεῖα μετενήνεκτο λόγια· ὅλαι μὲν εἰς ἀνάγνωσιν ἡμέραι, ὅλαι δὲ εἰς εὐχὰς ἀνηλίσκοντο νύκτες.* He was then not twenty (ib. 4). His 'fall' and repentance may have sobered his zeal, yet there is reason to think that his Scriptural studies under Diodore were continued with unabated diligence, perhaps until the elevation of his master to the see of Tarsus in 379.

[4] So John of Antioch *ap.* Facund. ii. 2: "iste ille est Flaviani magni Antiochiensium sanctae Dei ecclesiae pontificis amantissimus discipulus." The reference is doubtless to his presbyterate.

power and theological learning, the third in pastoral experience. Few of the great teachers of the ancient Church enjoyed a longer or more varied preparation for the duties of the episcopate or for the work of an expositor.

His literary activity.

Theodore's literary activity began at an early age, possibly while he was yet a student under Diodore, and continued till at least the end of the second decade of the fifth century[1]. The fecundity of his pen became proverbial amongst both his friends and his enemies[2]. In modern times the bibliography of his works has formed the subject of several careful treatises to which I must be content to refer the reader[3]. For our present purpose it is enough to examine the relation of time which these commentaries bear to his other exegetical writings[4].

Date of his first commentary.

Theodore's first book was exegetical—a commentary on the Psalter. Leontius mentions with a sneer the report that Theodore began to expound Scripture at the age of eighteen[5] (c. A.D. 368); the Chronicler of Edessa, with an extreme rebound from this exaggeration, places the beginning as late as A.D. 405[6]. The latter date may be that of one of his more mature works, possibly of the ἑρμηνεία τῆς κτίσεως. The exposition of the Psalms was certainly written before its author's elevation to the episcopate, perhaps before his ordination to the priesthood[7].

[1] His treatise against the defenders of original sin is assigned by Tillemont to the year 419 at the earliest. Fritzsche would place it two or three years earlier.

[2] John of Antioch (Facund. ii. 2) complains: "post decem millia libros aduersus haereses conscriptos...periclitatur quae haereticorum sunt sustinere." To this plea Pope Pelagius retorts: "pensate, quaeso, si non tanto acriora tormenta promeruit quanto pleniora conscripsit."

[3] See the list given by Fritzsche, *de u. et scr.* p. 19, n. 1, and add Klener, *Symbolae literariae ad Theodorum Antioch.* (Gottingae [1836]); Toe Water, *specimen obseruationum de Th. Ant.* xii. *prophetarum minorum interprete* (Amstelodami, 1837). There is much useful matter in Kihn, p. 33 sq.

[4] These included, according to Ebedjesu, commentaries on Genesis, Samuel, Job, the Psalms, Ecclesiastes, all the Prophets, the Gospels of S. Matthew, S. Luke and S. John, the Acts, and the Epistles of S. Paul. To this list ought perhaps to be added the rest of the Pentateuch, Joshua, Judges, Ruth, Kings, Chronicles, and Canticles (Mai, *scr. uet. nou. coll.* i. prolegg. p. xxi.; on the other hand cf. Fritzsche, *de Th. u. et scr.* p. 46 sq.

[5] Migne, *P. L.* 86, 1364: τοῦτόν φασιν ὀκτὼ πρὸς τοῖς δέκα καὶ οὐ πλείονας ἄγοντα χρόνους κατὰ τῶν ἱερῶν παροινῆσαι γραφῶν.

[6] Assemani *bibl. orient.* i. 400 (*Chron. Edess.* 46): ܫܢܬ ܫܒܥܡܐܐ ܘܫܬܥܣܪܐ ܫܪܝ ܬܐܕܘܪܘܣ ܐܦܝܣܩܘܦܐ ܕܡܦܣܘܣܛܝܐ ܠܡܦܫܩܘ ܟܬܒܐ.

[7] Cf. Theodore's own statement (Facund. *def.* iii. *capp.* iii. 6): "non autem quantam oportuerat habuimus circa istam rem diligentiam; passi enim sumus quaecumque incipientes,

There are sundry indications that the commentaries on S. Paul's Epistles belong to a much later period of Theodore's literary life. (*a*) Mill, in his *Prolegomena* (§ 905, sq.), hazarded the conjecture that the anonymous 'Father' to whom[1] Euthalius owed his division of the Epistles into κεφάλαια was none other than the famous but suspected Bishop of Mopsuestia. This theory receives some support from the following facts now brought to light by the recovery of the Latin Theodore. (1) At 1 Thess. v. 1, where the 6th Euthalian chapter of that Epistle begins, Theodore has the remark "alterum hic incipit capitulum." (2) Though I have not noticed any other clear instance of this use of the word *capitulum*[2], there is a very general coincidence between the beginnings of the Euthalian chapters and the successive steps which Theodore seems to take in unfolding the arguments of the several Epistles. (3) Both the ὑποθέσεις and the headings of the κεφάλαια occasionally accord in a striking way with Theodore's judgements or modes of expression, e g. the hypotheses to Ephesians and Colossians both begin ταύτην ἐπιστέλλει ἀπὸ Ῥώμης, οὔπω μὲν ἑωρακὼς αὐτούς, ἀκούσας δὲ περὶ αὐτῶν; and the third chapter of the latter Epistle is headed περὶ τῆς ἐν Χριστῷ [κτίσεως καὶ] ἀνακτίσεως τῆς κατὰ συνάφειαν Θεοῦ, where if we omit the bracketed words the remainder will exactly represent the drift of Theodore's singular exposition. Now the original work upon which Euthalius drew appears to have been executed A.D. 396. If it proceeded from Theodore's pen, may we not reasonably see in it his first step in preparation for carrying out the great project of commenting upon S. Paul[3]? Such a supposition will place the commencement of

Reasons for placing the commentaries on S. Paul much later.

ut euenit, in imperitia scribendi constituti. siquidem et multas immutationes illo tempore quae nostra sunt susceperunt ... ex qua causa magis negligenter a nobis composita sunt plurima et maxime illa quae prima sunt." The plea of inexperience seems to presuppose the youth of the writer; and this view is confirmed by the reference to unsettled circumstances, which could hardly have hindered his work when he had become one of Flavian's clergy, and could not have found place after his removal to the see of Mopsuestia. That the commentary on the Psalms was composed before the latter event is indeed clear from what Gennadius says of the treatise on the Incarnation, which was certainly subsequent: "Antiochenae ecclesiae presbyter...scripsit." Theodore himself speaks of this work as written thirty years before his work *On Apolinarius and his heresy*; see Facund. x. 1.

[1] Migne, *P. G.* 85, 708: προτάξομεν τὴν τῶν κεφαλαίων ἔκθεσιν ἐνί τῶν σοφωτάτων τινὶ καὶ φιλοχρίστῳ [for. φιλοχρίστων] πατέρων πεποιημένην. For the date see ib. 713.

[2] In the printed text of Rabanus Phil. iv. 1. is preceded by the words *in sequente capite*. They are not in our MSS.; but as the 6th Euthalian κεφάλαιον began at that verse, whereas in the Vulgate capitulation it stood in the middle of a chapter, the note of transition may possibly be genuine.

[3] Possibly it is to this preliminary mapping out of the field that we owe

these commentaries at least some years after his consecration to the Episcopate. (*b*) From internal evidence it is certain that Theodore's commentaries on the Epistles were written after his commentaries on the Gospels (comm. on Col. i. 17; 1 Tim. i. 4; iii. 16). Moreover the manner in which our author cites the Pentateuch and the Prophets suggests that those portions of the Old Testament as well as the Psalms had already been made the subject of critical study (comm. on Gal. iv. 25; Eph. i. 22; iii. 19; vi. 17; Col. i. 15, 16; 1 Tim. v. 19)[1]. (*c*) The cautious balancing of opinions on the scene at Antioch which finds place in Theodore's commentary on Gal. ii. 11—14 seems certainly to have been framed in view of the correspondence which had passed between S. Chrysostom and S. Jerome in the year 404. Again, the frequent probable references to opinions expressed in the writings of Chrysostom and Severianus point to a date not earlier than the first decade of the fifth century; and if we suppose that Theodore was also acquainted with the commentary of Pelagius, our *terminus a quo* must be pushed on to the year 411 or 412. Further, there are not wanting signs that Theodore, at the time of writing, was beginning to excite suspicion, perhaps on account of his sympathy with the Pelagian party (cf. e.g. *infra*, p. 208, l. 6, note); in which case A.D. 415 will be the earliest possible date. (*d*) Lastly, the fully developed views of the writer on points as well of doctrine[2] as of discipline, and the completeness of the theological system which his work reveals, seem to mark it as the result of his matured thought.

None of these indications of date, taken by itself, can be urged as conclusive; but their cumulative weight is, I venture to think, considerable. Until proof is adduced to the contrary we may safely regard these commentaries as among the latest of Theodore's expository works.

Internal order of composition.

It is probable that the labour of composition was spread over several years. Whether from tradition or from the Syriac translation to which he had access, Ebedjesu gathered that the commen-

the carefully constructed arguments and frequent notes of sequence which distinguish these commentaries; see p. lxvii. sq.

[1] The O. T. quotations, as far as I have noticed, are exclusively from the Pentateuch, the Psalms, and the Prophets (Gen. i. 17, 27, vi. 2, xlv. 10; Exod. iv. 22; Deut. xix. 15; Psalm xvi. 11, xxxiii. 6, li. 4, lxviii. 18, lxxviii. 25, lxxxii. 6, 7, lxxxiii. 18, lxxxix. 27, xc. 8; Isaiah lxi. 1; Dan. x. 13, 21; Hos. i. 1).

[2] This argument must not be much pressed. The treatise on the Incarnation, in which Theodore's peculiar Christology appeared in a pronounced form, belongs to his life at Antioch, while he was yet merely a priest. (Tillemont, *Mémoires*, XII. 436, 445).

taries on the Pauline Epistles were written at the instance of six friends. The commentary on Romans was addressed to one Eusebius, the commentary on Corinthians to a namesake Theodorus; Eustratius elicited the exposition of the Epistles to the Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, and Colossians; whilst we owe the commentary on Thessalonians to a James, that on Timothy to a Peter, that on Titus and Philemon to a Cyrinus, who seems also to have drawn forth the commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews. This account receives some confirmation from the language of Theodore himself in the argument of his commentary on Philemon[1]. If trustworthy, it suggests that the commentaries followed one another at varying intervals of time. With the exception of the Epistle to the Hebrews, the Epistles seem to have been treated in the order in which they now stand. The Epistles to the Romans and to the Hebrews were among the first to be dealt with (comm. on Gal. iii. 23; iv. 24); Galatians preceded Ephesians (Eph. i. 4), Philippians and "nearly all" the other Epistles came before the first Epistle to Timothy (1 Tim. i. 3, 4; iii. 8), the first Epistle to Timothy before the Epistle to Titus (Tit. i. 5). The commentary upon the Epistle to Philemon with its singularly interesting and valuable argument may perhaps be regarded as the crowning effort of the Interpreter's expository power.

§ ii.

Theodore's style. Criticisms of Photius,

Theodore's style did not escape the censures of the great Photius[2]. That acute observer, whilst freely acknowledging[3] the general fulness and excellence of his matter, and in particular his continual and apposite references to Scripture, blames his (1) obscurity, (2) diffuseness, (3) harshness and want of grace. He

[1] "quod maxime etiam ipse a nobis disseri postulasti."

[2] *Biblioth.* cod. 4: *ἔστιν δὲ τὴν μὲν φράσιν οὐ πάνυ λαμπρός. ib.* 5: [Σωφρόνιος] *σαφέστερος μὲν Θεοδώρου καὶ πολὺ συντομώτερος. ib.* 5: [Γρηγόριος Νύσσης] *συντομώτερός ἐστιν Θεοδώρου. ib.* 38: *τὴν δὲ φράσιν οὔτε λαμπρὸς οὔτε λίαν σαφής... ταυτολογεῖ δὲ τὰ πλεῖστα καὶ ἄχαρίς πως καὶ ἀηδὴς εἶναι δοκεῖ. ib.* 177: *ἀσαφὴς δέ ἐστιν, καίτοι λέξει οὐ ξενιζούσῃ χρώμενος, ἀλλὰ τῷ σχοινοτενέσιν χρῆσθαι ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον περιόδοις καὶ παρεμβολαῖς ἀλλεπαλλήλοις, δι' ὧν καὶ εἰς μήκιστον ὁ νοῦς ἀποτείνεται τῶν προκειμένων, ταῖς τε τῶν ὀνομάτων πλαγίαις καὶ ταῖς μετοχικαῖς λέξεσιν πλεονάζειν τὰ αὐτά τε πολλάκις καὶ οὐδὲ σὺν κόσμῳ ἐπανακυκλεῖν καὶ τὰς ἐπαναλήψεις πλέον τῶν διηγήσεων, ὅπερ ἀμέθοδον παντελῶς, ταῖς περιστάσεσιν μεμεστῶσθαι· καὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις οὐκ ὀλίγον ζόφον τῶν αὐτοῦ γραμμάτων κατασκεδάζει.*

[3] *Biblioth.* cod. 4: *ταῖς δὲ διανοίαις καὶ τοῖς ἐπιχειρήμασιν λίαν πυκνός, καὶ ταῖς γραφικαῖς ἄριστα πλουτῶν μαρτυρίαις.* Cf. cod. 177.

ascribes the first of these defects not so much to the peculiarity of Theodore's diction as to (*a*) the length of his periods, (*b*) the frequent use of parentheses, (*c*) the habit of repeating himself and at the same time introducing fresh matter to such an extent that the repetition is often more lengthy than the original statement, (*d*) a partiality for oblique cases and participles. These criticisms were based on a study of Theodore's exposition of Genesis and of certain of his polemical works. In the newly recovered commentary on the minor Prophets, Fritzsche[1] has remarked a fourth great defect, viz. an extraordinary fondness for particular words and forms of period. His Greek, he adds, in itself is excellent.

and Fritzsche,

applicable to the present work.

All these imperfections are distinctly visible in the present work, even through the veil of the translation. The translator has idiosyncracies of his own which are dealt with in another part of this introduction (p. xxxvi. sq.); but on the whole he is faithful to his author and makes no attempt to hide his blemishes. Indeed he may be said to exaggerate them, for, where comparison is possible, the Latin proves to be more obscure, more diffuse and harsh than the Greek, and at least as full of verbal repetition. It may in part, though certainly not altogether, be owing to the clumsiness of the Latin medium that one rises from a perusal of these commentaries with a feeling in which weariness and interest are strangely mingled. Seldom is so much originality of thought to be found in connexion with so dull a manner; or such great acuteness with such needless and ambiguous iteration.

Causes of this peculiarity of manner.

These faults of style, so far as they must be laid to Theodore's charge, are in some measure no doubt the natural result of his restless over-productiveness; in some measure also they may be due to the early training he had received from the rhetor Libanius. It is worthy of remark that Photius, without any apparent intention of comparing the master with his pupil, finds in Libanius several of the faults which he had found in Theodore[2]. Diodore's writings, on the other hand, seem to have been distinguished by clearness and lucidity[3]; but in the matter of style it was perhaps natural that Theodore should follow his earlier instructor. Yet I am disposed to look for the principal

[1] *De uita et scr. Th.*, p. 59: "in periodis autem constituendis uerbisque eligendis ea constantia uersatus est quam uix in ullo alio scriptore deprehendas. ceterum oratio graeca laudabilis."

[2] Cod. 90: *τήν τε ἐμφυτον τοῦ λόγου καὶ αὐτοσχέδιον (ὡς ἄν τις εἴποι) χάριν ἐλυμήνατο καὶ τέρψιν καὶ εἰς τὸ ἀσαφέστερον περιέτρεψεν, πολλὰ μὲν ἐπισκοτίζων παρενθήκαις, κ.τ.λ.*

[3] Cod. 223: *ἔστιν δὲ τὴν φράσιν καθαρός τε καὶ εὐκρινὴς ὁ ἀνήρ.*

cause of our author's peculiar manner in the character of the man rather than in his circumstances or education. An ardent and ingenious mind, possessed by a crowd of ideas[1], which it had hardly strength enough firmly to grasp or thoroughly to work out, and, in spite of its originality and sincerity, haunted by occasional doubts as to the trustworthiness of its own conclusions, and a hazy uncertainty as to their exact scope and issue[2], would go far to produce a style of writing such as Theodore's critics have detected in his works. His literary faults were but the reflection of mental imperfections which to some extent vitiate his work as well as its style, his theology no less than the form in which it is cast. Yet they will easily be condoned by those who realize the fearless honesty, the prodigious industry, and the unquestionable power with which these defects are more than redeemed.

§ iii.

Fritzsche's judgement on Theodore as an expositor of S. Paul.

It has been remarked by O. F. Fritzsche[3], that whilst Theodore is happiest in the interpretation of the New Testament, his exposition of the Pauline Epistles is the least satisfactory of his labours in that field. His genius was not adapted to the work of following the complicated reasoning and abstruse dogmatic teaching of S. Paul. His treatment of the Epistles is grammatical rather than theological; as a theological expositor he yields the palm to his friend Chrysostom.

Reasons for reopening the subject.

This criticism, written more than forty years ago, rests almost exclusively upon the fragments supplied by Cramer's catena. No portion of Theodore's work was then accessible in its entirety. At the present time ten complete parts out of fourteen are in our hands, amounting probably to about one-half of the whole commentary. Under these circumstances there can be no presumption in reopening the question of Theodore's capacity and achievements as a commentator upon S. Paul.

Theodore's characteristics as a

Of our author's careful attention to the language of the Epistles there is abundant evidence. (*a*) He repeatedly stops to explain the force of conjunctions (e.g. μενοῦνγε, Rom. x. 18; ἵνα,

[1] Comp. Phot. *bibl.* cod. 4: ταῖς δὲ διανοίαις καὶ τοῖς ἐπιχειρήμασιν λίαν πυκνός.

[2] His enemies represented him as guilty of *moral* instability; e. g. Hesych. Hierosol, *ap. Act. Conc.* v. *coll.* 5: "lingua paratissimus et ipse tamen instabilis uoluntate, qui huc et illuc inclinans ferebatur."

[3] *De uita et scr. Th.*, p. 63.

commentator. His attention to grammar and diction.

Gal. iii. 14; εἴγε, Eph. iv. 21) and prepositions (ἐν, Col. i. 16; ἐκ, iv. 16; διά, 1 Thess. iv. 14); he takes notice of the punctuation, sometimes proposing a novel arrangement which has the effect of modifying the construction or the sense (Rom. vi. 21: vii. 19; xi. 7; xiii. 11; Gal. iii. 19; Eph. ii. 11; 1 Tim. ii. 8; 2 Tim. i. 1); he observes the bearing of points of syntax on doctrine or matters of fact (Gal. i. 1; Eph. i. 3; Phil. iv. 3); he points out an occasional use of the figures of speech (Rom. viii. 26; Eph. iii. 4). On the other hand it must be allowed that he is guilty of here and there overlooking or even misrepresenting the force of a preposition (ἐν, Gal. iii. 8; Eph. vi. 12; διά, Gal. iv. 13; and once at least of deliberately substituting one mood for another (Rom. xiii. 14); whilst of finer distinctions in the use of the tenses we notice in him but little conscious appreciation. (*b*) He is unwearied in his efforts to grasp the precise meaning of words and phrases. Thus we find him distinguishing synonyms (Rom. vi. 16; xiii. 7; 2 Tim. iii. 2—4; Heb. i. 14); discriminating the various senses assigned by S. Paul to the same word (νόμος, Rom. ii. 25; πνεῦμα, ii. 29; Gal. iv. 29; v. 17; σάρξ, Rom. vii. 5; Gal. v. 13); supplying pertinent and often striking definitions of Pauline terminology (λογίζεσθαι, Rom. iii. 28; πνευματικός, vii. 14; ἀποκαραδοκεῖν, viii. 19; προΐστασθαι, xii. 8; συγκρίνειν, 1 Cor. ii. 13; αἰών, Gal. i. 4; προσανατίθεσθαι, ii. 6; ἀλληγορία, iv. 24; ὁ πλησίον, v. 6; ἄφεσις ἁμαρτιῶν, Eph. i. 7; μυστήριον, i. 9; 1 Tim. iii. 16; ἀνακεφαλαίωσις, Eph. i. 10; ἀρραβών, i. 14; δόξα, i. 16; ἐκκλησία, i. 23; Philemon, 2; σωτηρία, ἀπώλεια, Eph. ii. 5; ἀφή, ii. 22; γνῶναι, iii. 19; ἀπαλγεῖν, iv. 19; εὐτραπελία, v. 4; ῥῆμα θεοῦ, vi. 17; ἐπίσκοπος, Phil. i. 1; πραιτώριον, i. 13; ἅρπαγμα, ii. 6; μορφή, ii. 7; ὄνομα, ii. 9; ἔργον, iii. 2; οἱ ἅγιοι, iv. 22; εἰκών, Col. i. 15; πλήρωμα, i. 19; ii. 9; περιτομή, ἀκροβυστία, ii. 11, 13; καταβραβεύειν, ii. 18; σοφία, iii. 16; ἐκλογή, 1 Thess. i. 5; παράκλησις, ii. 3; τροφός, ii. 8; ἀσπασμός, 2 Thess. iii. 17; παραδοῦναι τῷ σατανᾷ, 1 Tim. i. 20; ἅγιος (in relation to things) 1 Tim. ii. 8 [cf. 1 Thess. v. 26]; νεόφυτος, 1 Tim. iii. 6 [cf. Rom. vi. 5]. This list might easily be extended; yet Theodore's vigilance is by no means uniform, e.g. under Phil. iii. 20 he has let the interesting and fruitful word πολίτευμα pass without notice. (*c*) Of still greater value is his method of glossing the text with a running comment in which every important word is briefly paraphrased, whilst the drift of the passage is meanwhile kept well in view. Instances will be found in his treatment

of Gal. i. 4; iv. 18; v. 26; Eph. i. 4, sq., 18—20; Phil. i. 7; Col. ii. 8, 14; 1 Thess. v. 14; 1 Tim. i. 11, 17; ii. 6; vi. 16; 2 Tim. iii. 1—4; iv. 2. (*d*) Theodore is also singularly successful in directing attention to the force of subordinate words and clauses. It is a principle with him that in S. Paul's writings not a clause or a word is without its force or bearing on the argument—nothing is added ἁπλῶς (*absolute*); and the endeavour to carry out this principle leads him to suggest references which are at once original and interesting, if not always probable. Compare his remarks on πνεύματος, Gal. vi. 18; πάσης, 1 Thess. iv. 3; σημεῖον, 2 Thess. iii. 17; ἔργον, 1 Tim. iii. 1; σπένδομαι, 2 Tim. iv. 6. (*e*) His admiration for the Apostle is genuine, and rises at times to an enthusiasm which expresses itself in the warmest terms (Gal. iii. 29; iv. 21; 1 Tim. i. 3; see especially Philemon, 9); but it does not prevent him from recognizing the rugged brevity of S. Paul's style, and the obscurity which sometimes results from the struggling of so many great thoughts for simultaneous utterance (Rom. ix. 22, sq.; Gal. v. 4, 12; Eph. iii. 4; 1 Tim. i. 3—4; iv. 3). He makes it a part of his business as an expositor to point out what he considers to be the Apostle's characteristics (ἰδιώματα, *proprietates*), the frequent parenthesis, the ecbatic ἵνα, the vehement μὴ γένοιτο, the occasional commingling of incompatible metaphors, the broken elliptical form of many of the sentences (Rom. ix. 22; Gal. ii. 4, 9, 17; iii. 13—14; Eph. vi. 11—12; 1 Tim. i. 3—4).

His endeavour to expound the sequence of thought.

It is however in his logical rather than in his grammatical and lexical treatment of the Epistles that Theodore's power chiefly shews itself. His interest in the language is professedly subordinate to his interest in the thought which it enshrines (Eph. ii. 12). He is never weary of pointing out to the reader the undercurrent of close reasoning which pervades S. Paul's letters. This is done by various methods. (*a*) A carefully constructed argument is prefixed to each Epistle. By far the most striking as well as the longest arguments are those which occur at the opening of the Epistles to the Ephesians and to Philemon; but not one of the Epistles represented in the Latin translation is without such an introduction. These arguments not only deal with the occasion and purpose of the Epistles, but sketch out their plan. More than once good service is done by them in the way of comparing Epistles of kindred subjects or character, and noticing the points of contact and of dissilience

(see the arguments to Gal., Eph., Phil., Tit., Philemon). (*b*) As the commentary proceeds, there are at intervals brief summaries of the ground already traversed, and occasionally a planning out and subdivision of that which remains. Examples may be found under Gal. ii. 14; Eph. v. 21; 1 Tim. v. 3; but the practice is in fact of constant recurrence. (*c*) Theodore is careful never to let the thread of his exposition drop, from the very beginning of each Epistle to its close. Almost every paragraph is linked to the foregoing by some brief note of sequence, if not by a more direct indication of the order in which the thought flows on. The result to the reader is a sense of unity and cohesion which in commentaries as brief as Theodore's is often lost or marred. (*d*) The more difficult or obscure arguments are worked out in detail, with varying success, but for the most part with a genuine effort to grasp the mind of the Apostle. Witness our author's treatment of such passages as Gal. ii. 17—19; iii. 16; iv. 8, sq.; iv. 25; Eph. v. 29—33; Phil. ii. 7—11; Col. i. 13—20; ii. 21—23; 1 Tim. ii. 14—15; v. 23, sq.

His treatment of collateral questions.

Closely connected with Theodore's regard to the thought of the sacred writer is his endeavour to deal with the historical questions and matters of fact with which the Epistles are bound up or which the text suggests. This historical interest, although secondary, is everywhere prominent. Thus Theodore decides on general principles that the Epistles to the Ephesians and Colossians were written to Churches which S. Paul had not previously visited[1]; and he is led by this conclusion to assign the former Epistle to a date which places it in the earliest group of S. Paul's letters[2]. He expresses himself in favour of two visits of S. Paul to Rome, and two Roman imprisonments[3]. He has a distinct opinion to offer as to the meaning of the "Epistle from Laodicea[4]." He enquires in passing into such points of early ecclesiastical history as the poverty of the Church of Jerusalem (Gal. ii. 9—10); the position in the primitive Church of women (Phil. iv. 2; 1 Tim. ii. 12) and of slaves (Philem. *arg.*), the foundation of the Ephesian and Colossian Churches (Eph. *arg.*, Col. i. 7), the extent, results and cessation of spiritual gifts (Gal. iii. 2; Eph. iii. 5; v. 14; 1 Thess. v. 19—20; 2 Thess. ii. 6); the gradual extension of the Episcopate, and appropriation of the title ἐπίσκοπος to the highest office in the Church (Phil. i. 1—2; 1 Tim. iii. 8);

[1] P. 112.
[2] P. 116, l. 5, note.
[3] Pp. 116, 205. &c.
[4] P. 310, sq.

the rise of Gnosticism in Apostolic times (1 Tim. iii. 16). Nor is it only to questions of Church history that Theodore pays attention. He remarks upon points of geography, archaeology, ritual, literature (Gal. iv. 25; Phil. iii. 5; 1 Tim. iii. 13—15; iv. 7; 2 Tim. iv. 10)—all however in strict subordination to his general purpose of illustrating S. Paul.

His practical interest.

He is practical, as well as critical. Great stress is repeatedly laid upon the place which ἀγάπη holds in S. Paul's system, and its relation to πίστις (Gal. v. 6, 13—14; Eph. iv. 2; Col. iii. 14, 15; 1 Tim. ii. 4; 2 Tim. iv. 8; Philem. 2). Much tact and knowledge of human nature are occasionally shewn in the application of the Epistles to daily life; e.g. Phil., *arg.* ("evenit de primatu," &c.), Eph. v. 29 ("non absolute ampliorem ad viros," &c.), 1 Tim. ii. 10 ("super hoc necessarium erat," &c.), 1 Tim. iii. 2, &c. This practical interest leads him often to refer to the conditions of the Church in his own day; and in the teaching of the first century he discerns wholesome lessons for the clergy and laity of the fifth (1 Tim., *arg.*; Philem., *arg.*). It yields salutary warnings against the spirit of persecution on the one hand (Gal. vi. 10), and of latitudinarianism on the other (Phil. i. 18). S. Paul's allegorical interpretation of a passage of Old Testament history gives Theodore occasion to attack the erroneous allegorizing of the school of Origen (Gal. iv. 24). S. Paul's direction that a "Bishop" shall be "the husband of one wife" opens the way to a long examination of the prevailing opinion as to second marriages (1 Tim. iii. 2). S. Paul's mode of addressing Philemon is contrasted with the arrogance of certain of the higher clergy of the existing Church; his treatment of the relations between master and slave, with the false liberalism which would destroy the divinely established order of society (Eph. vi. 9; Col. iv. 1; Philem., *arg.*).

Worth of his theological expositions.

Of the precise value of Theodore's commentary from a theological point of view it is not so easy to speak. Certainly he does not lose sight of the theological aspect of S. Paul's Epistles. Theology in his eyes is paramount; and if he pays close attention to grammar and sequence, this is for the sake of the theological truths which he believes himself thus the better able to elicit. His longest and most elaborate comments, if we except the Pastoral Epistles, are strictly theological (Rom. viii. 19; ix. 14; Gal. i. 3—5; ii. 15, 16, iii. 23; Eph. i. 10, 23; Phil. ii. 8, 9; Col. i. 16 sq.). It is impossible to read his work without being struck with the deep and ever present interest which it displays in

the facts and doctrines of the Christian revelation. Yet if we characterize the commentary as theological, the term must be used with a double reservation. (*a*) Theodore's interest in theology is intellectual rather than spiritual or devotional. Hence his exposition of such passages as Rom. viii. 38, 39; Eph. iii. 14, sq., is meagre and disappointing; and the same is generally true wherever the faculty of spiritual perception is more requisite in the commentator than the power to analyse or to construct. (*b*) Further, Theodore's own mind is so completely under the influence of the peculiar system of theology which he had been led to elaborate, that he is constantly reading it between the lines of St Paul's teaching, importing into the latter at times as much as he derives from it. This is done unconsciously and with the firm persuasion that he is simply following the Apostle's guidance; as when for example in commenting on Eph. iv. 10, he meets S. Paul's statement ὁ καταβὰς αὐτός ἐστιν καὶ ὁ ἀναβάς with a flat negative, on the ground that the words cannot be taken in their literal sense; or in expounding Col. i. 13 sq., he convinces himself that the 'adoption' of the Lord's Manhood is involved in the epithet τῆς ἀγάπης, that ἐν αὐτῷ points to the second or spiritual creation, that the πλήρωμα which dwelt in Christ is the Church, His Body. There is every reason to think that these expositions are honestly put forward, and that they were satisfactory to Theodore's own mind; but they have failed to carry conviction to his successors, and the theology which is thus fathered on S. Paul, though not without a considerable interest of its own as the offspring of an original and earnest mind, cannot but strike the reader as singularly unpauline. Such a tendency, of course, detracts greatly from the worth of Theodore's commentary as a contribution to the exegesis of Scripture, and is a serious set-off against the careful analysis of language and thought which marks those portions of the work where his own distinctive theology is not brought into view.

His textual criticism.

Our author's textual criticism is his weakest point. The text which he generally follows is perhaps neither much better nor much worse than that of his contemporaries of the Antiochene school[1]; in this respect he is on a footing with Chrysostom and Theodoret. But he stands alone in the boldness of some of his conjectures,

[1] Hort, *Journal*, &c., p. 303: "the text of the commentary [the translated Theodore] is distinctly Greek of a late and bad type." I have generally found that the Greek text which it represents is supported by Chrysostom, Theodoret, and the later Greek expositors. See notes to the Commentary, *passim*.

whilst in the choice of a reading he is guided only by a subjective notion of what the sense or sequence requires. It is on this ground that in Eph. v. 14, he dismisses the reading *ἐπιψαύσει σου ὁ Χριστός*, and in Phil. i. 1, prefers *σὺν ἐπισκόποις* to *συνεπισκόποις*. So far so good; but the same reason is held sufficient to justify the change of *πατριά* into *φρατρία* in Eph. iii. 15. In one remarkable instance (Eph. ii. 22) he carelessly substitutes *ἀφή* for *οἰκοδομή*, and then proceeds in complete unconsciousness to extract a meaning out of his own blunder.

Summary.

On the whole the chief value of Theodore's commentaries on S. Paul consists in their constant endeavour to expound the sequence of the thought, their careful examination of the clauses and phraseology, their frequent dashes of characteristic and suggestive exegesis, the light they occasionally throw on the condition of the Eastern Church at the beginning of the fifth century, and perhaps not least, the clear and well nigh complete view which they present of the Antiochene theology both in its indebtedness to, and in its divergence from, the theology of S. Paul.

V.

RELATION OF THIS COMMENTARY TO OTHER ANCIENT COMMENTARIES ON THE EPISTLES OF S. PAUL.

Theodore's relation to other commentators.

It is time to consider the relation in which Theodore, as an expositor of S. Paul, stands to other expositors who preceded and immediately followed him in the same field.

§ i.

His independence.

Theodore is before all things an independent interpreter. He is perpetually in conflict with some other commentator or commentators whom he never names, but occasionally visits with a scarcely merited derision or contempt (Rom. xi. 7; xiv. 17; Gal. ii. 6; ii. 9; iv. 24; Eph. i. 12; Phil. iii. 16; iv. 3; Col. i. 15; iv. 16; 2 Thess. ii. 6; 1 Tim. iii. 2; vi. 6; 2 Tim. iii. 9; iv. 13; Heb. ii. 9, 10). In my notes to some of these

passages I have shewn reason to suppose that amongst the writers thus attacked are possibly Origen, Chrysostom, Severianus, and Pelagius; and if this be so, Theodore may at least receive credit for impartiality. Once or twice he holds the balance almost evenly between the opposite views of contemporaries (Gal. ii. 11—14; Eph. v. 14); but as a rule his own opinion is given in unmistakeable terms, and he is not afraid to stand almost or altogether alone.

Qualified by occasional debts to Origen (?), Eusebius Emis., Severianus, S. Chrysostom, Diodore.

That he was occasionally indebted to other commentators is probable enough. As to Origen, a comparison of the fragments of his expositions of S. Paul[1] with the translated Theodore shews but few coincidences, and those chiefly in points of grammar and punctuation[2]; the exegesis usually differs altogether. Eusebius of Emisa († c. 359) may have suggested some of our author's remarks on the Epistle to the Galatians either directly or through Diodore, who is said by S. Jerome to have followed in Eusebius's steps[3]. Severianus, if we may judge of his work by the extracts in Cramer, was often at one with Theodore[4]; but the coincidences are probably due to the connexion of both writers with the same exegetical school. With regard to his friend Chrysostom[5], whilst Theodore is frequently on the same lines with him (e.g. in commenting on Gal. iv. 17; v. 23; Eph. iv. 6; vi. 24; Phil. ii. 16; iii. 2; Col. i. 20; iv. 16; 2 Thess. ii. 3, 4), their explanations are nearly as often distinct, and sometimes they are opposite (Phil. iii. 19; Col. i. 13, 15, &c.). His debt to their common master Diodore is probably greater, and its extent can be tested up to a certain point. Diodore wrote commentaries on S. Paul which were extant in S. Jerome's time, but were afterwards destroyed, it is said, by Arian intolerance. A few fragments of his commentary on the Epistle to the Romans have been preserved, and are printed in Cramer's Catena. It happens that in several instances fragments of Theodore's expositions of the same passages survive; on the next page I give the results of a comparison where it has thus become possible.

[1] Migne *P. G.* 14, 1293 sq.; Cramer, vi. 101—224.

[2] See e.g. p. 123, l. 9, note; p. 141, ll. 1, 2 (cf. Cramer vi. 133). For a crucial example of the divergence of their lines of interpretation comp. Orig. in 1 Thess. iv. 14, sq. (Migne *P. G.* 14, 1297) with Theodore's treatment of the same passage.

[3] Hieron. *de uirr. ill.* 119.

[4] Cf. e.g. p. 112, l. 2, note.

[5] The expositions of S. Chrysostom may have been in Theodore's hands before he began his own work upon S. Paul's Epistles or at least the translated portion of it. The friends were in communication, it is worth noting, as late as A.D. 404 (Schröckh xv. 179).

DIODORE. THEODORE.

(*a*) Rom. v. 16.

τὸ μὲν τοῦ Ἀδὰμ ἁμάρτημα ἓν ἦν, ἀλλ' ὅμως ἓν ὂν ἐξ ἑνὸς ἁμαρτήματος κατέκρινεν τοὺς πολλοὺς διὰ τὸ μισῆσασθαι [μιμήσασθαι?] τὸν Ἀδάμ. τὸ δὲ χάρισμα τοῦ κυρίου οὐ πρὸς τὸ ἓν ἁμάρτημα ἐμετρήθη, ἀλλα πρὸς τὰ πάντων πολλὰ ὄντα.

ἐκεῖ μὲν γὰρ εἰς ἡμαρτηκὼς καὶ κατακριθεὶς διὰ τοῦτο εἰς τοὺς ἐξῆς τὴν τιμωρίαν ἐνεχθῆναι παρεσκεύασεν πάντας... ἡ δὲ χάρις οὐχ ὁμοίως...ἀλλὰ...σύντομον εἰς τε τοὺς πρότερον καὶ εἰς τοὺς ἐξῆς ἀνθρώπους τῆς δωρεᾶς ἐποιήσατο τὴν ἐξάπλωσιν.

(*b*) Rom. vi. 5.

ἀκριβῶς τὸ σύμφυτον τέθεικεν· τῶν γὰρ συμπεφυτευμένων πρέμνων εἰς ταὐτὸ ἐνοῦται πολλάκις ἡ φύσις διὰ τῆς κολλήσεως...

καλῶς δὲ εἶπεν τὸ ΣΥΜΦΥΤΟΙ, περί τε νεκρώσεως καὶ ζωοποιήσεως διαλεγόμενος· ἐπειδὴ καὶ τῶν φυτῶν ἴδιόν ἐστιν τὸ νεκροῦσθαι μὲν ἐν τῇ φυτείᾳ, μεθίστασθαι δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ κρεῖττον...

(*c*) Rom. vii. 5.

ὅΤΕ ΓΑΡ (φησὶν) ΗΜΕΝ ΕΝ ΤΗ ΣΑΡΚΙ· ἀντὶ τοῦ 'ἐν τῷ νόμῳ.'

ὅΤΕ ΗΜΕΝ ΕΝ ΤΗ ΣΑΡΚΙ· ἀντὶ τοῦ 'ὅτε ἦμεν θνητοί,' ἐν σαρκὶ λέγων τὸ εἶναι θνητούς.

(*d*) Rom. vii. 8.

Ἡ ΑΜΑΡΤΙΑ ΑΝΕΖΗΣΕΝ ... εἰ δὲ ἀνέζησεν, δῆλον ὅτι ἔζη ποτέ...πότε οὖν ἔζη; ὅτε εἰληφότα τὸν Ἀδὰμ ἐντολὴν καὶ εἰδότα...κατηγωνίσατο ὁ διάβολος.

φησὶν· ΕΓΩ ΔΕ ΕΖΩΝ ΧΩΡΙΣ ΝΟΜΟΥ ΠΟΤΕ, περὶ τοῦ Ἀδὰμ λέγων.

(*e*) Rom. vii. 22.

τῷ ΕΥΡΙΣΚΩ ΤΟΝ ΝΟΜΟΝ λείπει τὸ 'δυσκατόρθωτον.' φησὶν γάρ...'εὑρίσκω τὸν ν. δυσκατόρθωτόν μοι θέλοντι ποιεῖν τὸ καλόν. ΠΑΡΑΚΕΙΤΑΙ γάρ μοι ἑτοιμότερα τὰ κακὰ πρὸς τὸ ποιεῖν αὐτά [Cr. τὰ ἑτοιμ. τὰ κατά, κ.τ.λ.].'

κατὰ διαίρεσιν ἀναγνωστέον· ΕΥΡΙΣΚΩ, κ.τ.λ., εἶτα ἐξῆς· ΟΤΙ ΕΜΟΙ ΤΟ ΚΑΚΟΝ ΠΑΡΑΚΕΙΤΑΙ...λέγει γὰρ ὅτι κατὰ μὲν τὴν ψυχὴν χρήσιμος ὁ νόμος, παιδεύων αὐτὴν ἐφίεσθαι τοῦ καλοῦ... τὴν περὶ τὸ ἁμαρτάνειν δὲ ἡμῶν εὐκολίαν οὐδαμῶς δύναται ἀφελεῖν.

(*f*) Rom. viii. 19, sq.[1]

ὑπόνοιαν δὲ τοῖς πολλοῖς δίδωσιν τὰ γεγραμμένα ὡς ἔμψυχός ἐστιν ἡ ὀρωμένη κτίσις, καὶ λογικήν τινα ἔχειν αἴσθησιν ὁ κόσμος...οὐχ οὕτως δὲ ἔχει· ἀλλὰ τὰς

ἓν σῶμα τὴν συμπᾶσαν κτίσιν ἐποίησεν ὁ θεός· ὅθεν καὶ κόσμος λέγεται πάντα (1 Cor. iv. 9)...ἐφεστᾶσιν δὲ αὐτοῖς [sc. τοῖς φαινομένοις] αἱ νοηταὶ

[1] The fragments on Rom. viii. 24, ix. 3, ascribed to Diodore in Cramer vi. 142, 162, are in Mai's MS. (*Spicil. Rom.* iv.) assigned to Theodore. Fritzsche prints them as Theodore's, rightly I do not doubt.

DIODORE.	THEODORE.
ἐφεστηκυίας αὐταῖς (*leg.* αὐτοῖς) [φησὶν] δυνάμεις τὰς ταγείσας παρὰ θεοῦ διέπειν τὴν κτίσιν κατὰ τὴν τοῦ δημιουργοῦ βούλησιν, κατὰ τὸ γεγραμμένον ... ΕΣΤΗΣΕΝ ΟΡΙΑ ΕΘΝΩΝ ΚΑΤΑ ΑΡΙΘΜΟΝ ΑΓΓΕΛΩΝ ΘΕΟΥ (Deut. xxxii. 8). ...τῆς ὑλώδους φύσεως δεδουλωμένης τῷ πονηρῷ...αἱ ταγεῖσαι ἐπὶ τῇ εὐταξίᾳ τῆς κτίσεως δυνάμεις στενάζουσιν καὶ ὠδίνουσιν, καὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν τοῦ φθορώπου διαμένουσιν.	φύσεις, πρὸς τὸ ἡμῖν ὠφέλιμον αὐτὰ κινοῦσαι.
	ἐσκυθρώπαζον αἱ νοηταὶ δυνάμεις ἐπὶ τοῖς γιγνομένοις ...τί οὖν ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐγένετο; ἔφησεν αὐτοῖς ὁ κύριος ὡς ποιήσει τὴν καθ' ἡμᾶς διόρθωσιν....ταύτην δεξάμενοι τὴν ὑπόσχεσιν ηὐθύμουν.

In five of these specimens Theodore appears to have seized the idea presented by Diodore, but to have worked it out in a characteristic manner; in (*c*) he has distinctly set aside his master's interpretation in favour of one which fits in with his own more elaborate system of theology. Whether the coincidences are due to a direct use of Diodore's commentary or to recollections of his teaching, it is impossible to ascertain; but their very partial character encourages the belief that Theodore's work is far from being a mere echo of either.

Question of his indebtedness to Pelagius.

The relation which Theodore's commentary bears to the brief notes now generally ascribed to Pelagius, is perplexing. There are passages in the latter where it seems difficult to deny the influence of Theodore, unless we assume either that Theodore had seen the work of Pelagius, or that they drew from a common source[1]. Compare the following extracts:

PELAGIUS.	THEODORE.
(*a*) Gal. ii. 2.	
"*ne forte*...hoc non est dubitantis."	"nam quod dicitur *ne quoquo modo*, non dubitationis causa dicitur."
(*b*) Gal. ii. 10.	
"*pauperum*...quorum bona fuerant a Iudaeis inuasa, sicut legimus ad Hebraeos."	"eo quod illos qui Christo credebant tunc Iudaei...propriis rebus nudare more tyrannorum properabant."

[1] Origen, or more probably, Diodore. But see above p. lxxii. On the other hand Pelagius and Theodore are sometimes directly opposed; cf. Th. on 2 Tim. ii. 20, where Pel. says: "magnam domum non ecclesiam dicit, ut quidam putant, quae non habet maculam," &c.

PELAGIUS.	THEODORE.
(*c*) Gal. iii. 20.	
"*in manu mediatoris;* siue Moysi[s] ut quidam putant...nam et Moyses (aiunt) inter Deum et populum medius fuit."	"*in manu mediatoris* Moysi dicit. ...Moyses quidem Dei et hominum illorum qui legem accipiebant mediator erat."
(*d*) Eph. i. 20.	
"quia unum est iam cum Deo assumptus homo."	"de suscepto homine id dicens, eo quod propter inhabitantem in eum naturam Dei Verbi ab omnibus habet adorari."
(*e*) Phil. i. 1.	
"hic 'episcopos' presbyteros intellegimus; non enim in una urbe plures episcopi esse potuissent."	"'episcopos' dixit illos qui nunc presbyteri dicuntur; nec enim ordinis erat multos in una ciuitate esse illos, qui nunc episcopi nuncupantur."
(*f*) Phil. ii. 6, sq.	
"multi praeterea hunc locum ita intellegunt quod secundum diuinitatem se humiliauit Christus...*formam serui*, hoc est, naturam hominis inducendo [induendo?]...*semetipsum exinaniuit;* quod erat, 'humilitate celauit.'"	"Deus Verbum talia sponte fecisse uidebatur ita ut pro aliorum salute praehonorandam omnibus existimaret humilitatem." "*formam* autem *serui*, ut dicat 'naturam serui,' humanam sic uocans naturam." τὸ οὖν ἑαυτὸν ἐκένωσεν, ἀντὶ τοῦ οὐκ ἔδειξεν ἑαυτόν...τὴν ἀξίαν ἐκείνην ἀπέκρυψεν.
(*g*) Phil. ii. 10.	
"ut omnes simul hominem adorent cum Verbo assumptum."	"ut omnes illum adorent...propter illam copulationem quam habet ad Unigenitum."
(*h*) Col. i. 15.	
"*primogenitus* secundum assumpti hominis formam non tempore sed honore, iuxta illud: *filius meus primogenitus Israel.*"	"et alibi: *filius meus primogenitus Israel*, hoc est, 'honorabilis mihi'... sic et hoc in loco quod dixerat: *primogenitus totius creaturae*, hoc est, 'super omnem creaturam honorabilis.'"
(*i*) 1 Tim. iii. 1.	
"ad boni operis desiderium eum prouocat, non ad honorem."	"bene *opus* dixit et non 'dignitatem.'"

PELAGIUS.	THEODORE.
(*f*) Tit. i. 7.	
"ipsum dicit *episcopum* quem superius presbyterum nominauit."	"nam dum dicit: *ut constituas... presbyteros*, et de presbyteris disputans adiecit: *oportet enim episcopum*," &c.

Several of these comments, indeed, are found also in S. Chrysostom, and one or two in other and earlier Greek writers, from whom Pelagius may have borrowed them. But it is not so easy to account for the coincidences in the doctrinal statements marked (*d*), (*f*) [in part], (*g*), and (*h*). The last of these, in particular, advances a view denounced by Chrysostom, and, as far as I know, peculiar in their own age to Pelagius and Theodore. Moreover, in both commentaries it is supported by a reference to Exod. iv. 22. Now the commentary of Pelagius is known to have been written before the year 410, and while he was yet at Rome, where Theodore's work would scarcely have reached him, even if it had then been made public. It seems more probable that Theodore was here and there indebted to Pelagius. The latter took up his abode in Palestine soon after the publication of his commentary; and from Palestine the book might have been conveyed to Antioch and Mopsuestia. That Theodore possessed some acquaintance with Latin is not unlikely, and indeed is suggested by his commentary on 2 Tim. iv. 13, where he traces the word μεμβράνας to the Latin original.

Theodoret's obligations to Theodore.

But whether or not he borrowed anything from the pages of Diodore and Pelagius, it is unquestionable that Theodore himself found at least one almost contemporary expositor to tread closely in his steps. Long before the appearance of Cramer's *Catenae* and Pitra's *Spicilegium*, Richard Simon expressed his conviction that Theodoret had consulted Theodore as well as Chrysostom[1]. This is now placed beyond a doubt. The Bishop of Cyrrhus followed the Bishop of Mopsuestia far more nearly than the latter followed the Bishop of Tarsus. Abundant examples have been given in the notes, and it would be superfluous to repeat them here. But two remarks are necessary to indicate the nature and extent of the imitation. (i) It seldom if ever amounts to a verbal reproduction. Theodoret recasts

[1] *Histoire critique*, &c. (1693) p. 314: "je ne doute point qu'il n'ait aussi consulté les commentaires de Theodore de Mopsueste." Cf. Klener, *symb. liter. ad Th. Ant.* p. 21.

Theodore's matter in his own words; and though his commentary often supplies a key to the meaning of the translation, where the latter is obscured by the bungling of the translator or the mistakes of copyists, it would usually be unsafe to attempt the restoration of Theodore's Greek from the pages of his pupil. (ii) It is not indiscriminate. Theodoret, whose commentary was perhaps written after the Council of Ephesus, holds aloof from the speculations of Theodore when they would have led him away from the Catholic faith. This will be clear from a comparison of the two commentaries in almost any crucial passage, e.g. Phil. ii. 6, sq.; Col. i. 13, sq.; 1 Tim. iii. 16. Even in matters unconnected with doctrine Theodoret shews himself capable of steering his own course, although he professes to be but a humble follower of "the holy fathers."

§ ii.

Theodore as a Commentator on S. Paul compared with (a) Origen.

A few words may be added as to the position which Theodore occupies amongst extant ancient commentators upon the Epistles of S. Paul.

(*a*) Theodore's long and earnest attack upon the allegorists (comm. on Gal. iv. 24, *infra*, pp. 73—76), coupled with his well known sentiments as to the allegorical method of exegesis, differentiates him at once from Origen; and this presumption is borne out, as we have seen, by the actual divergence of their lines of interpretation. Our author seldom or never rises into the sphere of the mystical. He is penetrated by the same spirit of grammatical precision, but he lacks both the critical discernment and the spiritual power of Origen. Yet he speaks with more authority than the great Alexandrian; he takes a more definite aim. Origen approaches the sacred text as a seeker after truth; Theodore, as one who has already found the key of knowledge and who, thus furnished, proceeds to unlock the treasures of S. Paul's teaching with almost entire confidence in the result.

(*b*) S. Chrysostom and Theodoret.

(*b*) With S. Chrysostom and Theodoret Theodore naturally has much in common; and the three principal representatives of the exegetical school of Antioch agree, as we have seen, both in their treatment of many crucial passages, and in their general style. Nevertheless, each has a sphere and a manner of his own. The homiletic character of S. Chrysostom's expositions, manifested even in his formal commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians, is

altogether absent from those of his friend. In the work before us there are no impassioned appeals, no homethrusts at the conscience of hearers or readers, and comparatively few discursive references to prevailing heresies and to the customs of the age. Though by no means free from a tendency to ramble, Theodore aims more directly than S. Chrysostom at the character of a commentator proper. Theodoret on the other hand holds a middle place between the commentator and the compiler. He is neither homiletic nor discursive; he does not blindly follow either of his guides; sometimes he chooses between them when they disagree, sometimes he rejects both. His notes are usually good and pointed, but they are notes merely[1]; we desiderate in him the originality, the courage, and in places the fulness and thoroughness of his master. Theodore is less safe than Theodoret, less amenable to the restraints of authority, less terse in style, often less clear; but he is vastly the superior of the latter in genius and in expository power. Among the three Antiochenes, if S. Chrysostom is the type of the homilist, and Theodoret of the annotator, Theodore may, in spite of his many faults of style and partial views of the Truth, fairly claim the title which a large section of Eastern Christendom has assigned to him. It is his one aim and purpose to be S. Paul's 'Interpreter.'

(c) Ambrosiaster and S. Jerome.

(*c*) Two Latin commentaries of a somewhat earlier date offer points of comparison with the present work. The writer known as Ambrosiaster, who, whatever his real name and position in the Church, stands in the forefront of ancient Western expositors, resembles Theodore in so far as he is an acute observer of the words and the drift of the sacred text, and follows the historical rather than the allegorical or mystical method of interpretation. Like Theodore, too, he is rich in apposite illustrations drawn from other portions of Scripture. But he is briefer, weightier, less discursive, less systematic, than the Greek commentator; whilst on the other hand Theodore throws more individuality into his work, aims more constantly at presenting a connected view of the Apostle's thought and teaching, and uses with considerable judgment the advantage which he possesses of free access to the Greek text of the Epistles.

We possess commentaries by S. Jerome on four of the ten Epistles represented in the Latin Theodore. In vigour of language

[1] Cf. his preface: *συντομίας δὲ ὅτι μάλιστα φροντιῶ.*

and in varied and massive learning he is unquestionably superior to the Bishop of Mopsuestia. But Jerome lays no claim to originality, or rather he repudiates the claim at the very outset of his commentary on the Galatians. His work is a digest of his vast reading, principally based, as he tells us, on the labours of Origen. The whole is doubtless moulded and coloured by his own genius, and is thus placed above the level of a mere compilation. But it is the product of a scholar's erudition, rather than of an independent interpreter's thought; and this fact alone distinguishes Jerome's commentaries from Theodore's. The latter makes no display of learning, and scarce ever refers to other writers except for the purpose of refuting their views. He aims at expounding S. Paul, rather than at illustrating him; he brings little to his task beyond a particular method and a system of doctrine; he trusts to his author to supply the rest. The result is not a learned commentary, but a thoughtful exposition. Each has its place in the exegetical literature of the Church; and whilst we could ill afford to lose the ripe fruits of S. Jerome's prodigious industry, they are far from rendering the expository work of Theodore superfluous, even where the two commentators have travelled over the same ground.

VI.

DOCTRINAL SYSTEM OF THEODORE AS EXHIBITED IN HIS EXPOSITION OF S. PAUL.

The doctrinal peculiarities of Theodore have been treated at some length by Neander and Dorner[1]. It does not lie within the province of this Introduction to attempt a complete examination of his system of theology, although with the increased materials which we now possess such a work might perhaps be profitably undertaken. My present business is to collect and arrange the outlines of Theodore's doctrine so far as it is developed in his commentaries upon the Pauline Epistles.

(i) The Godhead, he teaches, is incorporeal (Phil. iii. 3)[2], Doctrine of God.

[1] Neander *Ch. H.*, IV. 107 sq., 409, sq., 430 sq. Dorner, *Person of Christ*, ii. 1. 28—51, notes, p. 380 sq.

[2] The references relate to Theodore's commentary upon the passages in question. The fragments on Rom. 1 and 2 Cor. and Hebr. may be found either in Fritzsche or in Migne *P. G.* 66.

uncircumscribed (Eph. i. 22, 23), invisible (Col. i. 15), immutable (1 Tim. i. 11; vi. 16). In the Old Testament the Name of God represents the Divine Essence (Heb. i. 12); the Gospel reveals the Persons of the Son and of the Holy Ghost as distinct from the Person of the Father although in essence inseparable from Him (Eph. iv. 6). The coequal and consubstantial Deity of the Word (Phil. ii. 7; 1 Thess. i. 10) is firmly and repeatedly maintained; and the Holy Spirit, if less frequently, is not less directly declared to be Very God (Eph. vi. 17). (ii) The κόσμος, which Theodore identifies with Creation (Rom. viii. 19; 1 Cor. ii. 12), is regarded as an organic body, whose members are partly rational and invisible, partly visible and objects of sense. Originally (Rom. viii. 19; Eph. i. 10), this body, notwithstanding the diversity of its component parts, was at peace within itself. Angels, the invisible and intelligent powers of creation, were entrusted with the administration of the visible universe, which they moved and controlled in the interests of man (Eph. i. 10; ii. 2; Col. i. 16). Man, made of elements belonging to both sides of creation, was designed to be a bond of union internal to the κόσμος, knitting together in his single nature its opposite factors (Rom. viii. 19; Eph. i. 10; Col. i. 16), to the intent that the universe might with one accord serve its Creator and obey His laws. (iii) In man as he came from the hands of God there was already the germ of possible disunion, since he was from the first liable to death (Gal. ii. 15, 16). Yet he might have continued immortal by continuing obedient (Gal. i. 4). Death, as a matter of fact, supervened in consequence of Adam's disobedience (Rom. viii. 19; Eph. i. 10; Col. i. 16). Two results followed from our fall. (*a*) The union of the visible creation with the invisible was dissolved by the separation of body and soul in man. The angels were alienated from man, both by reason of his decline from God Whom they still obeyed, and because the material side of his nature no longer preserved its oneness with the spiritual. Thus their control over the visible world, hitherto exercised for man's advantage, was in danger of being abandoned, and the harmony of the κόσμος completely broken up (Rom. viii. 19; Eph. i. 10; Col. i. 16). (*b*) With regard to man himself, the ingress of mortality gave occasion to ever fresh acts of disobedience, for it introduced a new state of being—this present mortal life (Gal. i. 4), in which perfection is impossible. Mortality gives rise to weakness and mutability

Man and the κόσμος.

Man's fall.

(Gal. vi. 1), ministers to our passions and appetites, and in manifold ways furnishes facilities for sin (Rom. vii. 14, 17, 18; Gal. ii. 15, 16; Eph. ii. 10). Thus as death came into the world by sin, so is sin the consequence of our mortality (Eph. i. 7; iv. 22; *et passim*); and in this sense Adam's sin and death are inherited by the whole race (Rom. v. 13). It is this mortal state with the constant liability to sin which it entails, which S. Paul frequently designates the 'flesh' (Rom. vii. 5, 14; Gal. ii. 20; v. 15); not intending by that term to accuse our nature (Rom. xiii. 14), but indicating its present subjection to the reign of death.

Man's restoration.

(iv) Since the Fall dissolved the unity of the κόσμος by introducing death into the nature of man, no remedial system would have been complete which fell short of restoring man to a sinless immortality. Now the Mosaic Law was obviously inadequate for this work (Rom. v. 13; Gal. ii. 15; iv. 24), in the face of our natural weakness and mortality (Rom. viii. 3); whilst in a sinless and deathless state its prohibitions would be useless, and its ritual impossible (Gal. i. 4; iii. 13, 14). Its office, therefore, was simply preparatory and pædagogic; it detected and condemned sin; it taught virtue; it led men to expect a Deliverer; it trained the Jewish race to be the first evangelists of the world (Rom. vii. 7, 19; x. 14, 15; Gal. iii. 23, 24; Eph. ii. 10). To restore man, to restore in man the harmony of creation, nothing less was necessary than a reconstitution of the κόσμος; a gathering together anew of all things under a new Head, who must be at once a sinless and immortal man, and indissolubly united to God (Eph. i. 10; Col. i. 16).

Person of CHRIST.

(v) The hope of this restoration, inspired by the Law and the Prophets, was in due season (Eph. i. 10) realized by the Advent of Christ. In Jesus of Nazareth (Heb. i. 9) the invisible Word, the Only Begotten of the Father, manifested Himself, dwelling in the Man, and inseparably united to him (Col. i. 16; 1 Tim. iii. 16). The Man Christ—for in S. Paul's Epistles the word *Christ* frequently represents the human nature (Eph. i. 7, 8, 15, 16), although it may also include the idea of the indwelling Deity (Phil. ii. 8) —the Man Christ is thus the visible image of the invisible Godhead (Col. i. 15); and on account of his union with the true Son of God, he possesses the privileges of a unique adoption, so that to him also the title of Son of God belongs (Gal. iv. 5; Col. i. 13). Moreover, for the same reason, he is "the first-born of every creature," *i.e.* he takes precedence of the whole

of that new creation which he has inaugurated, and in the future world he will be adored by all (Gal. iii. 27, 28; Eph. i. 10, 20; Phil. ii. 10, 11). The assumption of human flesh by God the Word is a reality; the visible Christ was no phantom; the "form of a servant" signifies our human nature, as "the form of God" signifies the Nature of God; the "likeness of man" in which Our Lord was formed was true Man (Phil. ii. 7; 1 Tim. iii. 16; 2 Tim. ii. 8). But if it be asked in what sense God dwelt in this Man, we must reply that it was by a special disposition towards him, a disposition of entire complacency (Eph. i. 22, 23; iv. 9). God, in His uncircumscribed Nature and Essence, fills the universe, nay, is all in all; in Christ, He dwells in the Person of the Word by a moral union so unexampled and complete, that the Divine Word and the Humanity which He assumed are constantly regarded as being One person (Rom. i. 2—3; Phil. ii. 8; 1 Tim. iii. 16). (vi) The Man who thus became the habitation of God the Word received at his Baptism the further indwelling of God the Holy Ghost, by Whose power he wrought miracles, attained to moral perfection, and accomplished all that was necessary for the salvation of mankind (1 Tim. iii. 16). At length He submitted to death, in such wise however that the indwelling Godhead was not exposed to the contact of mortality (Heb. ii. 9 [χωρὶς θεοῦ]). The *Man* died, both because death is an accident of humanity (Phil. ii. 8), and also with the Divinely foreseen purpose of paying the debt which was due to the Law on the score of human sin (Gal. iii. 12; iv. 4—5), of vanquishing the Devil and delivering mankind from his grasp (Eph. iv. 8), and of securing for the race a sinless immortality (Rom. viii. 3; Eph. i. 7; ii. 13, 16; Col. ii. 11). He died that He might rise from the dead, and conquer death (Gal. v. 11). Our nature died in Him and rose again (Rom. vi. 6; Col. ii. 14; iii. 3); He is the first-fruits of risen humanity, "the firstborn from the dead" (Eph. i. 6; Col. i. 18). Such is the power of His resurrection that it will effectuate the resurrection of all mankind (Phil. iii. 10), and thus reunite creation, rent asunder by human mortality (Col. i. 20; ii. 15). (vii) Christ, Himself united to God, unites believers to Himself in the community of His Body, the Church. Not only by sharing our nature, but by imparting to us His Spirit, He enters into a close relationship with us, like that of the head to the members or of the husband to the wife (1 Cor. xi. 3; Gal. iii. 29; Eph. i. 22, 23; ii. 6; iii. 19; iv. 15, 16; v. 23, sq.).

Work of CHRIST.

The Church, the Sacraments, and the Christian life.

This ineffable union (Eph. v. 32) is brought about by the Spirit of Christ in the spiritual regeneration of Baptism (Rom. vi. 17; xiii. 14; Gal. ii. 15, 16; v. 25; Eph. i. 23; iv. 4, 22—24; Col. i. 18; Tit. iii. 6), which is at once a type and symbol of our fellowship in the Death and Resurrection of the Lord (Rom. vi. 17; Gal. ii. 15, 16; Eph. i. 23), an incorporation into the Church or congregation of the faithful (Rom. xiii. 14; Eph. i. 22, 23; iv. 4, 16; Col. i. 18), and a new birth into that immortal and sinless life into which Christ Himself has passed (Gal. ii. 15, 16, &c.). It is not, however, the water of Baptism which draws down upon the baptized this gift of grace in its fulness, but the faith of the receiver; the Holy Spirit will not rest on any who receive this Sacrament without the proper dispositions (1 Tim. iii. 2), and thus, whether baptized in infancy or in riper age, the members of Christ must be careful to live according to the grace they have received (Rom. vi. 17; Col. ii. 15; 1 Tim. iii. 2). Baptism apart from effort and diligence will not produce the fruits of virtue, even if it may be said to convey the remission of sins (1 Tim. iii. 6). Nevertheless, great are the blessings of Baptism; without it we cannot receive the Holy Spirit (1 Tim. iii. 6); in it we obtain the first gift of His grace, the firstfruits and earnest of the immortal life which we are hereafter to share with Christ (Gal. iii. 13, 14; Eph. i. 13, 14; 22, 23; Col. ii. 12; 1 Thess. iv. 8). The Holy Spirit, Who is the Spirit of the Son, yet co-essential and co-eternal with the Father (Rom. viii. 11), Who anointed the Man Christ at His Baptism (Heb. i. 9) and Whose grace was received by Him for man at His Ascension (Eph. iv. 9), is the Agent of our entire restoration, from the new birth of the font to the final entrance on eternal life (Rom. viii. 2; Gal. ii. 15, 16; *et passim*). In the present state (§ iii. *b*) the regenerate occupy a kind of border-land between two worlds, the present and the future (Gal. ii. 15, 16; iii. 20; v. 25). By virtue of our regeneration and union with Christ we have already passed into the future life (Gal. v. 24); we already enjoy the adoption of sons, which consists in the gift of immortality (Rom. viii. 15: Gal. iii. 27, 28; iv. 5); we already possess the sanctifying power of the Spirit (1 Cor. vi. 11). Yet at present we are sons of God by anticipation rather than in actual fruition (Rom. viii. 15; Gal. ii. 16); we are infants in the life of the Spirit (Rom. viii. 15; Gal. ii. 16); we are justified only by faith. Justification by the works of the law or by works of any kind is impossible, by reason of the weakness of our mortal

state; it can be obtained only through the grace of the Spirit, and in its perfection it belongs to that future world which our faith contemplates, and where we hope to be free from all mutability and death (Rom. ix. 32, 33; Gal. ii. 13, 16; iv. 24; Tit. iii. 6, 7). Meanwhile, through the operation of the Holy Spirit, we are enabled to mould our mortal life into an imitation of the deathless state into which we have been symbolically admitted (Rom. vi. 12—14; Tit. ii. 13, 14). Frequent Communion, preceded by a careful examination of the mind, is incumbent on all who seek this end. In the Holy Mysteries the faithful receive [the Body and] Blood of Christ, present therein by virtue of a spiritual change. All the benefits which result from the Death of the Lord are thus conveyed to penitent recipients, especially the forgiveness of past sins, however great, and the co-operation of the Spirit in their endeavours to attain to amendment of life (1 Cor. x. 3—5; xi. 28, 34). Nothing but deadly and habitual sin should deter the baptized from this most fruitful means of grace.

The Last Things.

(viii) The παρουσία is the great hope of the Church and of creation (Col. iii. 4; 1 Thess. ii. 19). Our Lord's mission is repeatedly represented by S. Paul as finding its realization in the future life (Gal. iii. 23; Eph. i. 3, 4; ii. 7). When He appears, the work of the Spirit will attain its perfection. Then will have come the moment of our truer regeneration (Gal. iv. 24). By the power of the Spirit the body will be raised, and endowed with immortality (Rom. viii. 2; Gal. iii. 3; vi. 18; Eph. i. 4; Phil. i. 19); our adoption (Rom. viii. 19; Gal. iii. 27, 28) and our translation into the Kingdom of the Adopted Son (Col. i. 13) will then at length be perfected. Further, we shall be set free from the vicissitudes of mortality, and thenceforth guarded by the full indwelling of the Spirit from the possibility of a relapse (Gal. ii. 15, 16). We shall then need no law, because being immortal we shall no longer be in danger of falling into sin (Rom. v. 17; ix. 32, 33; 1 Cor. xv. 56; Gal. iv. 1—3; v. 17; Eph. i. 18; Col. i. 22; iii. 5; 1 Tim. i. 9). Nor will our blessedness be merely negative; the perpetual presence in us of the Spirit of grace will be the pledge of all good things (Gal. iv. 29; Eph. i. 13, 14). Union with Christ and with God, union in Christ and in God with our fellowmen and with all creation, enjoyment of the Divine glory, an insatiable love of virtue and the power to attain to it without pain or toil, an eternal abode with Christ in Heaven—these are amongst the elements of the perfection

which is synonymous with our restoration to immortality (Rom. xi. 15; Eph. i. 3, 13, 14, 22, 23; Phil. iii. 15; Col. i. 28; iii. 14). (ix) This, then, is what S. Paul understands by *salvation* (Rom. viii. 24; xiii. 11). But is this salvation, this future restoration of man in Christ, to be co-extensive with the present reign of sin and death? In the intention and will of God it doubtless is so (Rom. v. 15; Gal. iv. 24); for Christ appeared in the common nature of all men and died for all alike (1 Tim. ii. 6; iii. 16). Yet when He returns, He will come as a Judge, to administer punishment as well as to distribute rewards (Rom. ii. 17; Eph. ii. 5; 2 Thess. i. 8; 1 Tim. v. 23; Heb. x. 26); and this punishment Scripture calls *perdition* (Eph. ii. 5), and represents as not temporary, but eternal (2 Thess. i. 9). Whence then this ultimate difference between man and man? Our predestination must be ascribed to the mercy and grace of God (Eph. i. 4, 5; 2 Tim. i. 9). Though man has a moral nature which knows and approves what is good (Rom. ii. 15; Gal. ii. 15—16; Phil. iv. 8), and a free will to direct his choice (Eph. i. 13—14); yet his will is disabled by the weakness of a mortal nature from steadily pursuing virtue (Eph. ii. 10), and needs the guidance of revelation and the grace of the Spirit (Rom. vii. 19; Gal. ii. 15—16; 2 Tim. i. 7; Tit. iii. 6—7). The Love of God foreknew who would use His grace aright, and has elected them to receive it; of this election faith and Baptism are the tokens and fruits (Rom. ix. 10; 1 Thess. i. 5; 2 Tim. ii. 19; Tit. i. 1—4.) But concurrence and co-operation are necessary on the part of the elect (Phil. ii. 13; Col. i. 5), and much is left to our own free choice and effort (Gal. v. 18; 2 Tim. ii. 21); whilst the reward of future glory will in each case bear a direct proportion to the faith and labours of the recipient (Phil. i. 19; 1 Tim. vi. 19).

Predestination, Grace, and Free will.

Few if any of these lines of dogmatic teaching have been brought to light by the recovery of Theodore's commentary on the minor Epistles. The extensive fragments of his expositions of Genesis the Gospels and the Epistle to the Romans had already made us acquainted with his doctrine of the Fall and Restoration of Man, the work of the Holy Spirit, the Church, the Sacraments and the Christian life. His Christology was well known from the *Symbolum* and the treatise on the Incarnation; his teaching as to Predestination Grace and Freewill had been less distinctly gathered, partly from hints dropt here and there throughout his remains,

How far the present commentary adds to our acquaintance with Theodore's system of doctrine.

partly from the representations of his enemies. I have usually been able to illustrate the doctrinal statements of the text from one or other of these sources: and it will be observed that the author himself frequently refers to some earlier work, especially to his commentary upon the great dogmatic Epistle to the Romans. But if Cardinal Pitra's discovery does not add much to the extent of our knowledge of Theodore's doctrinal system, at least it enables us to verify previous impressions and to fill up missing links, by presenting the whole in a more continuous form than it assumes elsewhere. The commentary on the minor Prophets is the only other work of the great Interpreter which remains in its integrity; and it is of comparatively little dogmatic interest. Hitherto our view of his teaching has been chiefly drawn from fragments the preservation of which is due to the arbitrary choice of catenists or to the *animus* of bitter opponents. In this work at length Theodore speaks for himself without interruption; and the subject compels him to traverse almost the whole field of Christian doctrine.

Remarks on Theodore's position as a teacher.

The relation of Theodore's doctrine to the teaching of the Church on the one hand, and of various heretical leaders on the other, has been too often discussed to need any fresh examination here. I shall content myself with calling attention to two points which have been impressed upon me by the study of the present Commentary.

His departures from the faith of the Catholic Church unconscious.

(i) That Theodore's teaching, or rather perhaps the Antiochene theology of which he was the ripest exponent, contained in itself the germs of manifold departures from the Catholic faith, it is impossible to doubt. A suggestive writer in the *Church Quarterly Review* (Oct. 1875) has pointed out that some of the most recent developments of unbelief are but the working out of principles enunciated in the fifth century by the Bishop of Mopsuestia; and the connexion which the reviewer has traced between "Theodore and Modern Thought" might be found in other tendencies besides those which he has noticed. Nevertheless, every accession to our knowledge of Theodore, and this not the least, adds strength to the conviction that he was entirely unconscious of deviating from the doctrine of the Catholic Church. So far is he from being a wilful heretic, that it is the very vigour of his opposition to recognized heresies which leads him astray. His Christology is meant to be a safeguard against Apollinarianism; his sympathy with Pelagius arises from a dread of fatalism; his rejection

of much of the prophetic and typical import of the Holy Scriptures is due to an excessive jealousy for their literal truth. Of all that the Church had declared to be of faith, he was the staunch defender; and it is characteristic of his honest belief in the Nicene doctrines that he is said to have converted to the Catholic Church the Arian population of his diocese. But where the Church had not spoken, he conceived himself free to speculate or to reproduce the speculations of his school, little dreaming that in these wanderings of his restless mind across the frontier of ascertained truth he was treading on dangerous and hereafter to be forbidden ground.

Source of his errors of doctrine.

(ii) His errors are mainly due to an imperfect realization of the nature and extent of human sin. With Theodore sin is a weakness rather than a disease, a negative rather than a positive evil. Mortality is the great enemy of man, the recovery of immortality is his greatest hope; death is the sting of sin, rather than sin of death. With the true estimate of the evil of sin, the necessity for an actual Incarnation of the Eternal Word disappears; a man indissolubly united to God through the permanent indwelling of the Word suffices for the work of vanquishing death. The present forgiveness of sins is not ignored in Theodore's system, for it already had its place in the ancient symbols; but this article of the faith is almost pushed out of view by the hope of the resurrection life. The Pauline doctrine of justification by faith resolves itself into the fact of the believer's daily struggle towards perfection; the Sacrifice of the Cross is principally regarded as a necessary step in the transition of the Second Adam from mortality to the immortal and immutable. Even the work of the Holy Spirit, into which Theodore enters with remarkable fulness, finds its crowning glory in the resurrection of the body and the consequences of the resurrection; the sinlessness of the future life is secondary in his view to its perfect freedom from change and death. It is not that he does not attach due importance to the moral side of human nature; his constant assertion of the ἀντεξούσιον abundantly proves the contrary. But he fails to recognize the depth of its spiritual disease; and this failure affects his entire conception of the restorative system which is revealed throughout the New Testament, and in no part of it more distinctly than in the Epistles of S. Paul.

THEODORUS MOPSUESTENUS

IN EPISTOLAM B. PAULI

AD GALATAS.

ARGUMENTUM.*

BEATUS apostolus Paulus fidem quae in Christo est euangelizans uenit ad gentem Galatarum; quos et per gratiam sancti Spiritus ita sua inluminauit doctrina, ut etiam credentes non modo baptizarentur, sed etiam sancti Spiritus gratiam ad instar ceterorum fidelium adsequerentur. quidam uero ex Iudaeis qui Christo crediderant, praua ducti aemulatione, multam sollicitudinem expendebant ad hoc ut suaderent illis qui ex gentibus crediderant etiam legis seruare mandata. est autem argumentum huius epistolae plurima in parte concordans in illis quae in secunda ad Corinthios epistola expressa esse uidentur, si quis tamen eius argumentum ueraciter cum istius epistolae argumento comparare uoluerit. uenerunt ergo hi et ad gentem Galatarum, plurimum derogantes apostolum Paulum, cupientes

* INCIPIT . ARGUMTVM . IN EPISTOLA BEATI PAVLI APOSTOLI AD GALATHAS EXPOSITUM A BEATO AMBROSIO EPISCOPO *C* 4 modo *om H* 9 conc. illis *C* (*corr*) [cf. p. 51, l. 1] 12 argumentum *C** *H* | et hi *H*

4. *s. Spiritus gratiam*] Card. Pitra: "in primis intendit uisionum dona ac uirtutum quas primaeui fideles miris modis exercebant." See the comm. on Gal. iv. 6, 2 Thess. ii. 6. Th. however lays great stress on the ordinary operations of the Holy Spirit; see on Gal. iii. 2, 3, Eph. i. 14, 23 &c.

11. *cum istius epist. arg.*] Comp. Dr Lightfoot, *Galatians* p. 44, and note: "it is interesting to find that the resemblance between the two epistles was observed by a writer as early as Theodore of Mopsuestia." Th.'s *ὑπόθεσις* to 2 Cor. is not extant; but the following, which is Thdt.'s, doubtless represents Th.'s view of that epistle: *τινὲς τῶν ἐξ Ἰουδαίων πεπιστευκότων τὴν νομικὴν ἀσπαζόμενοι πολιτείαν, πάντοσε περινοστοῦντες τὴν ἀποστολικὴν διδασκαλίαν διέβαλλον ... φυλάττειν ἅπασιν τὸν νόμον παρεγγυῶντες· ταὐτὸ δὲ τοῦτο καὶ ἐν Κορίνθῳ δεδράκασιν. γράφει τοίνυν ὁ θεῖος ἀπόστολος, κ.τ.λ.*

modis omnibus legis firmare decreta; dicentes quoniam 'nullum iuuamen ex ea fide quae in Christo est poterint credentes adsequi, si non etiam et legis Moysaicae impleuerint decreta.' dicebant enim quia et primum lex a Deo data sit ea ratione ut custodientes eam bonorum ab ea percipiamus fruitionem, utpote iusti et qui opere ipso legis impleuerimus decreta. si uero neglegendam existimauerimus esse legis custodiam, indubie diuinae subiciemur sententiae. dicebant autem et apostolos omnes qui fuerant cum Christo uehementer legis custodiam cum omni seruare diligentia. haec autem dicebant ut legis quidem auctoritatem omni uirtute augerent, gloriam uero Pauli modis omnibus abolerent; derogantes eius doctrinae ac dicentes quoniam 'non uere similis hic ceteris apostolis. nec enim est fas ut tantos relinquentes, isti uni et soli uelitis intendere.' adicientes etiam dicebant quia 'illi quidem discipuli fuerunt Christi, et cum eo per omne tempus conuersati sunt, et ab eo omni dogmatum scrupulositate sunt edocti; hic uero idem Paulus Christum nec uidere nec ab eo discere quicquam potuit, sed horum ipsorum fuit discipulus. a quo enim altero potuit discere ueritatem, postquam Christus in caelum ascendit? itaque modis omnibus conuenit non huic intendere talia docenti, sed ceteris apostolis, apud quos multa sollicitudo erga legis obseruantiam esse inuenitur.' his sermonibus suaserunt Galatis qui ex gentibus Christo crediderant, docentes eos qui a beato Paulo baptisma perceperant et diuersas gratias spiritales fuerant adsecuti ut legitimae obseruationi succumberent, in tantum ut et quidam eorum circumcisionem carnis accipere adquieuissent. quo facto apostolus de tali gestu probat ut conuenerat feruens aemulatione, scribens ad eos hanc epistolam; ad omnia quae ab aduersariis de eo dicta fuerant prudenter

2 poterant *C* (*corr*) *H* [cf. Rönsch, 294: Bensly, 72 n, 88] 3 leges *C** 5 ab eo *H* 8 ad apost. *H* 11 auctoritate in o. u. *H* 13 hic similis *H* | cet. est ap. *C* (*corr*) 17 omne d. scrupolisitate *C** omnes d. scrupulositate *C* (*corr*) 21 asc. in c. *H* 22 alia doc. *H* | et (*for* sed) *H* 24 docentes eos beato P. qui et bapt. perc. *C** detrahentes b. P. qui et bapt. ab eo perc. *C* (*corr*) 26 obseruatione *C** 28 adquiuissent *C H* | probata *C* 29 scribit *C*

21. *intendere talia docenti*] See vv. ll. The reading of *H*, if genuine, may represent the part. of *ἑτεροδιδασκαλεῖν* [=*aliter docere* 1 Tim. i. 3, vi. 3].

23. *erga*] On the use of *erga* in this translation, see the *neue Jahrbücher für Philol. u. Pädag.*, 1874, pp. 849—856.

respondens, et comprobans quod enim illa quae de se fuerant dicta uana essent. cum debita uero modestia instruxit eos ac docuit quoniam post Christi aduentum minime conueniat legis inseruire custodiae. docebit autem nos cautissime de singulis his illa interpretatio quae Deo auctore suo ordine explanabitur in subsequentibus.

I.

Paulus apostolus, non ab hominibus neque per hominem, sed per Iesum Christum, et Deum Patrem, qui suscitauit eum ex mortuis.

Diximus iam et in superioribus argumentum explicantes, quoniam aduersarii ad destructionem Pauli plurimam abusi fuissent derogationem, dummodo eius euacuarent gloriam, sicque doctrinam eius repudiare facerent. necessarium enim erat, eius opinione imminuta, simul etiam et doctrinae eius titulum aboleri. propter hoc et ipse cogitur de illis quae erga se sunt satisfacere, arguens aduersarios uniuersa fuisse mentitos. in quibus et demiratione digna est apostolica prudentia, quemadmodum sua firmans nullo in loco grauis aliquibus uisus est extitisse; sed quasi qui pro se satisfacere sit coactus, ita sub specie referentis uniuersa simpliciter et absolute dixit. quod et protinus ab ipsa praefatione custodisse repperitur. dicebant enim aduersarii discipulum eum fuisse beati Petri et ceterorum, ut praecellente illorum doctrina per omnia ab istius doctrina abscedentes, legis confirmarent obseruantiam utpote necessariam; quam etiam et ceteri apostoli ut in Iudaea commorantes ob aliorum utilitatem seruare necessario cogebantur.

1 enimuero (*for* enim) *C* (*corr*) 10 etiam (*for* iam) *H* 19 qui *om C** 22 P. et ut cet. *C** 23 praecellentem, doctrinam *C H* | eorum (*for* ill.) *H* 24 discedentes *H* 26 cogebant *H*

23. *praecellente ill. doctr.*] "On the plea that the teaching of the elder Apostles was of superior worth." Pitra wishes to restore the passage by a transposition: "et cet., praecellentem illorum doctrinam, ut per omnia" &c. The correction in the text involves a less serious departure from the MSS.

25. *in Iudaea commorantes*] Comp. Th.'s remarks in his prologue to S. John (Migne, 728), ἐπὶ πολλῷ μὲν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐνδιέτριψαν οἱ μαθηταὶ τῷ χρόνῳ, κ.τ.λ. See also the arg. to the ep. to the Ephesians (*infra*).

non dixit secundum suam consuetudinem: *Paulus apostolus Christi*, aut *Dei;* sed interiecit: *non ab hominibus, neque per hominem*, hoc est, 'sicut aduersarii dicunt.' unde illud et diuisit, dicens: *non ab hominibus, neque per hominem;* id ipsum quidem dicens, quoniam non homines apostolatus illi causa extiterat. diuidit autem illud, ut ostendat ipsa multitudine narrationis nullo modo illos uerum dixisse. denique adicit: *sed per Iesum Christum et Deum Patrem*, in commune ponens illud quod dixit *per*, id est, et in 'Patre' et in 'Iesu Christo.' non enim dixit *et a Deo Patre;* sed simpliciter: *et Deum Patrem, per Iesum Christum* pariter illud complectens. optime autem usus est et delectionem qua adicit dicens: *qui suscitauit eum ex mortuis.* nouitatem enim designare cupit futurae uitae, cuius primitiae dominica extitit resurrectio; in qua locum nullum habere potest legis obseruantia. nec enim circumcisio nec sacrificium nec temporum custodia locum ullum habere poterint tunc quando inmortalem illam uitam perceperimus per resurrectionem.

deinde quia et multitudine uolebant differentiam eius ostendere, ex comparatione scilicet ceterorum apostolorum, quasi quia et unus idem et solus sit, non debere ceteris hunc uel praehonorari vel exaequari, ait:

et qui mecum sunt omnes fratres, ecclesiis Galatiae.

3 et illud *H* 5 hominis *C H* 7 dicere *l* 8 ponens ponens *H* 9 idem (*for* id est) *C H* 10 Patre *om C* 12 dilectionem *C H* 15 obseruantiae *C H* 16 poterunt tum *C* 19 quae (*for* quia) *C* | multitudinem *C* multitudini *H* 21 quae (*for* quia) *C* | hunc cet. *H*

6. *diuidit...dixisse*] Cited by Lanfranc: "id ipsum dicens dividit ut ostendat ipsa mult. narr. n. m. illos uerum dicere."

ut ostendat ipsa mult. &c.] Chrys. regards the clause οὐδὲ δι' ἀνθρώπων (so he seems to have read it) as forming a direct contrast to ἀλλὰ διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. So Thdt.: ὁ δεσπότης οὐρανόθεν ἐκάλεσεν, οὐκ ἀνθρώπῳ χρησάμενος ὑπουργῷ. Th.'s explanation possibly is an attempt to escape from this view, which might seem to favour the Apollinarian doctrine.

8. *in commune ponens illud quod dixit* 'per'] Thdt.: ἐφ' ἑκατέρου γὰρ προσώπου τὸ διὰ τέθεικεν.

9. *non enim dixit* &c.] The Gk. seems to have been: οὐ γὰρ εἶπεν· καὶ ἀπὸ θεοῦ πατρός· ἀλλ' ἁπλῶς· καὶ θεοῦ πατρός, τῷ διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦτο συμπεριλαβών.

14. *in qua locum nullum* &c.] Comp. comm. on Gal. i. 4, iii. 28, iv. 24, 30 (Gk.), Eph. ii. 14, Col. iii. 11 &c.

ostendens quoniam multi sunt etiam cum ipso apostolo, communicantes ei in hac doctrina.

gratia uobis et pax a Deo patre nostro et domino Iesu Christo.

hoc quidem posuit consuete; connectit uero alia praeter consuetudinem, illa quae sibi conuenire ad praesens argumentum existimabat:

qui dedit semetipsum pro peccatis nostris, ut eriperet nos ex praesenti saeculo maligno secundum uoluntatem Dei et patris nostri, cui gloria in saecula saeculorum. amen.

ad eos qui opinantur ex his dictis posse ostendere quoniam natura est aliqua uel mala uel maligna, quod non est praesentis temporis longam de istis facere prosecutionem, alio sermonis extanti proposito; tantum sufficit dicere, quod †saeculum non est natura, quae in sua possit agnosci substantia. saeculum autem dicitur omnis temporum prolixitas uel distantia, qualitercumque fuerit excogitata, siue in modicum, siue in

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αἰὼν δέ ἐστιν οὐ φύσις ἐν ὑποστάσει γνωριζομένη, ἀλλὰ διάστημα ὅπως ποτὲ ἐπινοούμενον χρόνου εἴτε μικρὸν εἴτε μέγα· μικρὸν μὲν ὡς

5 aliam *C H* 6 illam *H* | pr. ad arg. *H* θεοδώρου (marg.). 18 sq. Coisl. 204 f. 5 b, [Cr. vi. 12, Fr. 121].

1. *ostendens quoniam multi* &c.] So Chrys.: *θέλων...δεῖξαι ὅτι πολλοὺς ἔχει τῆς γνώμης κοινωνούς.* Thdt.: *ἔδειξεν ὡς πολλοὺς ἔχει τοῦ κηρύγματος συνεργούς. Communicare alicui in aliqua re=κοινωνεῖν τινὶ εἴς τι* or *ἔν τινι.*

3. *a D. patre nostro*, &c.] Th. seems to have read *ἀπὸ θ. πατρὸς ἡμῶν καὶ* K. I. X. Below (p. 9, l. 7, vv. ll.), *C* has followed the Vulg. and O. L.

8. *ex praes. saeculo maligno*] Pitra: "*de praes. saec. nequam*, Vulg. plura deinceps allegare supersedemus quibus pateat ... huius comm. uersionem a Vulg. differre, aeuoque antehieronymiano esse referendam." On the latter point see the introduction to this edition.

11. *ad eos qui opinantur* &c.] The Manichæans; cf. Thdt.: *αἰῶνα πονηρὸν οὐ τὰ στοιχεῖα προσηγόρευσεν κατὰ τὴν Μανιχαίων ἐμβροντησίαν.* Elsewhere (on 1 Tim. iv. 1) Th. attacks them by name: "Manichaeos...quis perspiciet...quod admitantur ostendere carnem a Domino non fuisse susceptam."

14. *saeculum non est natura*] See the comm. on Eph. ii. 1; and comp. Chrys. *ad h. l. τί ποτέ ἐστιν αἰών, εἰπέ μοι; χρόνος ἐν ἡμέραις καὶ ὥραις. τί οὖν; τὸ διάστημα τῶν ἡμερῶν πονηρόν;*

16. *prolixitas uel distantia*] In the Greek simply *διάστημα.* Our transl. frequently adds an alternative rendering, when at a loss for an exact equivalent, or as in the case of the text, where the ordinary version appeared inadequate; e.g., Gal. iv. 20,

maius. in modicum quidem, sicut est nostra uita, quam ita uocat: *saeculum nostrum in inluminatione uultus tui.* in magnum uero, sicut quando omnem dicit distantiam illam, quae est ab euangelii constitutione usque ad secundum Christi aduentum; quod erit in consummationem praesentis uitae, de qua in euangeliis Dominus ait: *ecce ego uobiscum sum omnibus diebus usque ad consummationem saeculi.* quod enim et *instans saeculum* alibi apostolus dixit; sic uocans illud, quasi quia in eo etiam praesentem hanc uitam uiuamus. quemadmodum ergo uidebimus distantiam, quae nec in substantia sua

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ὅταν τὴν ἡμετέραν ζωὴν οὕτως καλῇ· ὁ αἰὼν ἡμῶν εἰς φωτισμὸν τοῦ προσώπου σου. μέγα δὲ ὡς ὅτε τὸ πᾶν διάστημα οὕτως λέγει τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου καταβολῆς ἄχρι τῆς δευτέρας τοῦ Χριστοῦ παρουσίας ἐπὶ συντελείᾳ τοῦ παρόντος βίου γινομένης νοούμενον. περὶ οὗ ἐν τοῖς εὐαγγελίοις ὁ κύριος φησίν· ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ μεθ' ὑμῶν εἰμὶ πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας ἕως τῆς συντελείας τοῦ αἰῶνος. ὃν δὴ καὶ ἐνεστῶτα αἰῶνα ὁ ἀπόστολος λέγει· οὕτως καλῶν αὐτὸν ὡς ἂν ἐν αὐτῷ τὴν παροῦσαν ταυτηνὶ ζωὴν ζώντων ἡμῶν. πῶς οὖν ἂν γένοιτο διάστημα, ὃ μηδὲ ἐν ὑποστάσει θεωρεῖται, ἢ καλὸν ἢ κακὸν

1 uita nostra *H* 4 [a mundi const. *g*] 6 euangelio *H* | sum *om. C*[a] 8 instantem *C H* | alibi *om g* 11 ὃ Cr. 14 αὐτοῦ παρόντος Cr. αὐτοῦ τοῦ παρ. conj. Fr.

"aporior [uel] confundor," Eph. i. 10, "instaurare uel potius recapitulare," Philipp. ii. 7, "schemate uel specie."

2. *saeculum nostrum* &c.] Ps. lxxxix. 8, LXX. (Heb., עֲלֻמֵנוּ לְמָאוֹר פָּנֶיךָ). Th.'s high appreciation of the Septuagint is expressed more than once in his comm. on the minor Prophets: Migne, 452, sq., 466, sq. As to his knowledge of the Hebrew, see the remarks of Toe Water, *de Th. Ant.*, pp. 30—37.

4. *ab euang. const.*] Probably an error of the copyist, whose eye was caught by *euangeliis* (l. 6).

6. *in euangeliis*] sc. in Mt. xxviii. 20. For the plural, which is corrected in *H* but supported by the Greek, comp. the comm. on iii. 23, where the same phrase introduces a reference to John i. 45.

8. *instans saec. alibi ap. d.*] Pitra cites Rom. viii. 38 οὔτε τὰ ἐνεστῶτα. Perhaps Heb. ix. 9 εἰς τὸν καιρὸν τὸν ἐνεστηκότα (*temporis instantis* Vulg.) is a closer parallel. But the Greek fragm. has nothing corresponding to *alibi*, which may therefore be due to the misapprehension of a copyist who did not know that *praesens* in the text and *instans* in the comment represented the same word in a Greek original. On the reading of the MSS. (*instantem s.*) comp. Bensly, *Missing Fragment*, p. 18.

9. *quemadmodum ergo uid. dist.*] The translator has misunderstood the Gk., which requires "quemadm. ergo distantia, quae nec in subst. sua esse uidetur, uel bona esse uel mala" &c.

esse uidetur, nec bona esse, nec mala secundum suam potest esse naturam? sed illud quod uult apostolus ad praesens dicere, ob propositam nobis interpretationem explicare iustum censemus.

primus homo adubi factus est, si inmortalis mansisset, praesens utique non esset uita; eo quod nec finem idem haberet uitae, inmortalis manendo. uerum quia mortalis factus est per peccatum, praesens uocatur uita *instans* uita, in comparatione futurae illius uitae quam in ultimo fieri expectamus. in hac igitur uita, quia peccare possumus, lex nobis est necessaria,* qua prohibeamur ab illis actibus qui nobis non conueniunt. nam et ante legem Moysaicam erant legitima quaedam apud homines, quae secundum Dei sapientiam datam inerant nobis. non enim nobis licebat homicidium facere neque adulterium, neque furtum neque aliud inconueniens. †in futuro uero saeculo neque lex nobis erit necessaria, neque obseruantia alicuius praecepti; eo quod ab omni peccato liberi per gratiam sancti Spiritus custodiemur.* ostendens itaque apostolus quanta sit differentia de illis qui secundum Christum sunt et de illis qui secundum legem sunt, haec posuit, †uolens docere quoniam 'data quidem erat lex;

κατὰ φύσιν; ἀλλ' ὅπερ βούλεται εἰπεῖν ὁ ἀπόστολος τοῦτό ἐστιν. ὁ πρῶτος ἄνθρωπος ὡς ἐγένετο, εἰ μὲν ἀθάνατος ἔμεινεν, ἐνεστὼς βίος οὐκ ἂν ἦν, ἅτε δὴ τέλος οὐκ ἔχων· ἐπειδὴ δὲ θνητὸς ἐγένετο διὰ τὴν ἁμάρτιαν, ἐνεστὼς καλεῖται βίος ὡς εἰκὸς ἡ παροῦσα ζωὴ πρὸς τὴν μέλλουσαν ὕστερον. ἐν ταύτῃ μὲν οὖν καὶ ἁμαρτάνειν ἐπιδεχόμεθα, ὅθεν καὶ νομίμων ἡμῖν χρεία· ἐπὶ δέ γε τοῦ μέλλοντος αἰῶνος οὐδὲ διατάξεως χρεία ἡμῖν τινός, ἐπείπερ ἔξω πάσης ἁμαρτίας τῇ τοῦ πνεύματος χάριτι φυλαττόμεθα.

βούλεται τοίνυν εἰπεῖν ὅτι δέδοται μὲν ὁ νόμος, ἁμαρτία δὲ οὐκ

3 positam *H* ' 5 at ubi *C* 8 idem *C* id est *H* (*ins before* instans) 10 peccare *om C** 12 quae *C H* 14 n. liceat *C** licebat n. *H* 17 obseruantiae *C H* 28 διὰ τάξεως Cr.

7. *mortalis f. e. per pecc.*] See p. 25, l. 17, note.

8. *praesens uoc. uita instans u.*] *Id est* (see vv. ll.) is an obvious gloss and obscures the sense; see Gk. The difficulty of the sentence in its Latin dress is partly owing to the use of one Latin word to express *βίος* and *ζωή*.

peccatum uero non erat ablatum, sed et ualde uersabatur in nobis; eo quod et per singula praeuaricamus momenta, quando quidem ista, quando uero illa contra legis decreta agentes. nec erat quicquam quod nos posset a peccato liberari; sed ipsa naturae inbecillitas adtrahebat nos ad peccatum. Christus uero ueniens et morti succumbens pro nobis et exsurgens, in commune omnibus beneficium praestitit, donans nobis per se etiam resurrectionis communionem. liberauit enim nos a praesentis saeculi uita, in qua multa de illis quae non conueniebant agere uidebamur; constituitque nos in spe futurae uitae, quam adsequi ultra expectamus, in inmortalitatem persistentes, et in inpassibilitatem extra omne consistentes peccatum; quod nullo modo praestare nobis lex ualuit. ultra ergo nec legis indigemus custodiam nec praeceptorum, sed nec constitutiones ullas.' quod et bene constringens atque confirmans, adicit dicens: *secundum uoluntatem Dei et patris nostri;** ut non solum magnitudine rerum sed et adiectione uolens *Dei uolunta-*

ἀνῄρητο, ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ σφόδρα ἡμῖν ἐπολιτεύετο· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἑκάστοτε παραβαλνομεν, ποτὲ μὲν ταῦτα ποτὲ δὲ ἐκεῖνα παρὰ τὴν τοῦ νόμου διαπραττόμενοι διάταξιν, καὶ ἦν οὐδὲν τὸ τοῦ ἁμαρτάνειν ἡμᾶς ῥυόμενον, ἀλλ' αὐτὴ ἡ τῆς φύσεως ἀσθένεια καθεῖλκεν ἐπὶ τὸ πταίειν· ὁ δέ γε Χριστὸς ἀποθανὼν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν καὶ ἀναστάς, παρασχόμενος δι' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡμῖν τὴν τῆς ἀναστάσεως μετουσίαν, ἀπήλλαξεν ἡμᾶς τῆς τοῦ παρόντος βίου ζωῆς, ἐν ᾗ πολλὰ τῶν οὐ προσηκόντων διαπραττόμεθα· καὶ κατέστησεν ἐπὶ ἐλπίδι τῆς μελλούσης ζωῆς, λοιπὸν ἀθάνατοί τε καὶ ἀπαθεῖς διαμένοντες καὶ ἔξω πάσης ἁμαρτίας· ὃ μηδαμῶς παρασχεῖν ἡμῖν ὁ νόμος ἐξίσχυσεν. ὃ καὶ καλῶς ἐπισφίγγων προσέθηκεν· ΚΑΤΑ ΤΟ ΘΕΛΗΜΑ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΤΡΟΣ ΗΜΩΝ.

4 non (*for* nos) *C* 11 quia *C* | et serui (*for* ads.) *C H* 11, 12 inmortalitate, inpassibilitate *C* (*corr*) 17 magnitudinem, adiectionem *C H* | uolentes *C H* 20 "v. τὸ fortasse delenda" Fr. 23 αὐτοῦ edd.

4. *liberari*] The use of deponent forms for actives is frequent in this version. In the present instance the termination may have been suggested by the Gk. *ῥυόμενον*. Comp. Rönsch, *Itala*, pp. 302—3, Bensly, *Missing Fragment*, p. 17.

8. *liberauit ... lex ualuit*] Cited by Lanfranc. Cf. Thdt.: *ἐξεῖλετο δὲ ἡμᾶς τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος πονηροῦ, τουτέστιν τῆς κατὰ τὸν παρόντα βίον διαγωγῆς.*

17. *adiectione uolens* &c.] Comp. Oec.: *ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἔλεγον μὴ δεῖν ἐᾶν τὸν νόμον ὡς ὑπὸ θεοῦ δοθέντα, δείκνυσιν ὅτι καὶ τὸ τῷ χριστῷ πιστεῦσαι θέλημα τοῦ πατρός ἐστιν.*

tem suadere illis qui haec incessanter proponere adtemptabant, dicentes quoniam 'Dei est lex.' ostendebat enim sufficienter quoniam necessarium est in his perseuerare, quae sub differentia multum superiora esse legi ostendebantur; Deus enim sic illa uoluit fieri, eo quod et melius quidem nobis fieri comprobauit. haec, ut dixi, coniunxit illi dictioni qua dixit: *gratia uobis et pax a Deo patre nostro et domino Iesu Christo.* quod etiam et competenter praecedentibus iunxit. incipit uero in subsequentibus uerba ad eos depromere:

miror quod sic cito transferimini ab eo qui uocauit uos in gratiam Christi, in aliud euangelium.

conueniens principium nouitati factorum; sic enim posuit *miror*, quasi quia et res accidit, quae numquam fieri credebatur. alienos enim mores et consuetudines habemus demirari. sed et †per singula verba auxit illici[tum transductionis, *sic* dicens, quod multam habet ostensionem; coniungens et illi *ci*]*to.* et quia adiecit *transferimini*, non dixit *transducimini*, sed *trans-*

διὰ πάντων ηὔξησεν τὴν ἀτοπίαν τῆς μεταβολῆς· τὸ οὕτως εἰπών, πολλὴν ἔχον τὴν ἔνδειξιν· καὶ τὸ ταχέως ἐπισυνάψας. καὶ τὸ μετατίθεσθε προστεθεικώς, οὐ μετάγεσθε· ὡς ἐπὶ ἀψύχων φησὶν μετατίθεσθε.

1 suaderet *H* 2 ostendebant *H* 6 illi dict. q. d. *om H* 7 patre et dom. nostro *C* 8 iunxit *om C* 14 alienas *C H* [Rönsch, 434; Bensly, 18] 15, 16 illic cito *C H* (*corr*) (*H*[*a*] illi) | at quae *C* (*corr*) 17 dicit *b l* 18 sq. Coisl. 204 f. 7 b [Cr. vi. 16, Fr. 123]. *θεόδωρος. ἄλλος δὲ πάλιν οὕτως ἑρμηνεύει τὰ εἰρημένα· διὰ πάντων, κ.τ.λ.* 19 *εἶχον* Cr.

See also Cr. vi. pp. 11, 12.—*uolentes* is probably a correction for the sing., which was not understood; cf. *ostendebant* (*H*), p. 9, l. 2.

6. *ut dixi*] Above, p. 5, l. 5.

12. *conueniens...credebatur*] Lanfranc, Robert of Bridlington.

14. *habemus demirari*] See Rönsch, *Itala*, pp. 447—9.

15. *per sing. uerba auxit*] The Gk. shews that a clause, probably a line, of the version has dropt out after *auxit*. The bracketed restoration is based on the usage of our translator, with the exception of the rendering *illicitum* = *ἀτοπία*, which has been hazarded as accounting for the omission of the line.

In what follows, if we may trust the catena, our translator deserts the construction of the Greek, which requires "et quia adiecit 'transferimini' non 'transducimini,' quasi in exanimes aliquos 'transferimini' dixit." It will be observed that Th. treats *μετατίθεσθε* as a passive; cf. Meyer and Ellicott *ad h. l.*

17. *non dixit... et a Deo*] Lanfranc: "non dicit... quasi ex. aliquos et qui... habeant. *ab eo qui uos.* ut non uiderentur

ferimini; quasi [in] exanimes aliquos,* et qui animi motum non habeant. et quod dixit: *ab eo qui uocauit uos in gratiam Christi*, ut ne uiderentur a Christo tantum discedere, sed et a Deo. adiecit illis omnibus: †*in aliud euangelium;* ut uideatur plenaria pietatis esse translatio. et ne uideretur concedere esse aliud euangelium, adiecit:

quod non est aliud.

quomodo dixit ergo aliud?

nisi sunt quidam qui conturbant uos, et uolunt conuertere euangelium Christi.

transductionem uero euangelii aliud euangelium esse dixit. deinde aduersus eos qui personas apostolorum illi opponendas esse existimabant:

sed et si nos.

ut ostendat quoniam non illis praeponit [se], sed ueritatem uindicat, excepta qua nec se ipsum esse aliquid existimabat. unde illud et auget:

aut angelus de caelo.

εἰς ἕτερον εὐαγγέλιον· *ἵνα δοκῇ παντελῆς εἶναι εὐσεβείας μετάθεσις. καὶ ἵνα μὴ δόξῃ συγχωρεῖν ἕτερον εὐαγγέλιον εἶναι·* ὃ οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλο. *πῶς οὖν εἶπας ἕτερον;* εἰ μή τινές εἰσιν οἱ ταράσσοντες ὑμᾶς, καὶ θέλοντες μεταστρέψαι τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ Χριστοῦ. *τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄντος εὐαγγελίου μεταβολὴν ἕτερον εἰπὼν εὐαγγέλιον. εἶτα ἐπειδὴ τὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων πρόσωπα προεβάλλοντο·* [ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐὰν ἡμεῖς]· *ὥστε δεῖξαι ὅτι οὐχ ἑαυτὸν ἐκείνων προτιμᾷ ἀλλὰ τὴν ἀληθειαν, ἧς ἐκτὸς οὐδὲ ἑαυτὸν εἶναί τι νενόμικεν. ὅθεν αὐτὸ καὶ ἐπαύξων ἔλεγεν·* ἢ ἄγγελος ἐξ οὐρανοῦ· *ἵνα μηδὲ ἡ τοῦ τόπου ἀξιοπιστία*

1 quia *C* H* 2 gratia *C* 8 ergo dixit *H* 9 quidem *C* H* 13 addidit *add C (corr)* 15 ostendant *H* | non illis praeponit sed &c. *C* H* non i. se pr. sed &c. *C (corr)* non se illis &c. *l* 17 et illud aug. *C (corr)*

a Chr. t. d., adiecit 'a Deo'." R. of B.: "non dicit 'transd.' quod est animalium, sed *transf.*, quasi exanimes et qui non habent animi motum."

15. *ut ostendat...uindicat*] Lanfranc: who cites also (freely) *adiecit...existimetur;* and below, *ut ostenderet ... existimans.* The last sentence occurs also in Robert of B.

16. *excepta qua*] *ἧς ἐκτός.* Cf. infr. iii. 2 per fidem excepta lege [*χωρὶς νόμου*?] Spiritum accepistis: iii. 23 excepto omni peccato: iv. 24 excepto omni labore: v. 14, Philipp. i. 14 *et pass.*

de caelo adiecit, ut neque loci dignitas, neque personae coniunctio exaequari umquam ueritati posse existimetur.*

euangelizauerit uobis praeter quod euangelizamus uobis, anathema sit.

et ut ne uideretur futurae quodammodo tantum pondus sententiae expressisse, qua neque angelis parceret:

sicut praediximus, et nunc iterum dico: siquis uobis euangelizauerit praeter quod suscepistis, anathema sit.

'si omnes siue nos (inquit), siue inuisibiles uirtutes, quae praedictae ueritati nullius digna sunt momenti.' dein transiturus ad sui defensionem, ut ostenderet se quia pro ueritate huiusmodi uerba deprompsit, nullius momenti illos qui sibi derogauerant existimans, ait:

modo enim hominibus suadeo, an Deo? aut quaero hominibus placere?

et ostendens ex rebus ipsis quoniam nulla huiusmodi cura est illi, adiecit:

μετὰ τοῦ προσώπου συναφθεῖσα ἀντίρροπος τῆς ἀληθείας εἶναι νομίζηται.

1 et ut ne *H* 10 transsi tu rus (*sic*) *H* 11 qui (*for* quia) *l* 13 aestimans *b*

3. *euangelizamus*] Pitra: "Cod. utique corrigendus ex Graeco: εὐηγγελισάμεθα." The Harley MS. however supports the reading of *C*.

9. *inuisibiles uirtutes*] *al* ἀόρατοι δυνάμεις. In a Syr. fragment of Th.'s commentary on Genesis S. Paul's words in this place are used as a proof of the freedom of the will in angelic natures (Sachau, pp. 12,):

With regard to the sense attached by Th. to ἀνάθεμα, see his remarks on Zach. xiv. 8 (Migne, 592) οὐθεὶς ἔσται λοιπὸν ... ἀπηλλοτριωμένος θεοῦ· τοῦτο γὰρ λέγει 'καὶ ἀνάθεμα οὐκ ἔσται ἔτι'. Rom. ix. 3 τὸ δὲ ἀνάθεμα τὸν ἀλλότριον δηλοῖ.

10. *ueritati*] 'in relation to, in comparison of, the truth.' After *ueritati* Pitra inserts the words *aduersa docere uidentur*. The addition has no MS. authority.

si enim adhuc hominibus placerem, Christi seruus non essem.

'igitur tunc hominibus placebam, quando pro lege uniuersa agebam; quae nullius momenti feci, eo quod Christo ulterius seruire me probaui.'

notum autem uobis facio, fratres, euangelium quod euangelizatum est a me, quoniam non est secundum hominem.

'illa igitur quae erga me sunt nota uobis facio, ut non humana me quadam adinuentione doctrinam quam abutor praesumpsisse existimetis.' sed unde ergo habes illam accep-
10 tam?

nec enim ego ab homine suscepi illud, neque didici illud, sed per reuelationem Iesu Christi.

deinde et probationem rebus ipsis implet, referens ea quae secundum se sunt, et qualis erat dudum pro lege desudans, et
15 quoniam nemo hominum uolens eum corrigere; hocque ex comparatione ueterum uult ostendere, quoniam non legem spreuit, sed quod melius est et recognouit et elegit. et aperte uult conprobare quoniam a Christo didicit solo illa quae ad praesens tenere uidetur, per illam reuelationem quae de caelo
20 facta est ad eum; quando se ei manifestans eundem uisus est correxisse, quando et legis erat uehemens aemulator:

audistis enim conuersationem meam aliquando in iudaismo, quoniam supra modum persequebar ecclesiam Dei, et uastabam eam. et proficiebam in iudaismo supra multos coaetaneos meos in
25 *genere meo, abundantius aemulator existens paternarum mearum traditionum.*

bene et *coaetaneos* dixit; hoc enim erat maius, si et iuuenibus uehementior esse uidebatur in illis laboribus quos pro lege subire nitebatur. 'talia igitur erant illa quae erga me erant, et
30 talis eram dudum in lege. uestrum iam ultra est probare

3 qui (*for* quae) C^* *H* quod *C* (*corr*) 9 existimetur C^* | sed *om* *C* (*corr*) *H* 12 relationem C^* 16 ueteri *H* 19 uidentur *H* 21 erit C^* 22 etiam (*for* enim) *H* 28 quod (*for* quos) C^* *H*

5. *notum autem*] γνωρίζω δέ: so Chrys. Thdt. The Latin versions and fathers (exc. Ambrstr.) exhibit *enim*.

14. *qualis erat...et elegit*] Cited freely by Lanfranc and Robert of B. L. also cites ll. 27, 28 (below).

utrum spernentis legem est doctrina ista quam nunc doceo sequendam, pro quibus et tanta faciens perseueraui; aut, sicut conuenit, illud quod melius est praehonoraui.'

quemadmodum ergo es conuersus?

cum uero complacuit ei qui me segregauit ex utero matris meae et uocauit per gratiam suam, reuelare filium suum in me, ut euangelizem eum in gentibus.

†bene illud ad praescientiam retulit Dei, ut et antequam ipse esset, uideretur de eo hoc fuisse placitum Deo; tantumque abesset ut leuiter nouitas ulla aut hominum adinuentio ipsa existimaretur esse praedicatio.* miraculo dignum et multa praeditum humilitate, eo quod suam uocationem simpliciter retulit. et quidem poterat magnifice eam explicare, concurrentibus sibi ad hoc negotiis; eo quod de caelo sibi cum tanta claritate Christus fuerat ostensus.

uocatus ergo, quid egisti?

statim non adquieui carni et sanguini; neque abii in Hierosolimam ad praecessores meos apostolos; sed abii in Arabiam, et iterum reuersus sum Damascum.

'implebam statim rem mihi commissam, circuiens et docens

καλῶς αὐτὸ ἐπὶ τὴν πρόγνωσιν ἀνήνεγκεν τοῦ θεοῦ, ὥστε καὶ πρὸ τῆς αὐτοῦ ὑπάρξεως φαίνεσθαι τῷ θεῷ τοῦτο δεδογμένον· τοσοῦτον ἀποδέον τοῦ καινότητα εἶναί τινα καὶ εὕρεσιν ἀνθρώπων τὸ κήρυγμα.

1 spernente lege C^*H spernendo legem C (*corr*)· 2 sequenda C H 9 esse C H 10 adesse ut nec C H [abesse ut g] | illa C 11 multo C H 21 sq. Coisl. 204 f. 11 a [Cr. vi. 23, Fr. 124]. *Θεόδωρος. καὶ ἄλλος δὲ εἰς τό· ὅτε δὲ εὐδόκησεν ὁ θεὸς ὁ ἀφ. με ἐκ κοιλ. μητρ. μου, φησίν· καλῶς, κ.τ.λ.*

1. *utrum spernentis legem....sequendam*] I have admitted this emendation into the text, as on the whole more satisfactory than that of the Corbie corrector: see vv. ll. For the sense, v. supra: "non legem spreuit," &c.

5. *ei qui me segreg.*] Th.'s text seems not to have admitted the gloss *ὁ θεός*. It is found in Thdt. *ad h. l.*

6. *reuelare ... ut euangelizem*] Comp. the less precise rendering of the Vulg., "ut reuelaret...ut euangelizarem."

17. *neque abii*] *οὐδὲ ἀπῆλθον*. The Vulg. represents *ἀνῆλθον*, and this reading is found in Chrys. and Thdt.

20. *circuiens et docens*] Theodoret takes the same view of the Arabian visit: *εὐθὺς τοῦ κηρύγματος ἠψάμην, τοῖς μηδέπω τῆς θεογνωσίας ἠξιωμένοις προσφέρων τὸ εὐαγγέλιον.* Comp. Chrys., *ὅρα ζέουσαν ψυχήν· τοὺς τόπους ἐσπούδαζεν καταλαμβάνειν τοὺς οὐδέπω γεωργηθέντας.* With regard to the locality, see Th.'s comment on Gal. iv. 25.

ea quae de Christo sunt. nec enim referre illis super doctrinam meam ullam curam habui; quia et in tantum me cohibui ut aliquid discerem ab illis qui ante me fuerunt apostoli, ita ut nec irem protinus ad eos, sed nec uiderem eos, nec consilium caperem eorum de his quae mihi fuerant ostensa; superfluum esse iudicans post reuelationem Christi hominum expectare doctrinam.' bene autem et rem ipsam quasi non necessariam detraxit, non dicens *apostolis*, sed neque *hominibus*; sed *carni et sanguini*; ualde cum debita id obseruantia dicens et scrupulositate. et quia dixit: *statim non exposui*; exposuit enim postea illis, ascendens secundum reuelationem hoc ipsud, sicut ipse post pauca dicit. et ut ne uideatur per omnia contempsisse apostolos:

deinde post annos tres ascendi Hierosolimis uidere Petrum.

et ita affectum quem erga Petrum uidendum habebat explicans, et quod sollicitudinem expenderet, ut redderet ei quod debebat.

et mansi apud eum dies quindecim.

de aliis vero quid?

alium apostolorum autem non uidi, nisi Iacobum fratrem Domini.

euidens est ergo quoniam neque tunc ut aliquid disceret ascendit, siquidem post tres annos haec fecit; quando aposto-

2 qui (*for* quia) *C* (*corr*) · 4 nec uid. eos sed nec *H* 7 necessarium *H* 8 ap. neque h. (*om* sed) *H* apostolus sed, &c. *l* (*ed*) 11 ipsum *C* (*corr*) 20 autem apost. *C* (*corr*) *H* 22 et (*after* disceret) *add C* 23 hoc *C*

8. *non dicens* apostolis... *postea illis*] Cited by Lanfranc.

10. *statim non exposui* &c.] So Chrys., οὐκ εἶπεν ἁπλῶς· οὐ προσανεθέμην· ἀλλ' εὐθέως: adding, *el* δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀνῆλθεν, οὐχ ὑπὲρ τοῦ τι προσλαβεῖν. *Adquieui*, though retained in the text from the O. L. and Vulg., has been abandoned by the translator in the commentary, where the meaning attached to προσανεθ. by Th. comes clearly into view.

11. *hoc ipsud*] αὐτὸ τοῦτο, 'for the very purpose;' cf. p. 15, l. 31.

12. *ut ne uid. p. o. cont. apost.*] Comp. the remark of S. Jerome: "scio plerosque de apostolis hoc [σαρκὶ καὶ αἵματι] dictum arbitrari... sed absit ut ego Petrum Iohannem et Iacobum carnem et sanguinem putem."

15. *et ita affectum* &c.] Thdt. τὴν πρέπουσαν ἀπονέμει τῷ κορυφαίῳ τιμήν. Chrys. adds, ἵνα ὅταν λέγῃ ἀντέστην Πέτρῳ, μηδεὶς ἔχθρας καὶ φιλονεικίας ταῦτα εἶναι νομίσῃ τὰ ῥήματα.

latus sui opus iam in multis ante expedierat. sic igitur ea quae secundum se erant referens destruxit ipsis rebus illa quae ab aduersariis fuerant contra se dicta; nullo in loco grauem se illis exhibens, commendans uero fideliter ea quae a se dicta fuerant; eo quod conueniebat et hoc ita fieri.

quae autem scribo uobis, ecce in conspectu Dei quoniam non mentior. deinde ueni in partibus Syriae et Ciliciae.

illud perficiens quod conueniens sibi erat.

eram autem ignotus facie ecclesiis Iudaeae quae erant in Christo.

uult dicere quoniam 'illis qui in Iudaea crediderant in Christo per omnia eram ignotus secundum personae uisum; eo quod et tunc, quando ascendi Hierosolimam, Petrum uidi solum et fratrem Domini Iacobum, alium autem neminem; eo quod et omnes dies quindecim Hierosolimis fecerim tantum.'

tantum autem audientes erant: 'qui persequebatur nos aliquando, nunc euangelizat fidem, quam aliquando expugnabat.' et glorificabant in me Deum.

'audita didicerant illa quae de me erant; quam ob causam et mirabantur, quasi noua et gloria digna illa esse existimantes.' 'quemadmodum (inquit ille) qui tanta pro lege contra eos gesserat, nunc conuersus uniuersis illam quae in Christo est fidem praedicat; maxime cum nemo hominum perspiciatur qui conuersionis eius auctor esse uideatur?'

deinde post quattuordecim annos iterum ascendi Hierosolimam cum Barnaba, adsumens mecum et Titum.

cum iam longum tempus apostolatus sui expedisset, ipsis rebus ac operibus sibi adtestantibus. dicitur deinde et quomodo ascenderit:

ascendi autem secundum reuelationem.

qua de causa ascenderet, euoluit reuelatio.

1 si (*for* sic) *H* 4 fuerant dicta *H* 7 ciliae (*sic*) *H* 11 crediderunt *C* 14 Iac. fr. Dom. *H* 20 esse *om H* 28 dicit et (*for* dicitur) *H* 31 quae *H* | reuoluit *H*

2. *destruxit ipsis rebus* &c.] Thdt. ταῦτα πάντα πρὸς τὴν ἐκείνων λέγει διαβολάς.

25. *asc. Hierosolimam*] Cf. p. 14, l. 14: *asc. Hierosolimis.* The same diversity occurs in Matt. xx. 17, 18 (Cod. Amiat.).

et exposui illis euangelium quod praedico in gentibus, secreto his qui uidebantur aliquid esse; ne quoquo modo in uacuum currerem aut cucurrissem.

nam quod dicitur: *ne quoquo modo,* non dubitationis causa dicitur; sed quia 'suscepi reuelationem ita ut ascendens referrem et exponerem egregiis apostolorum de doctrina hac quam gentibus tradidi, ut credant Christo sine ulla legis obseruantia; ita ut non uidear uane et putatiue circuire, et tantos subire labores eorum causa qui Christo credunt; ne quando existimer prorium quoddam iter exequi et ceteris apostolis inconueniens. unde et hoc placuit, ut et illorum consensus in his quae a me fiebant haberetur.' deinde interiecit in ipsa factorum sequentia illud quod maius est:

sed nec Titus, qui mecum ex gentibus erat, conpulsus est circumcidi propter subintroductos autem falsos fratres, qui subintroierant explorare libertatem nostram, quam habemus in Christo Iesu, ut nos in seruitutem redigerent; quibus nec ad horam cessimus subiectioni, ut ueritas euangelii permaneat apud uos.

nam quantum est ad sequentiam dictum, superflue hoc in loco *autem* positum esse uidetur (multis enim in locis coniunctiones a beato Paulo non cum debita sequentia positas esse ostendi-

5 suscipi *C* 7 ullam l. obseruantiam *C* H* 9 existimarer *b l* 11 et *om* *C (corr)* 17 redirent *C** 19 sequentia dicti *C (corr)* 20 ut *C H* [autem *g*]

1. *exposui*] See p. 14, l. 10, note. *Exp.* is found here in Cod. Aug., as an interlinear rendering of *ἀνεβαλόμην*. Vulg., *contuli cum illis.*

2. *qui uidebantur*] *οἱ δοκοῦντες*: yet below (p. 17, l. 23), "qui uidentur."

4. *non dubitationis causa*] Similarly Thdt. *οὐ περὶ ἑαυτοῦ τέθεικεν, ἀλλὰ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων· τουτέστιν, ἵνα μάθωσιν ἅπαντες τὴν τοῦ κηρύγματος συμφωνίαν.*

8. *putatiue*] 'as a mere conceit or fancy of my own' (?).

9. *ne quando ... inconueniens*] Lanfranc, Robert of B.

14. *qui mecum ex gent. erat*] An attempt to reproduce the order of the Gk. (*ὁ σὺν ἐμοὶ Ἕλλην ὤν*).

18. *subiectioni*] So the O. L. With Chrys. and Thdt., and with all the Gk. uncial MSS., Th. reads *οὐδέ.*

20. *autem*] *Ut* in the MSS. is clearly corrupt. The true reading is suggested by the Gk. *catenae*—Coisl. 204 [f. 13 b. Cramer vi. 29, Fr. 124]: *τινὲς τὸν δὲ σύνδεσμον περισσὸν ἔφασαν εἶναι... ἡ γὰρ ἀκολουθία ἐστὶν ὅτι οὐδὲ Τίτος Ἕλλην ὢν ἠναγκάσθη περιτμηθῆναι διὰ τοὺς παρεισάκτους ψευδαδέλφους* —a remark attributed in the margin to Theodore and Severianus; Coisl. 26, *τὸ ἑξῆς οὕτως· ἀλλ' οὐδὲ Τίτος, κ.τ.λ., ὁ γὰρ δὲ περιττός.* Thdt. adopts this view; and it had been anticipated by S. Jerome, who writes: "sciendum uero quod *autem* coniunctio ... superflua sit, et si legatur, non habeat quod ei respondeat." See Rosenmüller, *hist. interpr.* iv. p. 114, sq.

mus); est enim *propter subintroductos falsos fratres.* quod quidam non adtendentes, nouitatem intellectus somniati sunt. uult autem dicere quoniam 'ascendens Hierosolimam, habebam mecum Titum qui ex gentibus erat, et hunc habebam incircumcisum; et non circumcidi eum, istis satisfaciens qui simulabant quidem se esse fratres. subintroduxerunt autem se nobis non bene. non enim sapiunt illa quae conueniunt, neque illa quae pietatis sunt continua, sed insidiantes libertatem nostram, quam ob rem illam quam in Christo habemus necessario abutimur, eo quod a seruitute legis liberi sumus effecti, solummodo incusare sciunt illa quae a nobis fiunt, legem ubique proferentes, et contendentes sub eius nos seruitutem redigere.' hoc est dici: *ut nos in seruitutem redigant.* 'qui et libertatem nostram qua liberati sumus a necessitate et legis obseruantia non cessimus, neque passi sumus aliquid illorum causa facere, praeterquam quod fieri a nobis decebat; sed custodiuimus Titum incircumcisum, ut uobis omnibus qui ex gentibus credidistis sit euidens probatio euangelium nostrum ueritate esse praeditum. quod cum omni fiducia sumus abusi, nullum aduersariorum, neque tunc quando apud illos eramus, pertimescentes.' et quoniam apostolos ubique proferebant aduersarii, utpote legem custodientes, adicit:

ab his autem qui uidentur esse aliquid, quales aliquando fuerunt nihil mihi interest.

et ut ne uideatur uane contra maiores se extollere:

personam (inquit) *hominis Deus non accipit.*

ueritas enim erat qui iudicabat, non persona. haec quidem

5 nunc (*for* non) C^* *H* 10 a *om* C^* 11 incusari *H* | praeferentes *H* [cf. Hildebrand, *Ap.* i., 1021]. 18 ueritatem *C H*: *om l* | praedictum *H* praedicatum *l* 21 praef. *H* 27 quidam *C H*

2. *nouitatem intellectus*] Pelagius in his commentary on this Epistle maintains that Titus was circumcised: "reddit causas cur circumcidit Titum ... ut scandalum imminens uitaretur." Perhaps it is to this departure from the prevalent view that Th. refers; it seemed to him to rest on a mistaken emphasis laid upon *δέ*.

somniati sunt] Cf. Bensly, *M. F.*, p. 17, note.

7. *quae p. s. continua*] *τὰ τῆς εὐσεβείας ἐχόμενα* [?].

17. *ut uobis...pertimescentes*] Cited by Lanfranc in an abbreviated form.

27. *haec quidem interiaciens*] *i.e.* verses 3—6; *τοῖς δοκοῦσιν* of v. 2 being taken up

interiaciens, ut dixi, ab illo loco quo dixit: *sed neque Titus qui mecum erat, gentilis cum esset;* sequitur deinceps suam sequentiam, illa docere properans, quae illi fuerat cum apostolis habita disceptatio, quando ascendit *secundum reuelationem*, ut illis exponeret euangelium. conueniebat enim eum coniungere cum sensu suo etiam illorum sententiam, ut in aperto consisteret qualiter sibi erga negotium consensum praebuerant apostoli.

mihi enim qui uidentur esse aliquid nihil contulerunt.

'conferre' dicitur communicare consilium super aliquod negotium; sic enim et nos in consuetudinem dicimus. similiter autem et apostolus manifestus est hac uoce fuisse abusus. in superioribus enim dixit: *statim non adquieui carni et sanguini*, hoc est: 'nullius participatus sum consilio.' et post hoc: *contuli cum illis euangelium*, hoc est: 'participatus sum consilio, et manifestum feci illis qui est modus meae praedicationis.' sic ergo et hoc in loco: *nihil contulerunt*, hoc est, 'ipsi quidem mihi nihil adiecerunt, neque participati sunt mihi consilium de aliquo.' quod autem additum est:

sed e contrario uidentes quoniam creditum est mihi euangelium praeputii, sicut et Petro circumcisionis (qui enim operatus est Petro in apostolatum circumcisionis, operatus est et mihi inter gentes); et cognoscentes gratiam quae data est mihi, Iacobus et Cephas et Iohannes, qui uidebantur columnae esse, dextras de-

1 interiacens *C H* | quod dixi *C H* 6 assensu *H* [*C** ?] 17 de aliquid *C H* [Rönsch, 410, 523; Tisch. *Cod. Amiat.* prol. p. xxxi.] 23 Ioh. et Cephas *C*

by οἱ δοκοῦντες of v. 6. So Lanfranc: "est interiaciens [interiacens *ed.*] ab eo loco ubi dicitur *sed neque Titus* usque ad locum: *mihi autem* [*qui*] *uidebantur esse aliquid.*"

3. *illa docere prop., quae,* &c.] ταῦτα σπεύδων διδάσκειν, τίς, κ.τ.λ. Or *illa* may be an error for *illam.*

9. *conferre dicitur comm. cons.*] Comp. the comm. on οὐ προσανεθέμην (i. 17) and ἀνεθέμην αὐτοῖς (ii. 2), and notes there. The lexx. give instances of this use of προσαναπίθεσθαι in Diodor. Sic. and Lucian.

16. *mihi nihil adiecerunt*] Chrys.: τὰ ἐμὰ οὐ καθεῖλον οὐδὲ διώρθωσαν, οὐδὲ προσέθηκαν ὡς ἐνδεῶς ἔχουσιν αὐτοῖς. He adds, τινὲς μὲν φασὶν τοῦτο αὐτὸν λέγειν, ὅτι οὐ μόνον αὐτὸν οὐκ ἐδίδαξαν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐδιδάχθησαν παρ' αὐτοῦ· ἐγὼ δὲ οὐκ ἂν εἴποιμι τοῦτο. In the margin of Cramer's *Catena*, where this remark is repeated, the copyist has written αἱρέτεται Θεόδωρον καὶ Σευηριανὸν καὶ Εὐσέβιον. But as far as Th. is concerned, the gloss does not seem to be borne out by his commentary, unless the passage alluded to is the exposition of v. 7 ("e contrario uero ipsi audientes," &c., p. 19, l. 15).

derunt mihi et Barnabae communionis, ut nos quidem in gentibus, ipsi uero in circumcisione.

quidam sic legerunt, *sed e contrario;*—perfectum sensum concludentes. ad plenum uero intendere ordini uerborum noluerunt. est enim sensus hic: *sed e contrario uidentes quoniam creditum est mihi euangelium praeputii, sicut et Petro circumcisionis, et cognoscentes gratiam quae data est mihi,* et cetera. post interiectionem quae est ab illo loco: *sed neque Titus,* consequenter praecedentibus iunctum est, ut sit: *qui enim operatus est Petro in apostolatum circumcisionis, operatus est et mihi inter gentes.* quod in mediis sermonibus secundum interiectiones positum esse uidetur, ad comprobandum quod in nullam partem minorationem sustineat euangelium; eo quod idem sit Deus qui et hoc Petro iniunxit, et illud sibi. uult autem dicere quoniam 'illi quidem *nihil contulerunt mihi; e contrario uero* ipsi audientes a me euangelii modum quem praedicabam, et edocti huiusmodi gratiam, ad hoc adsequi promerui, ut probatissimi apostolorum, Iacobus et Iohannes et Cephas, non solum non reprobauerint mea, sed et doctrinae assensum praebuerint, ita ut dextras communionis mihi quoque darent et Barnabae, ut uideremur (licet nos gentibus praedicaremus, ipsi uero illis qui in circumcisione sunt) [quod] tunc unius essemus sententiae; [et] unam intentionem habentes, uniuersos per fidem Christo offeramus.' nam et discretio haec non alia ex causa diuina gratia est dispensata,

3 legerant *H* 10 apostolatu *C* (*corr*) 12 in *om* *H** 13 sustinet *H** 16 edoctus *C* 18 reprobauerunt *C** *H* 19 praebuerunt *C** *H* 20 Barnebae *C** 21 praedicaremur *C** *H* 22 quod, et, *om* *C** *H*

3. *quidam sic legerunt,* &c.] *i.e.* some [expositors?] punctuated thus: *οὐδὲν προσανέθεντο, ἀλλὰ τοὐναντίον· ἰδόντες, κ.τ.λ.*

7. *post interiectionem*] The meaning seems to be that the words *ὁ γὰρ ἐνεργήσας ... εἰς τὰ ἔθνη* are parenthetic, like the paragraph, vv. 3—6; so that the sequence is: *ἀνεθέμην τοῖς δοκοῦσιν· οἱ δοκοῦντες... ἰδόντες... καὶ γνόντες τὴν χάριν, κ.τ.λ., δεξιὰς ἔδωκαν ἐμοί.* Either something has been lost [*interiectum* or *interiectio* after *ut sit*], or the translator has failed to understand his original.

12. *minorationem*] See Rönsch, *Itala*, p. 75 (cf. p. 8). Both verb and noun are frequent in this translation.

22. *unam intentionem habentes*] Comp. Th.'s prol. to the Ep. to the Hebrews (Migne, 952), *οὐχ ἵνα τὰ μὲν οὗτοι τὰ δὲ ἐκεῖνοι διδάσκωσιν, εἷς γὰρ ἦν αὐτὸς ὁ σκοπός, ἀλλ' ἵνα οἱ μὲν τοὺς ἀπὸ ἐθνῶν οἱ δὲ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων τῇ πίστει προσάγωσιν.*

24. *discretio haec*, &c.] Card. Pitra proposes (*Spic. Solesm.* 1. p. 567), "discretio haec diuinae gratiae non alia ex c. est dispensata."

nisi ut Iudaei, qui ex uetere legis consuetudine non patiebantur gentibus permisceri, eo quod lege dudum fuerant segregati, ideo et per beatum Petrum ad fidem quae in Christo est inducerentur; illi uero qui ex gentibus erant itidem per beatum Paulum ad fidem perducerentur. congregauit autem eos postea in unum fidei similitudo; unum quidem omnes operati, sicut et factum esse ex ipsis rebus euidenter ostenditur. denique et Paulus quantos poterat Iudaeorum ad fidem deuocabat, sicuti et Corintho fecit, ipsum principem synagogae Christo credere suadens; et multis in locis euidens est in synagogis disputasse Iudaeis. Petrus quoque gentibus, quotiescumque potuit, hoc ipsud facere non piguit; quod et inprimis secundum diuinam reuelationem erga Cornelium uisus est perfecisse. et quoniam diuisos eos dixit, pandit horum quoque et illorum doctrinae diligentiam. uidebatur autem multis in locis sollicitudinem expendere de illis sanctis qui in Iudaea erant, et paupertate tenebantur; eo quod illos qui Christo credebant tunc Iudaei, ante expugnationem sui, propriis rebus nudare more tyrannorum properabant. pro quibus etiam Galatis super hoc disputasse signauit apostolus. denique et Corinthiis scribens, dicit: *sicut ordinaui ecclesiis Galatiae, sic et uos facite.* ostendens quoniam, neque hoc excepto, quod disposuerant inter se facere faciebant:

tantum pauperum ut memores essemus; quod et festinans hoc ipsud facere.

'hoc erat solum placitum nobis, ut et nos illis pauperibus qui apud eos erant diligentiam adhiberemus, ob communem utilitatem et consensus nostri probationem; quod etiam et sollicitus fui facere.' et ostendens quoniam adquieuerunt etiam illi in eius doctrinam sic dicit:

4, 5 inducebantur, perducebantur *C H* 7 est *C** 8 sicut *H* 10 eum disp. cum I. *C* (*corr*) 11 Petro *C* 12 ipsum *C* (*corr*) 16 in *om H* 25 facere *om C* 26 hoc erat *om H* 30 doctrina erat reprehensus sic dicit et erant *C* doctrinam sic dicit erat repr. *C* (*corr*) doctrinam erat repr. sicut dicit et erant *H*

9. *principem synagogae*] Crispus: Acts xviii. 8.

18. *nudare...properabant*] So Chrys. τίνες δέ εἰσιν οὗτοι οἱ πτωχοί; πολλοὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων πιστεύσαντες ἐν Παλαιστίνῃ τὰ ὄντα ἀφηρέθησαν ἅπαντα: citing 2 Thess. ii. 14; Hebr. x. 34.

20. *Corinthiis scribens*] 1 Cor. xvi. 1, ὥσπερ διέταξα ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τῆς Γαλατίας.

30. *in eius doctrinam, sic d.*] See vv. ll.

cum autem uenisset Petrus Antiochiae, in faciem illi restiti, quoniam erat reprehensus.

quidam quia incusabant illa quae ab eo fiebant. quae autem erant illa?

priusquam uenirent quidam ab Iacobo, cum gentibus manducabat; postquam uero uenerunt, subtrahebat et segregabat seipsum, timens eos qui erant ex circumcisione; et ducti sunt in illam simulationem etiam ceteri Iudaei, ita ut et Barnabas duceretur in eorum simulationem. sed quando uidi quia non recte incedunt ad ueritatem euangelii, dixi Petro coram omnibus: si tu Iudaeus cum sis, gentiliter uiuis et non iudaice, quid gentes cogis iudaizare?

uult quidem ostendere, quoniam non scriptis tantum abutitur uerbi fiduciam, sed et in faciem restitit Petro. quando Iudaei ab Iacobo fratre Domini, qui Hierosolimorum ecclesiam regere fuerat constitutus, Antiochiam uenerunt, cessans edere cum illis qui ex gentibus crediderant, quod primum indiscrete facere uidebatur, seipsum ab eorum coepit custodire communione. 'in qua hoc factum: non solum Iudaeis communicantibus illi, sed et Barnaba meo socio, propter illos qui a Iudaea uenerant ad

2 erat *om CH* reprehensibilis erat quia quidam *C* (*corr*) reprehensus quidem quia *H* 5 manducabant *C* 7 et *om H* 9 incederent *H* 11 quomodo (*for* quid) *H* 12 abutimur *C* H* 13 fidutia *H* | facie *C H** 16 facere indiscrete *H* 17 in quo facto *C* (*corr*) 19 Barnabae *H*

The confusion of the MSS. may perhaps be ascribed to (1) the omission by an earlier copyist of the words *cum autem ... quoniam*, (2) the subsequent re-introduction after *reprehensus* of verse 11, preceded by *sic* (or *sicut*) *dicit*. *Et erant* looks like the blundering repetition of a scribe whose eye had rested on the previous *erat*. Pitra omits *et erant* without notice, and inserts *de qua* in square brackets before *erat repr.*, which he retains. I have thought it best to omit all four words, regarding them as an excrescence upon the original text.

1. *Petrus*] So O. L.; Vulg., Cephas. The same difference occurs below, l. 10. Πέτρος, Πέτρῳ are found in Chrys., Oec., Thpht.; Dam. has Κηφᾶς, Πέτρῳ.

2. *quoniam erat reprehensus*] ὅτι κατεγνωσμένος ἦν. The corrector of the Corbie MS. has substituted the Vulg. rendering; see vv. ll. With Th.'s interpretation ("quidam quia incusabant," &c.) comp. Chrys. οὐκ εἶπεν, ὑπ' ἐμοῦ· ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων.

7. *ducti sunt in illam s.*] συνυπεκρίθησαν αὐτῷ (O. L. *consenserunt cum illo*; Vulg. *simulationi eius consenserunt*). Our translator seems to have been guided by a reminiscence of the Vulg. rendering of the following words, συναπήχθη αὐτῶν τῇ ὑποκρίσει (*duceretur...in illa simulatione*).

11. *quid gentes cogis*] The Latin versions and fathers represent the reading πῶς. Chrys., Thdt., and the other Gk. commentators (exc. Dam.) have τί.

eos, solus ego ex omnibus illis, praehonorans ueritatem, praecellenti et omnium maiori Petro stans in faciem dixi quoniam "non est iustum te, Iudaeum secundum naturam extantem, frequenter sine legitima obseruatione cibum sumere cum illis qui crediderunt ex gentibus; illos uero qui ex gentibus sunt ad legis obseruantiam deuertere."'

bene autem et secundum ordinem ea quae erga se fuerant probare uidetur—primum quidem dicens qualis erat erga legem; deinde quia ad fidem transiit, non per hominem; post illud, quoniam et apostoli complacuerunt in eius doctrinam; post omnia uero, quoniam necessitate cogente nec resistere dubitauit pro hoc ipso Petro. per omnia enim haec et illa quae sua erant confirmabat, et falsa aduersariorum esse uerba ostendebat. quoniam ergo beatus Paulus illis nunc abusus est, ut ostenderet quoniam publice pro illis qui ex gentibus sunt et iustitiam uindicare et arguere eligantissimum apostolorum non piguit. et quoniam suscepit ille quae ab hoc dicebantur euidens est. si enim aliqua controuersia de hoc fuisset oborta aut contentio adnata, alterum isto stabiliente, alterum illo firmante, necessario utique et differentia aliqua huiusmodi fuisset facta inter Christianos, aliis Paulo aliis Petro intendentibus; et aliis quidem illa quae istius erant, aliis illa quae illius suscipientibus. et multo magis hoc fiebat, eo quod Iudaei pro lege omni nitebantur intentione; illi uero qui ex gentibus erant plurima ex parte non patiebantur subici legitima obseruatione. illud autem dico, quoniam siue consensu ipsam controuersiam inter se simu-

3 existente H^* exstante H (*corr*) 7 sua erant (*for* fuerant) C 17 euid. ratio est H 19 stabiliante C^* 21 quidam C^* 25 legitimi obseruatione C^* legitimae obseruationi C (*corr*)

2. *omnium maiori*] For the construction cf. Rönsch, *Itala*, p. 435; Bensly, *Missing Fragment*, p. 87.

12. *ipso Petro*] i.e. ipsi P. Cf. Rönsch, 276, Bensly, 16.

13. *quoniam ergo*] The context seems to require *ad hoc e.* or words to that effect. Perhaps *quoniam* has crept in from the next line.

16. *eligantissimum*] Comp. comm. on iii. 6, "omnium dixi Abraham apud uos eligantiorem," and prol. to Philipp., "uiri erant eligantes et contemplatione uirtutum multis erant meliores."

26. *siue consensu ... siue quia Petrus*, &c.] An angry correspondence upon these alternative views had passed between S. Jerome and S. Augustine in the year 404. Dr Lightfoot, *Galatians*, p. 132, remarks that "Theodore of Mopsuestia,... a contemporary of the two Latin fathers, does not pretend to arbitrate between their opinions; and perhaps not more than this was to be expected from the

lauerunt pro aliorum utilitate, sunt uere quidem mirandi, eo quod omnia ad aliorum utilitatem facere adquieuerunt; siue quia Petrus illorum curam habens qui ex Iudaeis crediderant, uisus est se cohibere a communione illorum qui ex gentibus erant—Paulus uero horum qui ex gentibus crediderant curam habens, resultare et arguere eum in faciem non piguit, utrique sunt demirandi de suis sententiis et arbitriis. hic quidem qui praehonorandam omnibus credidit ueritatem, et propter hanc non piguit nec praecellenti insigni apostolorum in faciem resistere; ille uero, licet uideretur argui, tamen qui adquieuit, totum ferens silentio; et quidem ex multis negotiis primatum sibi sufficiens uindicare, illa quae erga se fuerant nullius momenti faciens ueritatem hominibus praehonorandam esse existimauit. quoniam autem contentio illorum nullam fecerit separationem, consensus eorum in consequente tempore demonstrauit. si enim uilissimorum hominum differentia et de friuolis rebus facta saepe uniuersas separauit ecclesias; quemadmodum talium contentio et de talibus negotiis effecta, si non consensus interfuisset? utique magnam omnium fecisset separationem, nullo ultra sufficiente coniungere scissam multitudinem, quae ex illorum controuersia semel fuerat separata. utri-

1 mirandi quidem *H* 7 quidam *H* 10 qui *om C* (*corr*) tamenque *H* 15 consequenti *C* (*corr*) | demonstrabit *H* 17 saepe *om H** 20 ultro *C H* 21 qui *H*

friend of Chrysostom" [who had strongly maintained Jerome's view, that the scene at Antioch was pre-arranged between the App. for the good of the Church]. Th.'s own judgment seems to me to lean to the side of Augustine, but as an expositor he is content to point out the bearing of the incident on the Ap.'s argument. It is interesting to find Facundus of Hermiane (referred to by Dr L. *l. c.*) discovering a parallel to the submission of S. Peter in the readiness with which Theodore himself had received a rebuke, and reading a lecture from this passage to Th.'s opponents: "in Theodoro discere obstinati dignentur etiam de facili lapsu sermonis admoniti apostolicam modestiam pietatemque seruare" (*def. iii. capp.* x. 2).

Theodoret's exposition is unfortunately missing from v. 6 to v. 13 inclusive (cf. Migne, *P. G.* 82, 12, 13). But his remark on v. 14 (ὁ δὲ *μέγας* Πέτρος τῇ σιγῇ κυροῖ τὰ λεγόμενα, μονωνουχὶ λέγων... ὅτι δίκαια ἐπιμέμφεται) well accords with Th.'s view of the incident; see also the reff. given by Dr L. *l. c.*

1. *quidem mirandi*] See vv. ll. Perhaps the translator wrote *mir. quidam* (θαυμάσιοί τινες); cf. p. 30, l. 4, note.

5. *Paulus ... non piguit*] οὐκ ὄκνησεν (?). Cf. p. 20, l. 11.

9. *praecellenti insigni*] Pitra: "uox ultima glossema sapit." Cf. however p. 5, l. 16, note.

que enim dignitate contendentes, proponentes pro partibus suis, stultum esse censerent, alii post Petrum, alii post Paulum, alium quidem recipere ueritatis magistrum.

usque in hunc locum bene de se Paulus satisfacere sub specie referentis properauit. omnia quidem quae sua fuerant comprobans, omnia uero quae ab aduersariis dicta de se fuerant falsa esse ostendens; ita autem modeste cuncta explicauit, ut per omnia fugere uideretur pondus eorum uerborum quae ad sui faciebat excusationem. incipit uero hinc ipsa dogmata examinare et ostendere quia nulla ratione iustum est eos post fidem quam in Christo acceperant ultra legi inseruire. bene ex illis sermonibus quos ad beatum Petrum fecisse uidetur principium dogmatum et examinis sumpsit, ita dicens:

nos autem natura Iudaei et non ex gentibus peccatores, scientes quoniam non iustificatur homo ex operibus legis, nisi per fidem Iesu Christi, et nos [in] Iesum Christum credimus, ut iustificemur ex fide Christi et non ex operibus legis; eo quod non iustificabitur ex operibus legis omnis caro.

'nos quidem non ex gentibus ad legem accessimus; sed ab origine ex Iudaeorum stirpe descendimus. uerumtamen scientes quoniam non est possibile ex operibus legis iustificari quemquam, Christo credimus, simul per illam fidem quae est in Christo expectantes et ipsi iustificari; eo quod ex operibus legis iustificari non possumus.' hunc quidem sensum et in epistola posuit quam ad Romanos scripsit, quoniam non est possibile ex

3 quidam *C* H* 9 dogmate *C* H* (ipso dogmate *H* (*corr*)) 11 b. autem ex i. *H* (*corr*) 21, 23, iustificare *C* H* 22 illum *C* H*

12. *princ. dogmatum*] Th. regards the following verses as addressed to the readers of the Ep., not as a continuation of *εἰ σὺ Ἰουδαῖος, κ.τ.λ.* (v. 14). See Meyer *ad h. l.*

14. *non ex gentibus*] The margin of Cramer's *Catena* [Coisl. 204 f. 186 (Cr. vi. 39, Fr. 124)] gives this comment in the form *ἀντὶ τοῦ· ἐκ γένους καὶ οὐ προσήλυτοι*, introducing it with the words *σχόλιον Θεοδώρου*. The remainder of the paragraph given in Cr. and Fr. is not Theodore's.

16. [*in*] *I. C. credimus*] The prep. has fallen out in the MSS.; cf. Scrivener, *Cod. Aug.* p. 497, for a similar omission of the *εἰς* in a Gk. cursive. *Credimus* (*ἐπιστεύσαμεν*): so O. L., even in the Græco-Latin MSS., *F* and *G*.

24. *et in ep. p. q. ad Romanos*] Rom. iii. 20. Comp. Th.'s comm. on Rom. ix. 32, 33, *δικαιωθῆναι ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων τοῦ νόμου τῶν ἀδυνάτων, κ.τ.λ.* (Migne, 844).

operibus legis iustificari. simul et illam quae ex fide est iustitiam comparauit illi iustitiae quae ex lege est; cuius etiam dignitatem multis modis publicare deproperauit. hoc autem idem et hoc in loco facit, necessitate maxima se conpellente. ad ostendendum uero euidentem intellectum, uolo latius pandere quid uoluit dicere illam iustitiam quae ex fide est; quid uero illam quae ex operibus legis est, quam neque adquirere alicui possibile est. etenim modum quendam non modica secundum intellectum pluribus hinc dubietas adnasci uidetur, maxime illis qui cautius considerare talia consueuerunt, quia nos extra legem non sumus; licet Moysaicam legem non eandem cum Iudaeis custodiamus, tamen sunt et apud nos aliqua quae et festinamus non praeuaricare. etenim homicidium cauemus facere, et adulterium; et ex integro illa quae cauere nos diuina monet scriptura sub lege nos esse ostendunt. omnis enim constitutio aliud agi praecipit, aliud iubet caueri; haec autem et lex est et dicitur.

Dominus Deus mortales quidem nos secundum praesentem

1 iustificare *C* H* 2 etiam et dign. *H* 8 quondam *C* H**: *corr.* quodam 11 eam quam *C H*

5. *uolo latius pandere*] In the long and important discussion which follows, Th.'s doctrine of justification comes clearly into view. The principal points are these: (1) Mortality, which is incident to the present life, is the source of passion, infirmity and liability to change. (2) In this condition, God has invested man with reason and free will, and assisted his natural powers in the choice of good by the superadded law of (*a*) conscience, and (*b*) revelation. (3) Notwithstanding these helps, man is unable in this life to attain to perfect righteousness; it is to be reached only in that future state which the Resurrection of Christ has initiated, and of which we receive in Baptism the earnest and first-fruits, through the gift of the Holy Ghost. (4) We are justified, therefore, *by faith;* for our justification (i. e. our attainment to righteousness) belongs to the domain of the future and unseen: the law cannot lead to perfect righteousness, can only condemn. (5) As members of the Risen Christ, we are free from the positive precepts of the law, which will have no place in the life to come; the moral precepts, which govern both worlds alike, are still to be observed as a part of the life of the Spirit.

9. *dubietas*] Cf. Rönsch, *Itala*, p. 54.

17. *mortales ... sec. praes. uitam*] Comp. the Latin fragm. of Th.'s treatise on original sin (Migne, 1005—11, and *P. L.* 48, 1051—5), where this view is developed and maintained: "non ait Deus 'mortales eritis,' sed *morte moriemini*, prorsus existentibus natura mortalibus inferre mortis experientiam comminatus ... non quod tunc mortales fierent, sed quod digni essent qui mortis sententiam per transgressionem referrent." "certum est enim quia si eum inmortalem esse uoluisset, ne ipsum quidem intercedens peccatum Dei sententiam commutasset, quia nec diabolum fecit ex inmortali mortalem."

uitam instituit. resuscitans uero, iterum inmortales nos facere promisit et faciet. nec enim illud contra suam ueniens sententiam, ob solum Adae peccatum ira commotus, fecisse uidetur— indecens enim id erga Deum existimare; neque secundum quod nos facit inmortales, poenitentia ductus id facit, aut quia de his melius postea uoluit cogitare. sed inenarrabili sapientia a primordio illa quae de nobis sunt omnia instituit, sicut et fas est nos sentire de illo, qui bonitate sola nos faciebat et factos tuebatur. dedit autem nobis praesentem hanc uitam mortalem, ut dixi, ad exercitationem uirtutum et doctrinam illorum quae nos conueniunt facere. multas in ea patimur uertibilitates, quasi qui et in natura mortali; nunc quidem hoc, nunc eligentes illud et facientes; in quibus non modica de illis quae non conueniunt et lege sunt interdicta facimus. omni autem ex parte rationabilitas in nos et eligendi potestas exercetur. et quod data lege possit meliorum electio adesse nobis, exinde autem et correctionem suscipimus et tristes efficimur quidem utpote in tali constituti natura. multa enim per singula momenta accidentia nobis prudentes nos exhibent, et tolerantiam nostram in accidentibus ostendunt casibus; exercemur enim in istis ipsis, et ad uirtutes prouocamur. sic autem uitam mortalem et multis passionibus subditam, ad discendam uirtutem opportunam fecisse uisus est; legesque nobis uarias ad adiutorium dedit et mores illos qui sunt secundum animae electionem; ita ut non deteriora eligamus, bonum autem inde discentes, ad huius magis curramus electionem. nam sine scriptura ad primos homines locutus esse uidetur; per scripturam uero, sicut est lex quae per Moysen data est. talem etiam et naturam nostram fecit, ut opportuna esse uideatur ad ediscenda ista in

3 ita (*for* ira) *H* 11 eas (*for* in ea) C^* H^* in eis *H* (*corr*) 14 omnia C^* *H* 16 vobis *H* 17 accipimus *H* | quidem (*before* eff.) *add C*

11. *uertibilitates*] 'uertibilitas,' 'inuertibilitas' [τρεπτότης, ἀτρεπτότης], though rare elsewhere, are frequently used in this version; cf. (*e.g.*) p. 29, l. 11: p. 30, l. 6. Paucker (*spic. add. lex. lat.*, p. 91) has noticed *inuert.* in Aug. (*mor. eccl.* 13, 23); and Pitra finds *uert.* in Anastasius (=τροπή), and *inuertibilis* in Mar. Mercator. 'Rationabilitas'=τὸ λογιστικόν (?) cf. *infra*, p. 29, l. 15. Paucker, *melet. lex. alt.* p. 43.

22. *opportunam fecisse u. e.*] Comp. Th. on Genesis (Migne, 633): "necesse est ... hic quidem praesentem mutabilitatem pati, ut optima erudiamur doctrina religiositatis."

quibus neque multum expendere nec cessemus laborare, ut scire possimus quid conueniens sit. sed sufficit nobis sola commonitio, ut firmam possimus habere apud nos si uoluerimus bonitatis cognitionem. rationabiles nos enim faciens Dominus, ipsamque rationabilitatem in nobis efficacem expedire uolens, quia nec aliter uideri possit, nisi discretione contrariorum, ex quibus et meliorum electio adquiri potest—haec enim summa est cognitio rationabilium omnium; sic quodam modo illa quae secundum nos sunt composuit, ut et aliqua uideatur inesse contrarietas apud nos, exercitationem rationabilitatis expedire sufficiens. naturalis equidem mortalitas multam nos fecit praesentium habere cupiditatem. hinc nobis cupiditatis pecuniariae inest passio, hinc gloriae appetitio, hinc uoluptatum; ex quibus dum unum quodcumque horum facimus, sub peccato cadimus. temporalis enim ista uita horum nobis, ut moris est, causam praestare uidetur; ob quam et pecunias concupiscimus, et gloriam appetimus, et uoluptatis causas sumimus. inmortales uero effecti neque alicuius horum indigemus, neque perficimus aliquid horum. etenim mortalitate naturae ad illa quae in praesenti sunt concurrentibus nobis, legis nos decreto magis fecit cautos uidere, bonitatis cognitionem firmam in nos collocans, nec ab isto subduci animae suadens proposito, cupere uero illa quae sunt uirtutum; licet summo cum labore illa nos adquirere conueniat. hinc licet ab illa quae in natura est infirmitate ad delictum deferamur, semper cauentes et homicidium facere et adulterium et furtum, et omnia illa quae ad alterius pertinent nocibilitatem—quae quoniam mala sunt, omnes uno consensu confitemur; sed non per hoc ualemus extra omne delictum nos plenius conseruare. e contrario uero, et praeter id quod nobis ex legis placet doctrina, multa propter naturae

1 cessemur *C** 4 rat. enim nos *C* 9 sec. non s. *H** 12, 13 pecuniae rei *C* H* (pecuniariae rei *C* (*corr*)) 13 hinc nos delectatio uolupt. *H.* 19 mortalitatem *CH* 20 praesente *H** 25 deferimur *H* (*corr*) 27 nobilitatem *C* (*corr*) | malae *C** 29 pl. nos *C*

19. *mortalitate naturae*] See vv. ll. Pitra reads *mortalitas*, not without some alarm at the Pelagian tendency of his own correction.

21. *fecit*] sc. Dominus (l. 4). There is the same antecedent in p. 28, l. 12, "qui...usus f., &c."

27. *nocibilitatem*] Cf. *nociuitatem* (p. 30, l. 24) and vv. ll.

facimus infirmitatem, utpote mortales. haec et beatus Paulus Romanis scribens latius uidetur explicasse, dicens: *non enim quod uolo hoc facio bonum, sed quod nolo malum hoc ago.* et, *inuenio legem uolenti mihi facere quod bonum est; quoniam mihi malum adiacet.* et, *condelector legi Dei secundum interiorem hominem; uideo autem aliam legem in membris meis, repugnantem legi mentis meae.* et illa quae in illa parte epistolae memoratus est, docens nos quam multa et per naturae infirmitatem contra propositum nostrum delinquimus, et quidem lege quod bonum est edocti. quae etiam cautius cognoscere quis poterit, si discutere uoluerit interpretationem illam epistolae quam ipsi exposuisse uidemur. qui si una quadam specie erga nos ad plenum usus fuisset, qua nos legitimo animo praeparasset praeeligere, ad hoc etiam non naturam instituens concurrere fecisset, nihil differre iumentis inrationalibus uideremur, inuiti magis ad bonitatis actum inpulsi. illa uero quae existimatur contrarietas inesse nobis, sicut nuper diximus, rationabilitatem ipsam in opere uideri perficit. euidenter autem nos nostrae uoluptatis dominos instituit, ut quod uolumus eligamus, natura quidem propter illam quae inest ei mortalitatem ad hoc nos adtrahente, legibus uero nos e contrario docentibus; et animae auctoritate discretionem eorum ad id quod sibi libitum fuerit secundum ut conueniens est faciente, sed nec deuiante umquam a suo proposito, a meliorum gloria, licet naturali infirmitate in contrarios deducatur actus. iustificari tamen in praesenti uita scrupulose, secundum legis conuersationem et maxime Moysaicae quae multa habet praecepta, et multa indiget cautela, inpossibile est. uerumtamen non sine nostra utilitate res ipsa efficitur; ut autem firmam accipiamus instructionem bonitatis,

2 scribere *C* H* 9 deliquimus *C** 10 discurre *C** discurrere *C* (*corr*) 11 ipse *C* 12 uidetur *C* (*corr*) 17 diximus *om H* 22 auctoritatem *C H* | fuerat *H** 27 multam ind. cautelam *H* 28 nostram *H**

2. *Romanis scribens*] Rom. vii. 19, 21—23. Comp. Th.'s comm., *βούλεται εἰπεῖν ὅτι καλὸς μὲν ὁ νόμος παιδεύων ἃ δεῖ τὴν ψυχήν ... ἐγὼ δὲ διὰ τῆς θνητότητος πολλὴν περὶ τὸ ἁμαρτίαν τὴν εὐβουλίαν δεξάμενος ἀπηλλάχθαι τοῦ παιδεύειν διὰ τῆς τοῦ νόμου διδασκαλίας οὐ δύναμαι.*

4. *quod bonum est; quoniam*, &c.] The punctuation adopted is Th.'s own; cf. *l. c.*, *κατὰ διαίρεσιν ἀναγνωστέον· εὑρίσκω ἄρα ... εἶτα ἐξῆς· ὅτι ἐμοὶ τὸ κακὸν περίκειται.* He explains: *κατὰ μὲν τὴν ψυχὴν χρήσιμος ὁ νόμος...τὴν περὶ τὸ ἁμαρτάνειν δὲ ἡμῶν εὐκολίαν οὐδαμῶς δύναται ἀφελεῖν, ἥτις ἀπὸ τῆς θνητότητος ἐνεγένετο.*

discamus etiam odire peccatum, non modicum auxilii ad hoc lex conferre nobis uidetur. et quidem ad exercitationem uirtutum fert nobis auxilium desiderantibus illa facere, quae bona de legis doctrina esse existimamus. in futuro uero saeculo perfectam multam iustificationem per gratiam Dei percipiemus. illa est quam in praesenti uita a diuersis didicimus exercitationibus, adhortante nos ad hoc legitimo decreto quae et conueniunt, nobis, sicut diximus, in contrarium perspicere uolentibus, ut maiori disciplina bonitatis concupiscentiam ex comparatione tali suscipere possimus. haec tunc in nobis opere implebuntur, gratia sancti Spiritus inuertibilitate per omnia custodiente nos in bonis illis, quorum desiderium cum et odio peccati in praesenti uita suscipimus, eo quod et hoc primitus nobis necessarie adesse conueniebat. siue enim illud secundum se erat existens, inrationabilitate quadam uidebamur magis in bonis mansisse; siue hoc quidem fiebat, quod secundum praesentem hanc uitam fieri in nobis exercitatio bonitatis erat futura. unde bene cum uita ista diuidens saecula, hoc quidem saeculum nobis fecit aptum, ut et exercitari in eo, et cum conuenienti discretione discere quod bonum est possimus; et animo firmo accipere uirtutis desiderium et peccati odium. futurum uero saeculum uel uita quae post horum [finem] est, praebebit nobis et quod ipsi nobis adquirere minime sufficiebamus, eo quod nullo modo

2 quidam C^* 5 perfecta multa C^* perfecte multam C (*corr*) | percipimus C 6 quae C^* H 7 de leg. decr. H^d 9 maioribus C^* 17 uobis H^* 18 hunc C H | quidam H 22 finem *om* C^* H

1. *odire*] Rönsch, *Itala*, p. 282.

14. *siue enim illud...siue hoc*] The sense can only be conjectured from this rendering. 'If we had been impeccable by nature, our perseverance would have been due to an unreasoning compliance; as it is, the good within us is of gradual growth, and this life is our practice-ground for the world to come.' For *siue...siue ...quidem* we seem to require *si...si autem*; and after *fieri*, *conueniens erat* or *oportebat*.

15. *inrationabilitate*] Rönsch, *Itala*, p. 222.

17. *cum uita ista d. saec.*] The context seems to require *ipsa—ἅμα αὐτῇ τῇ ζωῇ. κ.τ.λ.* Two *aeons* correspond to the two parts of human life, the present and the future. On *saeculum*, *αἰών*, see above, p. 5 sq.; and with the sentiment comp. a fragm. of Th. on Genesis (Migne, 633): "quod quidem placuit Deus, hoc erat: in duos status diuidere creaturam, unum quidem qui praesens est, in quo mutabilia omnia fecit; alterum autem qui futurus est, cum renouans omnia ad immutabilitatem transferet, quorum principium nobis ostendit in dispensatione Domini Christi, quem ex nobis existentem resuscitauit ex mortuis."

excepto peccato custodiri poteramus. quia ergo Christus uenit, dirigens per suam resurrectionem illa quae futura sunt, praestitit uero et nobis illorum promissionem. omnes qui in praesenti hac uita credimus Christo, quasi medii quidam sumus praesentis quoque uitae et futurae, secundum illud quidem quod mortales sumus natura, et superuenientes nobis suscipimus uertibilitates. utpote in tali consistentes natura, legem et doctrinam, ut moris est, indigemus; quae nos docet illa facere quae conueniunt, et a quibus caueri. nec enim sine labore et sudore ad uirtutes possumus dirigi, licet plurimum eius animo uideamur habere desiderium. fide autem quasi iam translatos nos in futura uita uidemus, et maxime adubi baptisma perceperimus (quod baptisma formam habet mortis et resurrectionis Christi), simul accipientes et Spiritum sanctum qui in baptismate datur. qui quasi primitiae quaedam sunt futurorum, eo quod ad perfectam inmortalitatem dandus est nobis Spiritus sanctus. ideo et regenerationis dicimus Spiritum, secundum quod et forma suae inoperationis quasi in secunda uita uidetur nos regenerare. et propter hoc a corporalibus praeceptis et illis quae propria sunt legis securi consistimus; circumcisionem adsero, et sacrificia, et dierum obseruantiam, et illorum quae eiusmodi sunt, quorum nulla in futuro saeculo lucra habemus. custodimus autem illa, ne homicidium faciamus aut adulterium aut furtum, et uniuersa illa quae ad propinqui nociuitatem a nobis fieri possunt; a

1 custodire *C H* 3 praesentem *C** 4 qui si (*for* quasi) *H** | medii quidem *C* H* medium quiddam *C* (*corr*) 7 lege et doctrina *C* (*corr*) 8 doceat *C* (*corr*) 9 oportet *add* (*after* caueri) *H* 10 uideamus *H* 12 ubi (*for* adubi) *C* (*corr*) *passim* 13 formam *H* 18 operationis *C* (*corr*) 24 nocitatem *H* nocibilitatem *C* (*corr*)

1. *excepto peccato*] Cf. p. 10, l. 16, note.

4. *quasi medii quidam*] Cf. *infr.* p. 38, l. 12, "quasi mortales quidam," where the Gk. is ὡς θνητοί τινες. The present passage is referred to in the comm. on iii. 20 (*q. v.*).

9. *caueri*] φυλάσσεσθαι or εὐλαβεῖσθαι (?). Cf. p. 8, l. 4, note. So *dirigi* (l. 10) = κατορθοῦσθαι.

12. *baptisma formam habet*] Comp. the comm. on iii. 29, κατὰ τύπον δὲ τοῦ βαπτίσματος ἐν ἐκείνοις γινόμεθα· and on Rom. vi. 17, τύπον δέ τινα καὶ σύμβολα πληροῦμεν ἐκείνων ἐπὶ τοῦ βαπτίσματος, διὰ τῆς δεδομένης ἡμῖν ἐν αὐτῷ τοῦ πνεύματος δωρεᾶς ὥσπερ ἀναγεννώμενοι κατὰ μίμησιν τῶν ἐσομένων τότε. This view of Baptism is frequent in Th.'s commentaries.

19. *illis quae propria sunt legis*] Comp. Thdt., τὰ δέ γε περὶ σαββάτου καὶ περιτομῆς καὶ λειτροῦ ... ἴδια ἦν τοῦ νόμου· οὐδὲν γὰρ περὶ τούτων ἡ φύσις ἐπαίδευσεν. See note on p. 4, l. 14.

quibus etiam et in futura nos continebimus uita, cum multo, ut fas est, studio perfectam caritatem et erga proximos et erga Deum nos habere ipso opere ostendentes. concupiscentiam autem turpem neque in sensu nostro ultra accipere poterimus, non lege quadam aut denuntiatione prohibiti, sed cooperatione solius gratiae perficientis in nos omnia quae cum labore et sudore multo uix in praesenti legis doctrinam sequentes dirigere possumus. et nec sic ad plenum a delicto possumus esse securi, propter naturae infirmitatem. quoniam ergo necdum in fruitionem futurorum bonorum quae per Christum nobis extiterunt ad perfectionem sumus constituti, per fidem autem illam quae illorum est eorum spem et promissionem suscepimus, utpote per formam in hisdem effecti; iusta ratione illa quae Christi sunt illis quae in lege sunt comparans, fidem legi e contrario sistit, eo quod necdum rerum potiti fide sola adsequi ea interim uidemur. hoc ergo uult et eo loco dicere, quoniam inpossibile est iustificari ex operibus legis, eo quod sumus natura mortales; licet ualde ad uirtutem inspiciamus. sed ut plerumque non peccemus, nullo modo fieri potest. interimere enim scit iustitiam obortum peccatum, lege condempnante illos qui delinquunt et non considerante utrum multa recte agentes erga exigua deliquerint; sed illos qui quoquo modo deliquerunt scit sub poena concludere. haec est legis natura, ut peccantem sine aliqua excusatione poenae subiciat. necessarie inquit illa quae a Christo praestita sunt nobis; qui et consummauit illa quae deerant nobis propter naturae infirmitatem, quae etiam ex fide percepimus, et tamquam in illis iam esse uidemur. non ergo iustum est denuo nos ad legem recurrere ex qua nihil lucri adquirere possumus. sed haec dicta sunt latius, ut magis apostolicum sensum intelligere possimus, et maxime eadem causa qua in multis causis illa exequi id uideretur. sed recurrendum est ad sequentiam narrationis.

in praecedentibus enim apostolus ex utriusque qualitate secundum comparationem ostendit eorum esse differentiam. multum supereminere uidentur illis ea quae secundum Christum

5 nam (*for* non) *H* 7 uita *add* (*after* in praes.) *H* 16 uidentur *H* | quo (*for* quoniam) *C* 20 ob ortum (*appy*) *H* 22 delinquerunt *C** (*bis*) *H* delinquerint, delinquerunt *C* (*corr*) (cf. Rönsch, 287; Bensly, 15) 31 uidetur *C* (*corr*) 32 sequentia *C H*

sunt, si quidem illis qui sub lege uiuunt labor et sudor frequens sit necessarius; adiecto illo quod non possint plenariam peccati habere libertatem, propter naturae infirmitatem. apud Christum uero optima quaedam est futurorum promissio, indubiam et confessam habens bonorum fruitionem. aliud adicit multo fortius praecedenti, cuius maxime fortitudo amplior esse ab illis quae praedicta sunt ostendi poterit euidenter:

si autem quaerentes iustificari in Christo inuenti sumus et ipsi peccatores, ergo Christus peccati minister est. absit.

est quidem obscuritate inuolutus intellectus apostolicus, a multa atque compendiosa prosecutione; structuram enim uerbi sui in multam produxit arrogantiam. uult enim dicere, quoniam 'secundum legem iustificari minime poterimus. accessimus ad Christum, quasi per eum adsecuti iustitiam. si autem hac spe credentes in eum inuenimur peccantes, quia legem non custodimus, uidetur aduentu suo idem peccatorum nobis extitisse prouisor. euidens est enim quoniam conuenit ad fidem nos se illam quae in se est euocare, non ut legis nos custodiam doceat

4 optime *C H*: txt *coniec. Pitra* 5 confersam *H* 10 apostolici *C** apostoli *C* (*corr*) 11 structorum *C H* 12 autem (*for* enim) *l b* 13 poteramus *C* | per (*for* ad) *H** 15 peccatores (*for* peccantes) *l b* 16 peccati (*for* peccatorum) *l* 17 nosse illam *C H*

2. *plenariam*] A favourite adj. with our translator. For exx. of the form in *-arius*, cf. Rönsch, *Itala*, p. 134, sq.

6. *amplior...ab illis*] See Rönsch, pp. 452—3.

10. *est quidem ... extitisse prouisor*] Cited by Lanfranc and Robert of B., but with the omission of *apostolicus ... arrogantiam*, possibly in consequence of the corrupt state of the MSS. Pitra changes *uerbi* into *uerborum*. The correction *structuram* for *structorum* is less serious and yields, I think, a better sense; for exx. of the interchange of *o* and *u* in MSS. cf. Bensly, *M. F.*, p. 13; Hildebrand, *Ap.* I. 803; Tisch. *Cod. Amiat.*, prolegg., p. xxix.

13. *accessimus ad Christum*] Thdt.'s comment here seems to have been based on Th.'s: *εἰ δὲ ὅτι τὸν νόμον καταλιπόντες τῷ χριστῷ προσεληλύθαμεν, διὰ τῆς ἐπ' αὐτὸν πίστεως τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἀπολαύσασθαι προσδοκήσαντες, παράβασις τοῦτο νενόμισται, εἰς αὐτὸν ἡ αἰτία χωρήσει τὸν δεσπότην χριστόν.*

14. *adsecuti*] Read, perhaps, *adsecuturi*. Both L. and R. of B. have *iustificandi*; cf. Thdt., *l. c.*

17. *prouisor*] *πρόξενος*: see comm. on vi. 17 (Gk.). So Oec., perhaps from Th.: *ἆρα ὁ χριστὸς ἁμαρτίας ὑμῖν γέγονεν πρόξενος*; Th. however appears to have read *ἄρα* rather than *ἆρα*.

ad fidem nos se illam, &c.] See vv. ll. Pitra alters *euocare non* into *et uocare nos*, interpreting "conuenit noscere nos fidem quae est in Christo, et ab ipso inuocato rogare ut legem diligenter custodire nos doceat." But he adds "explorato diu sensu...non nisi dubius emersi."

diligenter seruare; qua de causa et ante eius aduentum lex erat posita. si autem illa quae in eum est fides peccare facit illos qui legem non custodiunt, peccati nobis extitit prouisor.' et propter inconuenientiam dictorum, ut consuetudo illi est in talibus negotiis, adiecit, *absit!*

si enim quae destruxi, haec iterum aedifico, praeuaricatorem meipsum conuinco.

'praeuaricator legis dicor (hoc est, non iusta constituor ratione), cum ab ea recessisse uidebor. et aliter indecens est me haec docere alios, a quorum cura uel diligentia ipse recessi. hoc enim est me ipsum conuincere praeuaricatorem, inconuenienter a primordio discessisse a lege, si nunc quasi me ipsum reprehendens denuo ad illorum concurrere uoluero confirmationem.' et quia hoc sententialiter magis dictum esse uidebatur, quam probationem aliquam habere (necdum enim erat manifestum ne quando et ipse non iusta ratione ab illa discessisset), ostendit non esse praeuaricatum ab illa discedere:

ego enim per legem legi mortuus sum, ut Deo uiuam.

'in ipsa lege praedicatum inueniens Christum, cui et per legem oblatus, et credens, mortuus sum legi, exter factus a praesenti hac uita; illam uero quae Dei est in promissione per baptisma iam adsecutus sum.' et idipsum latius explicans:

Christo confixus sum cruci. uiuo autem iam non ego; uiuit uero in me Christus.

8 dicitur *H* | constituo *C H*: txt *coniec. Pitra* 12 non (*for* nunc) *C* H* 14 sentialiter *C* H** essentialiter *H* (*corr*) 19 praeuaricatum (*for* praed.) *C H* 21 illa *C* H*

8. *praeuaricator legis dicor*, &c.] "I am charged with having committed a sin in abandoning the standpoint of the law. To teach compliance with legal ordinances now, would be to admit my guilt."

14. *sententialiter*] ἀποφηνάμενος: cf. comm. on iv. 15. For the word *sentent.* see Rönsch, *Itala*, p. 153, *N. T. Tertullians*, p. 655.

19. *in ipsa lege praedicatum*] MSS., *praeuaricatum:* "praegrande librarii mendum," as Pitra remarks. The sentence has been copied by Lanfranc, who has preserved the true reading.

20. *exter*] Pitra: "rarus admodum est huiuscemodi rectus casus. uix unum alterumue est exemplum idque quidem dubium...solus prope laudandus est Paulinus Nolanus *carm.* xxi."

†eo quod in baptismate mortis quoque et resurrectionis formam implebant, concrucifigi dicebantur Christo qui baptizabantur; eo quod idem per crucem mortem suscipiens et a praesenti hac uita exter factus, postquam resurrexit, inmortalem uitam sumpsit. ipsi uero secundum formam baptismatis in similitudinem sumus facti, spe illa quod ut et aliquando assimilemur [et] horum necessario participemur, quando communis omnium resurrectio in consummatione saeculi perficietur tempore concurrenti,* sicut et in epistola quam ad Romanos scripsit dixisse uidetur: *hoc cognoscentes quoniam uetus homo noster crucifixus est, ut destruatur corpus peccati; ut ultra non seruiamus peccato.* †hoc ergo dicit quoniam '*concrucifixus sum Christo*, nullam ad praesentem hanc uitam habens communionem, in qua secundum legem nos necesse sit conuersari.* transiens uero a praesenti uita, quasi iam in illam uitam me aestimo uiuere, secundum quam etiam Christus in me uiuit. cui per resurrectionem adiunctus, membrum eius (id est Christi) effectus sum, dignus corpori eius copulatus esse'—caput, ut moris est, ipsum sibi adscribens. sic enim et alibi dicit: *etenim nos omnes in uno Spiritu in unum corpus baptizati sumus.*

ἐπειδὴ ἐν τῷ βαπτίσματι τοῦ τε θανάτου καὶ τῆς ἀναστάσεως τύπον ἐπλήρουν, συσταυροῦσθαι ἐλέγοντο τῷ χριστῷ, ὡς ἂν αὐτοῦ μὲν διὰ σταυροῦ τὸν θάνατον δεξαμένου καὶ ἀναστάντος· αὐτοὶ δὲ κατὰ τύπον τοῦ βαπτίσματος ἐν τοῖς ὁμοίοις γινόμενοι ἐπ' ἐλπίδι τοῦ καὶ πάντη ποτὲ μετασχεῖν τῶν ὁμοίων, ὅταν τῆς κοινῆς πάντων ἀναστάσεως ἐν τῇ τοῦ αἰῶνος συντελείᾳ τὸν καιρὸν παρεῖναι συμβαίνῃ.

τοῦτο οὖν λέγει, ὅτι CYNECTAΥΡΩΜΑΙ *(φησὶν) τῷ* ΧΡΙCΤΩ, *οὐδεμίαν πρὸς τὴν παροῦσαν ταύτην ζωὴν κοινωνίαν ἔχων, ἐν ᾗ κατὰ νόμον πολιτεύεσθαι ἡμᾶς ἀνάγκη.*

2 cum crucifigi *C** | cum bapt. *H (corr)* 5 sec. f. in b. s. *C H** sec. hanc f., &c., *H (corr)*: txt *g* 7 participamur *C (corr)* 12 cumcrucifixus sum *C** cumcrucifixi sumus *C (corr)* | n. ergo ad pr. *H (corr)* 15 in illa uita *H (corr)* 18 eff. esse *C* H* 21 sq. Coisl. 204 f. 20 b [Cr. vi. 42. Fr. 124]. *Θεόδωρος. Ἄλλος πάλιν ὧδε φησίν· ἐπ., κ.τ.λ.*

10. '*hoc cognoscentes*,' &c.] Rom. vi. 6, where Th. comments: *τῷ χριστῷ (φησὶν) ἐσταυρωμένῳ ὥσπερ ἅπασα ἡμῶν ἡ ὑπὸ τὴν θνητότητα κειμένη φύσις συνεσταυρώθη, ἐπειδὴ καὶ πᾶσα αὐτῷ συνανέστη, πάντων ἀνθρώπων αὐτῷ συμμετασχεῖν ἐλπιζόντων τῆς ἀναστάσεως.*

19. '*etenim nos omnes*,' &c.] 1 Cor. xii. 13: cited again on Eph. i. 23.

nam illud quod dixit: *uiuo autem iam non ego*, hoc est, praesentem uitam; utpote post mortem alter, et non ipse existens. nam quod dixit, *uiuit in me Christus*, quoniam illius uitam uiuit illi inmortalem. ea enim quae tunc erunt ipsis rebus, haec quasi iam facta dicit, secundum quod in formam illorum per baptisma transisse uidetur; et de futuris, quia erunt, firmam habet fidem.

deinde, quoniam adhuc mortalem hanc uitam uidetur uiuere, necdum in illa existens:

quod autem nunc uiuo in carne, in fide uiuo Fili Dei qui me dilexit, et tradidit semetipsum pro me.

'carnem' consuete pro mortalitate dicit, hoc dicens quoniam 'si adhuc aestimor mortalem hanc uitam et temporalem uiuere, sed fide iam uitam illam uiuere existimor, indubiam ultra per Filium Dei futurorum spem habens, eo quod et *dilexit me, et dedit seipsum pro me.* hac de causa dubitare ultra de futuris non possum.' quod autem dixit, quod 'nunc uiuo in carne, sed in fide uiuo,' et cetera. et quasi iam sufficienter memorans illa quae a Filio Dei data sunt nobis futura, confirmans cum fiducia adicit:

non sperno gratiam Dei.

et iterum probationem dictorum complectens:

si enim per legem iustitia, ergo Christus gratis mortuus est.

10 filii *C* (*corr*) 17 non (*for* nunc) *C H* 22 complector *C H** [*for. leg.* complectitur]

1. '*uiuo autem*,' &c.] Lanfranc abbreviates thus: "*u. autem*, quia in baptismate mortis et resurrectionis forma impletur. ea quae ipsa re futura sunt facta iam dicit, quia eorum habet spem. *uiuit autem in me Chr.*, quoniam illius uitam mortalem spe uiuit." Can *spe* be an error for *ipse*? If so and *mortalem* is right, the meaning is that Christ Himself was living the Ap.'s mortal life. But *illi inmort.* is intelligible; cf. Thdt.: *τούτῳ πολιτεύομαι οὐ περίκειμαι τὴν ζωήν.* Pitra prefers *ille.*

12. *carnem consuete pro mortalitate d.*] See the comm. on vv. 15, 16; and for the meanings attached to *σάρξ* by Th., comp. his remarks on Rom. vii. 5: *ἡ θεία γραφὴ* (*a*) *ποτὲ μὲν σάρκα λέγει τὴν φύσιν αὐτήν* (*b*) *ποτὲ δὲ οὐ τὴν φύσιν ἁπλῶς, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῆς θνητότητος οὕτως αὐτὴν ὀνομάζει...* (*c*) *ἔστιν δὲ ὅτε καὶ τὸ πάθος αὐτὸ σάρκα οἶδεν καλεῖν ...* (*d*) *καὶ μὴν καὶ τὸ πρόσκαιρον καὶ ἐφθαρτὸν ἅπαν.* In Rom. viii. 5 he explains *οἱ κατὰ σάρκα ὄντες* as=*οἱ θνητοὶ τὴν φύσιν.*

17. *quod autem d.*, &c.] "His meaning is, I am now living in the flesh, yet I live by faith, &c." (*ὃ δὲ εἶπεν, τοῦτο· ὅτι νῦν ζῶ ἐν σαρκί, ζῶ δὲ πίστει, κ.τ.λ.*).

iure id dixit; si enim pro nostra iustificatione omnia fiunt, hoc est, si autem nobis ex lege adquiri poterat, superflua utique fuit mors Christi, nihil amplius perficiens. deinde uertitur ad fidei confirmationem. et quia probationem erat adiecturus, nullam ambiguitatem sustinere sufficientem, eo quod non uerbis autem opere eius erat futura probatio; ad increpationem incipit, confidens nullam posse sustinere controuersiam illa quae a se dicenda erant:

o insensati Galatae, quis uos fascinauit? quibus ante oculos Iesus Christus proscriptus est, et in uobis crucifixus est.

uult quidem dicere quoniam 'cum multo affectu uerba crucis audistis. propter quod et credidistis illis bonis quae nobis per eum adquisita sunt, ita ut et ante oculos uestros paulo minus depingeretis ipsam crucem et illa quae eo tempore facta sunt. qua ergo fascinatione tantum abiecistis affectum, quem erga Christum habere uidebamini?' interiectum est autem totum ab illo loco, quo dixit, *quis uos fascinauit;* poterat enim ipsam increpationem curuare. nam ad illud quod dixit: *o insensati Galatae,* consequenter postea adiecit:

hoc solum uolo discere a uobis; ex operibus legis Spiritum accepistis, an ex auditu fidei?

2 omnia (*for* autem) *C* (*corr*) aut *H* | poterant *C* (*corr*) 6 aut *C H* | eius f. e. approbatio *H* 10 praescriptus *C* [cf. p. 17, l. 11, vv. ll.] | et *om H* 13 adquaesita *C H* 15 quia (*for* qua) *H* | abiectis *H** 17 quod dixit *C* H* 20 Christum (*for* Spiritum) *C H*

2. *si autem*] εἴπερ ἄρα (?) (Thdt.).

5. *non uerbis autem opere*] οὐ λόγοις ἀλλ' ἔργῳ. The MSS. give *aut* (doubtless for *aut'*), which Pitra alters into *sed*. On the place of *autem* in the sentence cf. Hildebrand, *Apuleius*, i. 234.

10. *in uobis*] Th. reads ἐν ὑμῖν ἐσταυρωμένος. So Chrys., Thdt. (*ad h. l.*).

11. *uult quidem ... uidebamini*] Cited by Lanfranc.

16. *interiectum est*] *i. e.* the natural sequence would be, ὦ ἀνόητοι Γ., τοῦτο μόνον θέλω μαθεῖν ἀφ' ὑμῶν, κ.τ.λ. Lanfranc gives the sense of this clause: "interiectum est, ab eo loco usque ad hunc: solum [hoc solum?], &c. poterat enim dicere: hoc solum uolo a uobis discere"... The reading of our MSS. is obscure; possibly a line has dropt out after *curuare;* the whole may have run thus: "p. enim ipsam incr. curuare ad illud quod dixit: *hoc solum, etc.*, nam ad illud, etc." Or *curuare* is an error for *curare;* cf. *infra*, on c. v. 10 ('*i* sanans eos", "curans Galatas"). For other instances of Th.'s habit of explaining an involved text by a parenthesis, see pp. 18, 19, 47.

20. *Spiritum*] *Christum*, the reading of the MSS., can scarcely be more than a copyist's error. See the comm.. just below.

'manifestum est; miraculorum etenim magnitudo testimonium perhibet dati uobis Spiritus. dicite ergo mihi: quemadmodum accepistis Spiritum? unde tantae donationis participationem sumpsistis? utrum ex custodia legis hoc uobis conlatum est? quando enim cura uobis fuit de lege? gentes enim antea eratis, et a nobis nihil tale docti, sed credentes solummodo in Christo, tantam accepistis gratiam. deinde (tanta quaedam uos contigit insipientia) quasi qui per fidem, excepta lege, Spiritum accepistis, denuo uoluistis recurrere ad legis obseruantiam, ut quid exinde maius accipiatis? nam cum nihil sit bonum quod exaequari possit donationi Spiritus sancti, adhuc et bonorum omnem participationem uobis non aliunde expectetis tribui; hinc et resurrectionem adsecuturi, et inmortales autem mansuri, et inuertibilitatem expectatam potituri.' et post probationem iterum adicit cum increpatione:

sic insensati estis? inchoantes Spiritu, nunc ut in carne consummamini?

euidenter ostendens quoniam ideo eos insensatos uocauit, quoniam non perspexerunt quod illis qui in Christo crediderunt superflua iam sit legis custodia, si quidem et Spiritus hinc illis datus sit, quia et ob magnas tribuendus est promissiones. sicut enim 'carnem' causa mortalitatis accepit, eo quod nihil inmortale dicitur caro; sic et 'Spiritum' causa accepit inmortalitatis, eo quod per eum expectamus exsurgentes in inmortalem

1 enim (*for* etenim) *H* 3 donationi *C* dominationi *H*^{c} 4 collatum est uobis *H* 5 etiam (*for* enim) *H* 7 tantum *C* | quaenam (*for* quaedam) *C* | uobis (*for* uos) *C* (*corr*) *H* (*corr*) 11 posset *C** *H* 13 et inmortali autem m. *C** et in inmortalitate a. m. *C* (*corr*) et inmortali m. *H** et inmortales m. *H* (*corr*) 15 increpationem *C* 21 ob magnis promissionibus *C H* [Rönsch, 408] 24 in (*bef* inmort.) *om C* (*corr*)

8. *excepta lege*] See p. 10, l. 16, note.

13. *et ... autem*] καὶ ... δέ. On the connexion between the gift of the Spirit and the hope of immortality, comp. Th.'s comm. on Rom. viii. 2: τῇ τοῦ πνεύματος μετουσίᾳ τὴν ἀνάστασιν γίνεσθαι ὁ ἀπ. φησίν ... πνεῦμα οὖν αὐτὸ ζωῆς καλεῖ ὡς ἂν τῆς ἀθανάτου ζωῆς παρεκτικόν, ἧς τότε τευξόμεθα, κ.τ.λ. Also on 1 Cor. v. 5: ἐπειδὴ ἡ ἀνάστασις ἡμῶν τῇ τοῦ πνεύματος δυνάμει γενέσθαι μέλλει, πολλάκις ἐπὶ τῆς ἀναστάσεως καὶ τῆς ἀθανασίας τὴν τοῦ πνεύματος λαμβάνει σημασίαν.

14. *et inuertibilitatem*] Cf. Th. on Rom. viii. l. c.: τότε ἄτρεπτοι γεγονότες τῇ τοῦ πνεύματος χάριτι ἁμαρτεῖν οὐκ ἐπιδεχόμεθα.

23. *Spiritum c. a. inmort.*] Thdt.: πνεῦμα τὴν χάριν ἐκάλεσεν—a comment wrongly attributed to Th. by Mai, *nov. patr. bibl.* vii. 1., p. 408.

illam uiuere uitam. unde et 'primitias' uocat illum Spiritum qui nunc nobis sed in spe tribuitur futurorum. quae futura etiam et percipiemus, perfectam Spiritus sancti suscipientes inoperationem, sicut et ipse apostolus dicit: *non solum autem, sed et ipsi primitias Spiritus habentes, et nos ipsi in nobis ipsis ingemiscimus, filiorum adoptionem expectantes, redemptionem corporis nostri.* hoc ergo dicit: 'sic insensati estis, ut neque scire possitis in quorum exemplo Spiritus sanctus sit uobis datus, sed recurritis iterum a melioribus ad deteriora; et † suscipientes Spiritum sanctum in spe inmortalitatis, quando et per gratiam ab omni erimus extranei peccato, iterum quasi mortales quidam et usque ad praesentem uitam totum definientes, sub legis custodiam uos ipsos facere uultis?'*

deinde interponit inter medias probationes illud quod maxime eos poterat ad uerecundiam perducere:

tanta passi estis sine causa?

'ut autem omnia praetermittam, quae passi estis pro Christo non erubescitis? illa etenim omnia praesentia hac uertibilitate uana nunc esse monstrastis.'

et, ut ne uideatur ad plenum desperasse de eis:

si nunc et sine causa;

δεξάμενοι τὸ πνεῦμα ἐπ' ἐλπίδι τῆς ἀναστάσεως καὶ τῆς ἀθανασίας, ὅτε χάριτι πάσης ἐκτὸς ἁμαρτίας ἐσόμεθα, αὖθις ὡς θνητοί τινες ὑπὸ τὴν τοῦ νόμου φυλακὴν ἑαυτοὺς ποιεῖτε;

2 quae *C H** | tribuetur *C* H** tribuentem *C* (*corr*) 3 etiam perc. *C* (*corr*) 4 operationem *C* (*corr*) 8 sit uobis (*om* datus) *C** s. d. u *C* (*corr*) 12 quidem *C* (*corr*) 18 praesenti *C* (*corr*) 20 adiecit (*aft* de eis, *in marg*) *add H* (*corr*) 21 non (*for* nunc) *C H* 22 sq. Coisl. 204, f. 22 a [Cr. vi. 46]. *ἄλλοι δέ φησιν δεξάμενοι, κ.τ.λ.*

1. *'primitias' u. i. Sp.*] Rom. viii. 23: *τὴν ἀπαρχὴν τοῦ πνεύματος.* Th. regards the gen. *τοῦ πν.* as epexegetical—'the Spirit which constitutes the *ἀπαρχή*.' His comment on Rom. l. c. is lost, but its sense is doubtless given by Thdt.: *διὰ τῆς ἀπαρχῆς ἐσημείωσεν, ὡς ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι αἰῶνι πολλαπλασίαν τὴν τοῦ πνεύματος δεξόμεθα χάριν. εἰ γὰρ τὸ νῦν δεδομένον ἀπαρχὴ καλεῖται καὶ ἀρραβών, εὔδηλον ὡς ἐκεῖνο τούτου πολλαπλάσιον ἔσται.* See below, on Eph. i. 13, 14.

21. *si nunc et s. c.*] See vv. ll. *Non* and *nunc* are frequently confused in the MSS.; see (*e.g.*) p. 35, l. 17. Yet *nunc* =*γε* is strange; below, p. 47, l. 3, it stands for *δή*. All the Latin authorities have *tamen* here.

id dicens ostendit se bonam de illis adhuc spem habere, expectans simul quia et se cohibebunt ab illicita aduersariorum doctrina. et post interiectionem uerborum, iterum anteriorem intellectum resumit:

qui ergo ministrat uobis Spiritum, et inoperatur uirtutes in uobis, ex operibus legis aut ex auditu fidei?

et statuens fidem de Spiritus sancti datam fuisse largitate, ostendit eius dignitatem, simul et personae magnitudinem:

sicut 'Abraham (inquit) *credidit Deo, et reputatum est illi ad iustitiam.'*

'omnium (inquit) dixi Abraham apud uos eligantiorem; a quo et omne uestrum habetur principium. hic igitur, sicut diuina scriptura de eo dicit, per fidem iustitiam adsecutus est.' et, quoniam Iudaei naturae adfinitatem proponentes plus sibi aliquid uindicare uidebantur, quod nullo modo illis qui ex gentibus erant adesse poterat, ait:

scitote ergo quoniam [qui] ex fide sunt, [hi sunt filii Abrahae].

itaque non delinquit quicumque hos dixerit esse filios Abrahae et maxime eius familiares secundum iustificationem, qui per fidem expectant adsequi iustificationem, sicut et ille est adsecutus. et, ut ne uideretur ipse uiolenter adsecutus, illud confirmare poterat, dicens:

praeuidens autem scriptura, quoniam ex fide iustificat Deus gentes, ante euangelizauit Abrahae, quoniam 'benedicentur in te omnes gentes.'

dictum est in diuina scriptura Abrahae a Deo quoniam uniuersae gentes illi communicabunt in benedictione. nam quod dixit: *benedicentur in te;* hoc est, 'tecum benedicentur,

2 simulq. etsi c. se ab &c. *C H* 5 operatur *C* (*corr*) *H* 6 uobis *H** 7 largitatem *C** *H* 11 quae (*bef* dixi) *add C* (*corr*) | eligantior est *C* (*corr*) 12 habet *H* | hoc *H* 14 affinitate *H* 15 de illis *H* 17 quia *add C* (*corr*) | hi s. f. A *om C H* 20 iustificationem *om C* (*corr*) 24 qui (*bef* ante) *add C H*

2. *exp. simul quia*, &c.] See vv. ll. The MSS. are clearly at fault; *et se* has been changed into *etsi*, and *se* added after *cohib.* to complete the sense.

28. *benedicentur...benedictionem*] Cited by Lanfranc and Robert of B.

et communicabunt tibi benedictionem; principatorem te huius benedictionis existiment.' diuina igitur scriptura in omnes gentes benedictionem uenire promittit; hoc autem quemadmodum fieri poterit super illos qui extra legem sunt, et cognationi Abrahae minime pertinere uidentur? sed non sola natura propinquitas est, quae hoc illis praestare possit; aut illa ratio, qua sub lege minime habeantur. euidens est enim quoniam non aliter participare eius benedictione possibile est eos qui extra legem sunt, et secundum progeniem nihil pertinentes ad Abraham, sed si similitudine eius uniuersitatis Deo credunt; et sic per fidem cum eo a Deo potiuntur benedictionem. unde et probationis considerans firmitatem uehementius instruxit:

itaque qui ex fide sunt, benedicentur cum fideli Abraham.

non est possibile aliter extraneos illos constitutos suscipere communionem ad eum, praeterquam si crediderint eius Deo. et quia omni ex parte fidem firmam ostendit tam a dato, id est, Spiritu, quam etiam de Abrahae eligantia, et ex illo promisso, quod a Deo ad illum fuerat factum; ostendit secundum conparationem etiam legis differentiam:

quotquot enim ex operibus legis sunt, sub maledicto sunt; sicut scriptum est: 'maledictus omnis qui non permanet in omnibus quae scripta sunt in libro legis, ut faciat ea.'

1 ut (*bef* princip.) *add C* (*corr*) 6 posset *C* 8 participari *C* (*corr*) 10 si *om H* | similitudinem *C H* 12 instruit *H* 14 fide A. *H** 16 propter q. *H** 17 et qui *C H* 18 promissio *H* 21 sicut scr. e. m. *om H**

1. *principatorem*] τὸν αἴτιον. Cf. infr. (on Phil. iii. 20): "*principatorem* et auctorem incorruptionis." Arnob. (Migne, *P. L.* 53, 369): "principium Deus est quia principator esse omnium uoluit."

8. *non aliter ... sed si*] οὐκ ἄλλως ... πλὴν εἰ. On the construction *part. benedictione*, see Munro, *Lucr.* iii. 688, note, Hildebrand, *Apul.* i. 27, and cf. *infr.* (on iii. 29): "participati estis promissionibus."

11. *pot. benedictionem*] On the construction, see Rönsch, *Itala*, p. 415, Munro, *Lucr.* ii. 659, note.

14. *benedicentur*] So Vulg. Gk., εὐλογοῦνται.

17. *a dato i. e. Sp.*] The Gr. seems to have been ἀπὸ τοῦ δεδομένου [πνεύματος], and the explanatory words are due to the translator; cf. below, "eius, id est, legis" (p. 41).

22. *permanet*] Vulg., "permanserit," but "permanet" in Deut. xxvii. 26 (Gk., ἐμμένει, in both places).

tantum autem abest ut omnes gentes communicare illi in benedictionem per opera legis possint, ut et ipsi qui sub lege sunt, [sub maledicto sint. et] a maledictione liberum esse dicit illum qui in omnibus permanet, et omnia semper cum omni implet cautela; hoc autem inpossibile est humanae naturae. non peccare enim nos nullo modo possibile est. itaque etiamsi aliquis in lege benedicatur, contra legis id fit decretum, diuina gratia legis definitionem uincente. deinde ex scriptura iterum firmat illa quae secundum fidem sunt, intercipiens illa quae in lege sunt:

quoniam autem in lege nemo iustificatur apud Deum, manifestum est; quoniam 'iustus ex fide uiuit.'

euidens est sententia: 'non aliunde iustum quemquam posse uiuere, et ut aeternorum mercedem promissionum adquirere posset, nisi solum si per fidem potiatur ista.' et confidens firmitate probationum, ostendit quoniam intercipitur illud quod ex lege est ab illo quod ex fide est:

lex autem non est ex fide; sed qui fecerit ea, uiuet in eis.

multa autem est contrarietas. lex enim recta opera exquirit, et illum qui impleuerit eius, id est, legis decretum, hunc adsequi promittit illas mercedes; quae exinde promittit, quia nihil accepturum dicit, si non primitus illa recte expedierit. qui autem ex fide potiturus est uitam, manifestum est non de sua directione posse adquiri eam; sed de diuina gratia debere eum expectare salutem. erant enim omnia firmitate eius probationis munita, eo quod omni ex parte ualidissimum fidei struxit sermonem; equidem et secundum comparationem excludens illa quae legis erant, et quod inpossibile sit exinde percipere iustificationem. ex abundanti autem ultra ostendere temptat superfluum illis

1 habet (*for* abest) *C H* 2 benedictione *H* (*corr*) | et ipsi quoque qui (*om* ut) *H* (*corr*) 3 sub mal. sint et *om* *C* H* | dicat *C* (*corr*) 6 nobis *C* (*corr*) 8 uincere *H* 15 non (*bef* posset) *add H* (*corr*) 16 probationem *C H** 17 legem *C* | illud *C H* 20 eiusdem (*for* eius i. e.) *H* 21 quae (*for* quia) *H** 26 munitae *C* H* 28 eo (*for* et) *H* (*corr*) 29 ex in habundanti *C* ex in habundantia *H* ex hab. *H* (*corr*)

27. *equidem*] Frequently used with the third person in this version; cf. Hildebrand, *Apul.* i. p. 12.

esse ut secundum legem uiuant; eo quod locum [nullum] habere uidebatur, postquam illis ea quae praedicta sunt sine ulla struxisse uidebatur controuersia. †nam et ultra superflua nobis legis est custodia. debitum enim quod debebatur legi super custodienda ab omnibus, hoc *Christus* persoluit nobis; utpote homo existens secundum quod uidebatur, et quod pro nobis suscepit, cum omni etenim cautela legem impleuit, et quasi quaedam pro nostra redemptione adpendens, *redemit nos* ab eius seruitute, et a maledicto legis securos esse per omnia fecit. qualiter, uel quomodo?

factus pro nobis maledictum (scriptum est enim: 'maledictus omnis qui pendet in ligno'); ut in gentibus benedictio Abrahae fieret in Christo Iesu; ut promissionem Spiritus accipiamus per fidem.*

latius conuenit dicere illum, qui manifestum legentibus cupit

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ἄλλως τε καὶ περιττὴ λοιπὸν ἡμῖν ἡ τοῦ νόμου τήρησις, φησίν. ὃ γὰρ ὠφείλετο τῷ νόμῳ χρέος τῆς φυλακῆς παρὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, τοῦτο ὁ Χριστὸς κατέβαλεν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν. μετὰ γὰρ πάσης αὐτὸν τῆς ἀκριβείας πληρώσας, καὶ ὥσπερ τινὰ λύτρα καταβαλὼν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν, ἐξηγόρασέν τε ἡμᾶς τῆς ἐκεῖθεν δουλείας, καὶ τῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ νόμου κατάρας ἀπήλλαξεν. πῶς καὶ τίνι τρόπῳ; γενόμενος ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν κατάρα.

1 illi (*aft* locum) *add C** illis *C* (*corr*) 2 illi *H* 2, 3 ullam, controversiam *C* H** 4, 5 legis *C* H* legi super custodiendae *C* (*corr*) 13 spiritus *om H** 16 sq. Coisl. 204 f. 24 b [Cr. vi. 52]. ἄλλως δέ φησιν· ἄλλως, κ.τ.λ.

1. *eo quod locum nullum h.*] I have ventured to substitute *nullum* for the reading of the Corbie MS., which may have been imported into this place from the following line. If *illi* is to be simply omitted (as in *H*), the meaning will then be: 'since the law has faithfully fulfilled its promises with regard to the coming of Christ, it may be supposed that it will maintain its place under the new order of things; hence the need of some further proof that it is no longer binding on Christian men.' See, however, p. 44, ll. 5, 6.

4. *super custodienda*] *sc.* lege *s.* ea. Perhaps *ea* has fallen out before *ab*. On *super=de*, followed by the abl., see Hildebrand, *Apul.* ii. 193.

11. *scr. est e.*: maledictus, &c.] γέγραπται γάρ· ἐπικατάρατος, κ.τ.λ. Thdt. also omits ὅτι.

13. *promissionem*] τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν: Vulg., "pollicitationem." O.L., Ambrstr., "benedictionem" (εὐλογίαν).

apostoli facere sensum. 'lex (inquit) omnem qui super lignum pendet maledictum esse existimat; eo quod huiusmodi poena illis statuta est, qui ultimi sceleris rei esse inueniuntur. sed Christus nihil delinquens—e contrario uero secundum omnem conuersatus cautelam, et neque sententiae mortis reus existens, eo quod nec aliquid peccauit—patiebatur eos qui se crucifigere et occidere uolebant. et quoniam non iusta ratione puniebatur, omni autem ex parte iustitia sibi opitulante, liberari a morte iustissime poterat; exsurrexit quidem ipse a morte, eo quod nec iuste ab ea tenebatur; in communi uero omnibus spem resurrectionis praestitit, tribuit etiam nobis et Spiritum sanctum, quem credentes in eum quasi arram quandam percipimus in spe futurorum; credentes quod et ipsi aequam resurrectionem simus adsecuti. sicque extra necessitatem legis uicturi sumus, eo quod post illam fidem quae in eo est, et Spiritus sancti participationem, nihil cum praesenti uita commune habebimus. sed in futuram illam uitam commigrantes, illam quae

2 pendit *C* H* 10 commune *C* (*corr*) communione *H* 11 et *om H* | sanctum *om C* 13 ipse *C** 16 communi *C H*

1. *lex* (*inquit*) ... *inueniuntur*] Cited by Lanfranc, but with a curious blunder in the last clause, if the printed text represents him truly—"qui *multis* rei inueniuntur." Pitra remarks that the passages which follow in Lanfranc's compilation under the name of Ambrose (on iii. 29, 32, 37, 42, 46, iv. 3) belong neither to this comm. nor to that of Ambrosiaster.

2. *maledictum esse existimat*] *i.e.* the words γενόμενος κατάρα describe not a matter of fact but a hypothetical condition. See an important Syr. fragment of Th.'s treatise on the Incarnation, printed by Sachau (*fragm. Syr.* ܐ sq., lat. pp. 28—30), on the Scriptural uses of γίνεσθαι, especially the following remarks upon this passage: ....

12. *quasi arram quandam*] See on Eph. i. 14: "exiguas quasdam ... primitias in praesenti accipere uidebantur, quod et ordinem arrae obtinere uidebatur."

14. *simus adsecuti*] Pitra corrects, *fuerimus*, comparing the comm. on v. 23, where he reads, "interim credimus [quod] de illis promissionem assequuti f." In the present passage the true reading possibly is *simus adsecuturi*; cf. p. 32, l. 14, note. See, however, the next note.

a Christo est benedictionem cuncti suscepimus; cuius promissum etiam dudum ad Abraham factum esse uidetur.' nam illud quod dixit, *ut in gentibus*, et iterum, *ut promissionem*, non quasi ex causa descendens dixit, sed illud quod sequitur consuete adiecit. sicque ultra et superflua nobis inuenietur legis custodia; et nullum locum ex ipsis rebus poterit habere. superfluum et quidem ultra est; redditum est ei debitum a Christo, quod a nobis debebatur. locum autem non habens, quoniam res non admittit eos qui semel transmigrauerunt in futuram uitam praesentis uitae succumbere negotiis.

et iterum ad probationem uertitur, ex ipso tempore illorum ostendens quae ex lege fuerant ista quae fidei sunt honorabiliora esse:

fratres, secundum hominem dico; tamen hominis confirmatum testamentum nemo spernit aut superordinat. Abrahae autem dictae sunt promissiones, et semini eius. non dicit: 'et seminibus,' quasi in multis, sed quasi in uno: 'et semini tuo,' qui est Christus. hoc autem dico: testamentum, ante confirmatum a Deo in Christum, illa quae post quadringentos et triginta annos facta est lex, non euacuat ad destruendam promissionem.

ualida probatio, et omnis controuersiae superior: 'hominis (inquit) testamentum neque euoluit quisquam, neque emendat. Deo autem promittente omnes gentes in Abraham debere benedici et semine eius (quod et in Christum impletum esse ipsis rebus inuenimus, in quem et omnes credimus, eo quod ex Abraham originem trahit), patrem quoque nobis Abraham

3 ut (*aft* dixit) *om H* 14 tunc *C* H* tamen *C* (*corr*) 24 semini *H* | Christo *C* (*corr*)

1. *suscepimus*] Pitra, who admits *suscipiemus* into his text, adds in a footnote, "*suscipimus* cod." Both MSS. distinctly give the perfect. Th., after his manner, regards the resurrection-life as already begun; comp. p. 35, l. 4, sq.

4. *non quasi ex causa desc.*] *i.e.* in each case acc. to Th. the ἵνα is ecbatic, not telic. Comp. his remark on c. v. 17: τὸ γὰρ ἵνα οὐκ ἐπ' αἰτίας, ἀλλ' ὡς ἀκόλουθον κατὰ τὸ οἰκεῖον ἰδίωμα ("non ... in causando ... sed quasi consequens.")

18. *ante conf. a D. in Christum*] προκεκ. ὑ. τοῦ θ. εἰς Χρ. O. L. and Vulg. "confirm. a D." [+ in Christo *O. L.*].

20. *ad destruendam pr.*] εἰς τὸ καταργῆσαι τὴν ἐπ. Our translator (exc. in Eph. ii. 9) consistently renders καταργεῖν by *destruere*; cf. c. v. 4, 11, and above, p. 34, l. 9. The Latin versions have *euacuare* in Gal. iii. and v.

22. *euoluit*] ἀθετεῖ, or the like. So below, "hancne euoluit lex?" and on v. 21, "non ut euoluat Dei promissa."

adscribimus; et illam benedictionem, quae a Deo est, expectamus. hancne euoluit lex, quae post tanto tempore facta est?' et ostendens quoniam secundum legem uiuere contrarium est illi promissioni, quae ad Abraham facta est, adiecit:

si enim ex lege est hereditas, iam non est ex promissione. Abrahae uero per repromissionem donauit Deus.

†'uox illa quae facta est ad Abraham promissionis est (inquit), quae quasi magnum aliquid donare ei promittit. lex autem integritatem uitae exigit, et tunc dat mercedem. itaque si ex lege haec dari nobis expectamus, superflua est promissio. noster enim labor, et non Dei promissio mercedem nobis restituet. si autem promissio facta est quae promittentis gratiam demonstraret, non utique legis directio est necessaria; sed Dei promissio, quae nobis communionem donat benedictionis.'*

illud autem notare in apostolicis dictis dignum est, quoniam dixit: *non dicit: 'et seminibus,' quasi in multis; sed, quasi in uno: 'et semini tuo,' qui est Christus.* non quod non possit dictum esse quod dixerit: *et semini tuo,* in commune et de omnibus intellegi, in contentione posuit; sed quoniam facta fuerat ad Abraham promissio et ad semen eius, ut uniuersae gentes, tam ipsius quam etiam seminis eius, communicarent benedictionem. praeueniens ostendit quoniam inpossibile sit in omnibus gentibus impleri promissionem, nisi per fidem solam. ex rebus ipse iterum probauit, quoniam per

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ἡ πρὸς τὸν Ἀβραὰμ φωνὴ ἐπαγγελίας ἐστίν, φησίν. ὁ δὲ νόμος κατορθῶσαι ἀπαιτεῖ, καὶ τότε δίδωσιν τὸν μισθόν· ὥστε εἰ μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ νόμου ταῦτα περιμένομεν, περιττὴ ἡ ἐπαγγελία· ὁ γὰρ ἡμέτερος κάματος καὶ οὐχ ἡ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐπαγγελία τὸν μισθὸν ἡμῖν ἀποδίδωσιν· εἰ δὲ ἡ ἐπαγγελία γεγένηται τὴν τοῦ ὑποσχομένου χάριν ἐμφαίνουσα, οὐκ ἄρα ἡ τοῦ νόμου κατόρθωσίς ἐστιν, ἀλλ' ἡ τοῦ θεοῦ ὑπόσχεσις ἡ τὴν κοινωνίαν ἡμῖν τῆς εὐλογίας χαριζομένη.

17, 18 semine C^* (*bis*) 17 quae (*for* quod) C^* quia C (*corr*) 19 aut (*bef* in cont.) *add* C H: *for. leg.* hoc. 25 sq. Coisl. 204 f. 26 b [Cr. vi. 54, Fr. 124]. *Θεόδωρος. ἄλλος πάλιν φησίν· ἡ πρὸς τὸν Ἀβ., κ.τ.λ.*

17. *non quod non possit,* &c.] Th. foresees the objection: '*σπέρμα*, זרע, are collective nouns.' He answers: 'the Ap.'s argument does not turn upon a point of grammar; he is not denying that such nouns may be used to denote a multitude.'

Christum hoc nobis adquisitum est, in quem credentes accepimus Spiritum. et illam familiaritatem quae ad Abraham est per fidem accepimus, promissionis benedictionem adsequentes. uidit scripturarum uoce illud quod rebus ipsis probari poterat, tale aliquid dicens, quoniam '†*et semini eius* absolute dictum, in Christo uerissime inuenimus impletum. hic enim semen quidem est eius secundum naturam, sicuti et ceteri qui originem exinde trahunt. credimus autem in eum, deinde et Abraham patrem nobis adscribimus; et sic benedictionis communionem adsequimur. itaque quod dictum est *quasi in unum*, potest uero et in communi *quasi in multis* intellegi, eo quod semen eius sunt omnes gentes, qui exinde originem trahunt, in Christum uerissime ex ipsis rebus impletum esse inuenimus.'*

hoc et quidem nos pro maiori cautela notauimus. apostolus uero, eo quod per omnia haec fidem confirmauit, lege eiecta, et euidentem sententiam protulit; quoniam et inpossibile est illud promissum Dei, quod ad Abraham factum est, a lege illa solui, quae post tanto delata est tempore. illam autem (id est, fidem, uel promissum) tenere et erga nos iustum est; siquidem non est lex domina soluere illa, eo quod et multo posterior ab illis esse inuenitur.

itaque ut ne lex superflua fuisse existimaretur, aut inepte et uane fuisse subintroducta, bene obiecit sibi, quod ab aliis sibi obici poterat; et soluit illud, quod maxime ambiguitatem facere uidebatur:

τὸ δὲ τῷ σπέρματι αὐτοῦ *εἰρημένον οὕτως ἁπλῶς εὑρίσκομεν ἐπὶ τοῦ χριστοῦ ἀκριβῶς πληρούμενον· οὗτος γὰρ σπέρμα μὲν αὐτοῦ κατὰ φύσιν, ὡς οὖν καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ οἱ τὸ γένος ἐκεῖθεν κατάγοντες. πιστεύομεν δὲ ἐπ' αὐτὸν, εἶτα καὶ τὸν Ἀβραὰμ πατέρα ἐπιγραφόμεθα καὶ οὕτως τῆς εὐλογίας τὴν κοινωνίαν δεχόμεθα. ὥστε τὸ εἰρημένον* ὡς ἐφ' ἑνός, *δυνάμενον δὲ κατὰ κοινοῦ* ὡς ἐπὶ πολλῶν *νοεῖσθαι, τῷ σπέρμα αὐτοῦ εἶναι πάντας τοὺς ἐκεῖθεν τὸ γένος κατάγοντας, ἐπὶ τοῦ χριστοῦ κυρίως ἐπ' αὐτῶν πληρούμενον τῶν πραγμάτων εὑρίσκομεν.*

2 illa familiaritate *C H* 3 accipimus *C** 8 dein et *H* 11 et (*for* eo) *C H* 12 quae *C* (*corr*) 14 hoc q. et nos *H* 16 et (*bef* inposs.) *om C* 18 deleta *C** | idem (*for* id est) *H* 19 uelut (*for* uel) *C H* 32 σπέρματι, Cr. Fr.

19. *siquidem non est lex domina*, &c.] *εἰ μή γε κύριός ἐστιν ὁ νόμος καταλῦσαι ταῦτα* (?)

quid ergo lex?

†secundum hypocrisin; in 'lege' debet manere. 'sed interrogas (inquit) quae sit legis necessitas, si nunc promissionem et gratiam tenere conueniebat?'

praeuaricationum causa adiecta est, donec ueniat semen cui promissum est; disposita per angelos in manu mediatoris.*

promissio quidem Dei de omnibus gentibus ad Abraham facta est, sicut de diuina scriptura id discere possibile. quod iam in Christo exitum sumpsisse uidetur. quoniam omnes constituti multa praeuaricamus necessario, nobis lex data est cohibens nos a peccato suis decretis, usque ad tempus illud, quo promissio finem conuenientem adsequatur, uiso eo per quem futurorum bonorum accepturi sumus promissum. †quod autem dixit: *usquedum ueniat semen cui promissum est;* interiectio est. nam sequentia erat: *quid ergo lex? praeuaricationum causa posita est, disposita per angelos in manu mediatoris;* ut

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καθ' ὑπόκρισιν ἀναγνωστέον. ἀλλὰ τοῦτο ἐρωτᾷς· τίς ἡ τοῦ νόμου χρεία, εἴπερ δὴ τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν καὶ τὴν χάριν ἔδει κρατεῖν; τῶν παραβάσεων χάριν προσετέθη.

ἄχρις οὗ ἔλθῃ τὸ σπέρμα ᾧ ἐπήγγελται. τοῦτο δὲ παρέγκειται· ἡ γὰρ ἀκολουθία· τί οὖν ὁ νόμος; τῶν παραβάσεων χάριν προσ-

1 propter transgressionem posita est *add C H* (v. note) 2 interrogans *C H* 3 necesse *C* H* | non (*for* nunc) *C H* txt *g* 8 est (*aft* disc.) *C* (*corr*) 9 iam (*aft* exitum) *add C* H* 11 discretis usque ad t. ad i. *C** 15 erit *C* 17, sq. Coisl. 204 f. 26 b [Cr. vi. 55]. καθ' ὑπόκρ. ἀναγν., φησίν κ.τ.λ. In margin, τοῦ χρυσοστόμου.

1. *quid ergo lex?*] See vv. ll. Pitra well remarks: "praepropere codex addit *propter transgr. p. e.* haec infra et aliter" [viz. *praeuaricationum causa adiecta* (*posita*) *est*]. The copyist's (?) insertion is from the Vulg. (transgressionem, *f*).

2. *secundum hypocrisin*, &c.] *i. e.* the question, τί οὖν ὁ νόμος, introduces a dialogue, in which an objector is answered by the Ap. Thdt. reproduces this view: τί οὖν ὁ νόμος; καθ' ὑπόκρισιν ἀναγνωστέον. τοῦτό (φησιν) θέλεις μαθεῖν, τίνος χάριν ὁ νόμος ἐτέθη; ἐγὼ σε διδάσκω.

in lege debet manere] 'The pause follows ὁ νόμος: beware of punctuating τί οὖν; ὁ νόμος, κ.τ.λ.' S. Augustine at one time accepted the punctuation which Th. here condemns, but ultimately relinquished it: *Retract.* i. 24. See Tisch.[8] *ad h. l.*

5. *cui promissum est*] Our translator agrees with the earlier Latin authorities (Iren.[int], Amb., Aug., Ambrstr.) in taking ἐπήγγελται as a passive. Vulg., *cui promiserat.*

illud quod dixit *disposita* de lege dictum fuisse intellegatur.* sic et illud quod dixit ad Hebraeos, de ipsa dicit lege: *si enim quod per angelos narratum est uerbum, fuit firmum, et omnis praeuaricatio et inoboedientia iustam accepit mercedum retributionem.* dicit autem *per angelos* legem fuisse dispositam, quasi angelis tum ministrantibus, quando lex dabatur. nam et in morte primitiuorum angelum esse dixit Moyses, qui primitiuos Aegyptiorum interfecit. et de manna beatus Dauid dixit: *panem angelorum manducauit homo*, quasi qui per illos fuerat datus. omnia autem haec ad legis concurrunt datum. nam quod dixit: *in manu mediatoris*, Moysi dicit. et bene adicit:

mediator autem unius non est. Deus autem unus est.

hoc dicens, quoniam 'Moyses quidem Dei et hominum illorum, qui legem accipiebant, mediator erat. *Deus autem unus*

ετέθη, διαταγεὶς δι' ἀγγέλων ἐν χειρὶ μεσίτου· *ἵνα ᾖ* διαταγεὶς *ἐπὶ τοῦ νόμου νοούμενον.*

14 erant *C** | unius *H* 15 ἀγγέλου Coisl. 204, ἀγγέλων Coisl. 26.

2. *ad Hebraeos*] c. ii. 2. Thdt. has the same reference: *τῶν δὲ ἀγγέλων ἐμνημόνευσεν κἂν τῇ πρὸς ἑβραίους ἐπιστολῇ· ἔφη δὲ οὕτως· εἰ γὰρ ὁ δι' ἀγγ., κ.τ.λ.*

5. *per angelos legem f. d.*] So Thdt., *ἐτέθη ἀγγέλων ὑπουργούντων.* Chrys. wavers: *ἢ τοὺς ἱερέας ἀγγέλους καλεῖ, ἢ καὶ αὐτοὺς τοὺς ἀγγέλους ὑπηρετήσασθαί φησιν τῇ νομοθεσίᾳ.*

7. *angelum esse dixit*] See Exod. xii. 23, where הַמַּשְׁחִית (LXX., *ὁ ὀλοθρεύων*, cf. Heb. xi. 28) doubtless implies an angelic agent; comp. Ps. lxxviii. (=lxxvii.) 49. On *primitiuus=primogenitus*, cf. Rönsch, *Itala*, p. 130; *ib.*², p. 514.

9. *panem angelorum*] לֶחֶם אַבִּירִים; LXX., *ἄρτον ἀγγέλων*: Ps. lxxviii. (lxxvii.) 25. Th.'s comment on the passage is as follows: *οὐχ ὃν ἄγγελοι ἤσθιον, ἀλλ' οὗ πρὸς τὴν καταγωγὴν οἱ ἄγγελοι διηκόνουν· ὥσπερ καὶ τὸ 'ἄρτον οὐρανοῦ ἔφαγεν ἄνθρωπος,' οὐχ ὃν ὁ οὐρανὸς ἤσθιεν, ἀλλ' ὁ ἐκεῖθεν καταφερόμενος.* (Corder. *caten. in Psalmos*, ii. p. 640). To the same effect Thdt.: *ἄρτον ἀγγέλων καλεῖ, ὡς δι' ἀγγέλων χορηγηθέντα.* On the other hand, Athan. compares *πνευματικὸν ἔφαγον βρῶμα* (1 Cor. x. 3), adding *τοῦτο δὲ ἦν ὁ νῦν ἄρτος ἀγγ. ὀνομαζόμενος.*

11. *Moysi dicit*] So Thdt.: *Μωϋσέως διακονοῦντος· αὐτὸν γὰρ μεσίτην ἐκάλεσεν.* And the MS. catena, Coisl. 26 (f. 237, a): *μεσίτην δὲ οἱ μὲν Μωσέα φασίν, ὡς...μεσιτεύσαντα τῷ θεῷ καὶ τῷ λαῷ.* Comp. Severianus, *hom.* 3 (Aucher, p. 113). The view was held also by S. Basil and his brother, Greg. of Nyssa. On the contrary, Chrys., following the lead of Origen (Lightfoot, *Galatians*, p. 146), says, *μεσίτην ἐνταῦθα τὸν χριστόν φησιν.* Sedulius Scotus, *ad h. l.*, perhaps refers to Th.: "siue Moysi, ut quidam putant; nam et Moyses (aiunt) inter Deum et populum medius fuit" (Migne, *P. L.* 103, 187).

14. *Deus autem unus est*] 'Many as

est, idem qui et legem tunc dedit; et nunc illa, quae secundum Christum sunt, excellentiora demonstrauit.' conuenit autem non rerum intendere differentiae, sed operantis dignitatem, sincera mente perspicientes rerum differentiam; et competentem de illis et consentaneam diuino iudicio depromere sententiam, ita ut meliora haec esse reputentur, quae apud uniuersitatis Deum talia esse uidentur. considerandum est hinc etiam illud quod dicebamus, quoniam illa quae secundum Christum sunt, in futuro saeculo ueram adsequentur plenitudinem; quando neque peccare possumus, neque legitimorum indigemus aliquorum. etenim si etiam et fides iam in illis esse uideatur; sed et praeuaricamus, et lege prohibemur peccare. apostolus ergo praeuaricationum gratia legem adpositam esse dixit, quasi quod iam ultra lex in nobis non habeat locum, post Christi aduentum; eo quod neque inpossibile sit nos ultro praeuaricare. quoniam autem secundum praesentem uitam, et post aduentum Christi, subditi adhuc esse uidemur ut delinquamus, et hac de causa legem indigemus; cui et intendentes a delicto, secundum ut possumus, nos extrahere properamus. nemo istis potest contradicere, eo quod interim medii quidam sumus, sicut et in superioribus dixi. secundum fidem quidem in illis iam sumus constituti; commoramur uero in istis adhuc, fratres, naturae mortalitate. unde et apostolus, rerum dignitate considerata, iusta ratione de futuris comprobare properat; eo quod per fidem illa percipimus interim. ideo et fidei rationem modis

3 nos (*for* non) *C* (*corr*) | differentias et *C* (*corr*) 6 ne (*aft* ut) *add C H* | reputantur *C* H* | apud *om H* 11 sic (*for* etenim si) *H* 13 gratiam *C* H* 18 lege *C* (*corr*) 23 mortalitatem *C**

are the points of contrast between the Law and the Gospel, One and the Same God is the Author of both.' Thdt.: *ὁ καὶ τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν τῷ Ἀβραὰμ δεδωκὼς καὶ τὸν νόμον τεθεικώς, καὶ νῦν τῆς ἐπαγγελίας ἡμῖν ἐπιδείξας τὸ πέρας. οὐ γὰρ ἄλλος μὲν ἐκεῖνα Θεὸς ᾠκονόμησεν, ἄλλος δὲ ταῦτα.* Neither Th. nor Thdt. attempts to shew how the clause so interpreted coheres with the preceding words, *ὁ δὲ μ.*, *κ.τ.λ.*

3. *intendere ... dignitatem*, &c.] On the constr., see Hildebrand, *Apul.* ii. 333.

6. *ut meliora*] The MSS. insert *ne*; but unless the sentence is otherwise corrupt the negative must be a copyist's error, originating perhaps in the repetition of the first syllable of *meliora*.

12. *proh. peccare*] Cf. Apul. *de mag.* 74 "prohibitum isse."

21. *in sup. dixi*] See p. 30, l. 5.

22. *fratres*] So again, p. 51, l. 19, and p. 54, l. 15. Here, and in the third instance, the word seems to have been added by the monastic copyist; in the other place it may represent an original *ἀδελφοί*.

omnibus comprobare festinat. dicens autem apostolus sufficienter in praecedentibus legis necessitatem, adiecit:

lex ergo aduersus promissa Dei? absit.

haec ergo eius est necessitas, non ut euoluat Dei promissa. ex ipsis rebus ostendens illum esse uerum:

si (inquit) *data fuisset lex quae poterat uiuificare, uere utique ex lege esset iustitia. sed conclusit scriptura omnia sub peccato, ut promissio ex fide Iesu Christi detur credentibus.*

†'si quidem talis aliqua uirtus aderat legi, ut illis qui sub se conuersabantur fructum et iustificationis et aeternae uitae conferre posset; intercipere utique promissionem poterat lex, ipsa pro illa praestans nobis iustificationem. nunc uero ex contrario execratur quidem peccatum; liberare uero a peccato non praeualet eos, qui propter naturae infirmitatem corruunt in peccato. per quae hanc magis arguit infirmitatem nostram, quam ad iustificationem habemus, immo, ut plenius dicam, inpossibilitatem; ostendens nos necessario indigere Christi gratiam.* cuius maxime fruitionem percepimus, secundum uerum Dei promissum, per fidem illam quae in Christo est; quae sub lege nobis conuersantibus adquiri a nobis minime potuit. haec per illam fidem quam in Christo habemus percipiemus.' ualde

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εἰ γὰρ τοιαύτη τις δύναμις τῷ νόμῳ προσῆν, ὥστε τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτῷ πολιτευομένους καὶ δικαιοῦσθαι καὶ τῆς αἰωνίου δύνασθαι τυγχάνειν ζωῆς, ἀναιρετικὸς ἦν τῆς ἐπαγγελίας ὁ νόμος, αὐτὸς ἀντ' ἐκείνης τὴν δικαίωσιν παρέχων· νυνὶ δὲ τὸ ἐναντίον, ἀπαγορεύων μὲν τὴν ἁμαρτίαν, ἀπαλλάττειν δὲ αὐτῆς οὐκ ἰσχύων τοὺς διὰ τὴν τῆς φύσεως ἀσθένειαν καταπίπτοντας εἰς αὐτήν, καὶ διὰ τούτου μειζόνως ἐλέγχων ἡμῶν τὸ πρὸς δικαίωσιν ἄτονον, μᾶλλον δὲ πάντη ἀδύνατον, ἀναγκαίως τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ χάριτος δεομένους δείκνυσιν ἡμᾶς.

5 uenturum (*for* uerum) *H* 10 iustificationes *C* | et (*aft* iustif.) *om C* (*corr*) *H* 11 possit *C* H* 15 quem (*for* quae) *C H* 17 gratia *C* (*corr*) 20 est (*aft* lege) *add C** 21 per f. i. *H* 22 sq. Coisl. 204 f. 26 b [Cr. vi. 55, Fr. 125]. *θεόδωρος δέ φησιν· εἰ γάρ, κ.τ.λ.* 23 *δικοῦσθαι* (*sic*) cod. 24 *ὁ ν. αὐτός* (*sic*) edd.

5. *illum*] For exx. of *illum*=*illud*, see Rönsch, *Itala*, p. 276.

16. *inpossibilitatem*] *τὸ ἀδύνατον*, impotentiam. Cf. Tert. *de bapt.* 2, Cassian. *de incarn.* vi., Petr. Chrysol., *serm.* 51 (Paucker). In Rom. viii. 2, the Latin versions use the periphrasis "quod inpossibile erat."

concordat hoc in loco dictum *conclusit*, cum illo dicto quod et ad Romanos dixit: *conclusit enim Deus omnes in incredulitate.* simile enim est et uoce et negotio. illic enim secundum hoc dicit nos esse conclusos, secundum quod in praesenti saeculo infirmitas nostra arguitur; tunc uero Dei potiemur misericordiam. quod maxime cognoscere quis poterit, cautius si nostram decurrere uoluerit interpretationem, in qua latius id explicasse uidemur. et hoc in loco hoc dicit quoniam 'infirmitas nostra ostensa est illa lege quae dudum data est, eo quod dirigere illud quod nobis conueniens est non possumus. in quantum enim lex peccata cauere decernit, tanto magis scientes eius prauitatem cogimur propriam sentire infirmitatem, eo quod non possumus agere illud quod nobis bonum esse uidetur; ita ut ex ipsa comparatione Dei in nos maior adpareat gratia, qui nobis fecit inesse cum omni facilitate, quod ipsi nobis nec cum labore maximo adquirere potuimus securi, et quidem scientes quoniam malum est peccare. quod et cauere ualde uolumus, eo quod ipsa lex nobis ostendit; sed non possumus id expedire, fratres, naturae infirmitate.'

ad suam iterum sequentiam recurrit apostolus. ostendit quidem legis utilitatem, ex cuius comparatione magnitudinem eorum publicat quae sunt secundum Christum.

priusquam ueniret (inquit) *fides, sub lege custodiebamur conclusi in eam fidem, quae incipiebat reuelari.*

†notandum est in his illud maxime, quod multis utile esse uidetur (illis tamen qui sciunt), quoniam illorum quae

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ἐπισημαντέον ἐκεῖνο, ὅτι τῶν κατὰ Χριστὸν ποιεῖται μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν

2 ad *om H** 11 peccati *C* 14 magis (*for* maior) *C* (*corr*) 15 facultate *H* 19 infirmitatem *C** 25 inquit (*aft* est) *add C H* 27 sq. Coisl. 204 f. 28 b [Cr. vi. 57, Fr. 125]. *θεοδώρου. ἐπισημαντέον, κ.τ.λ.*

2. *ad Romanos*] c. xi. 32. In his commentary on the Minor Prophets (Migne, 325) Th. interprets this passage: *ἐκ τῶν προειληφότων τὴν ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐπαιδεύθημεν ῥοπήν, ἵνα μάθωμεν ὅτι θείας χάριτος δεόμεθα.* His remarks on the passage itself are lost, unless the fragment ascribed to Diodore (Cramer iv. 424) be really Theodore's. Thdt. (in a passage wrongly ascribed to Th. by Mai, *nov. patr. bibl.* vii. 1. p. 408) explains: *τὸ συνέκλεισεν ἀντὶ τοῦ 'ἤλεγξεν,' τέθεικεν*; and similarly Chrys.

9. *dirigere*] *κατορθοῦν*: see p. 52, ll. 2, 28.

24. *quae incipiebat*] *τὴν μέλλουσαν*. So Hil. (in Ps. xci.), Ambrstr. For incipere = *μέλλειν*, see Rönsch, *Itala*, pp. 369, 370.

25. *notandum est*, &c.] See Th.'s comm. on Eph. i. 4, *infra*.

secundum Christum sunt de illis quae futura sunt facit probationem; eo quod et uniuersa illa quae ab eo directa sunt, tunc nobis rebus ipsis erunt manifesta.* complectitur uero cum illis fidei simul et promissionis uocabulum, nec non et gratiam, sic illa nominans. et in his omnibus examinat illa. †uocat autem ista 'fidem' quidem eo quod necdum rebus ipsis in illis sumus, sed interim credimus de illis; 'promissionem' uero, eo quod iam de illis promissionem adsecuti fuerimus; et 'gratiam' iure illa nominat, eo quod donum quoddam euidens est Dei quod nobis tribuitur, non de nostro merito, sed de illius liberalitate habens principium. discutit uero cum illis omnibus iusta ratione legem conferens.* siue enim futura quis examinare uoluerit, quando ipsa rerum fit demonstratio, superflua est lex; eo quod nullum tunc indigemus praeceptum, quando per diuinam gratiam excepto omni seruamur peccato. siue quis fidem examinans aut promissionem aut gratiam, comparare illis uoluerit legem, superflua lex inuenietur, istis uim suam uindicantibus; eo quod, lege extante, nihil adsequi boni possibile est, si non primitus uitam suam quis direxerit secundum legis decretum. et superflua erit fides, si haec ita se habent. superflua autem erit et promissio; eo quod nihil eos adiuuare poterit, si non legitima custodierint. et gratia quoque nullum habebit locum, si legitima conuersatio a nobis scrupulose est exquirenda. si autem et credentes iustificamur, et promissae ad nos promissiones confessam bonorum accipiunt consummationem, uacat omnis legis dirigendae sol-

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μελλόντων ὡς εἰκὸς τὴν ἀπόδειξιν, ἐπειδὴ πᾶσα τῶν παρ' αὐτοῦ κατορθωμάτων ἡμῖν ἡ φανέρωσις ἐπὶ τῶν πραγμάτων γίνεται τότε. καλεῖ δὲ πίστιν μέν, ἐπειδὴ μηδέπω γεγονότες ἐπὶ τῶν πραγμάτων, πιστεύομεν τέως περὶ αὐτῶν, ἐπαγγελίαν δέ, ὡς ἂν τὴν περὶ αὐτῶν ὑπόσχεσιν ἤδη κεκομισμένων ἡμῶν, καὶ χάριν δὲ εἰκότως αὐτὰ ὀνομάζει μάλιστα, ἐπειδὴ δωρεὰ σαφής τις τοῦ θεοῦ ἐστιν τὰ διδόμενα, οὐκ ἀπὸ τῆς ἡμετέρας ἀξίας, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτοῦ φιλοτιμίας ἔχοντα τὴν ἀρχήν· ἀντιπαρεξετάζει δὲ τὸν νόμον πᾶσιν εἰκότως.

1 qui (*for* quae) *H* 5 illam (*for* illa) 1°, *C* (*corr*) 2°, *C* 6 istam *C H* 6, 7 necdum—uero *om* (*per homoeotel.*) *H** 9 illam *C* illi *H* | bonum (*for* donum) *H* 15 seruamus *H* 23 legitime *C H* 26 omnes leges *C**

25. *confessam*] ὡμολογημένην; cf. Hildebrand, *Apul.* ii. p. 587, and *infra*, p. 56, l. 26.

licitudo; Domino Deo iustificationem nobis sua misericordia per fidem donante, secundum suum promissum. unde et apostolus frequenter fidem gratiam nominans manifestus est. et sicut dixi, sicuti et in praesenti epistola inperfectioribus dicit: *miror quod sic cito transferimini ab eo qui uocauit uos in gratiam Christi;* similiter itaque et in praesenti sermone nominat 'fidem,' hoc dicens quoniam 'ante Christi aduentum, et priusquam nobis ista adessent quae nunc adquisita sunt per eum, eramus sub legis doctrina custoditi, ita ut possemus ista tempore adsequi competenti. uirtutum enim doctrina et diuinae cognitionis communicatio secundum [legem] diuinam nobis aderant; et prophetarum prophetiae a longo tempore nos praemonebant expectare Christum, aptos nos ad eorum susceptionem esse facientes, ita ut illorum instructi doctrina, nullam inesse nouitatem in his quae postea manifestabantur aestimaremus, nihilque esse extraneum aut nouum de illis reputaremus, quae praeter omnem accidebant spem. ex nobis etenim qui sub lege eramus, adparuit Christus, et nos primos habuit in se credentes; sicque ex nobis in omnes homines suam defundere fecit cognitionem. quae tamquam uia quidem extitit omnibus qui eum susceperunt, illa quae in lege et prophetis scripta erant de eo; unum quidem, quia segregati eramus

3 suam (*for* fidem) *C H* 4 inperfectionibus *C** 7 dominum [dn̄m] (*for* quoniam [qn̄m]) *C H* 9 doctrinam *H* | possimus *C** 10 uirtutem *C** | diuini *C H* 11 legem *om C H* 13 eius (*for* eorum) *C* (*corr*) 15 aestimaret nos *C H* 17 accedebant *C* [cf. Hild. *Apul.* i. 316] 19 difundere *C* (*corr*) *H* (*corr*)

3. *fidem gr. nominans m. e.*] πίστιν φαίνεται τὴν χάριν ὀνομάζων (?). The juxtaposition of *fidem gratiam* seems to have perplexed the copyists, who substituted *suam* for the former noun. In the next clause *sicut dixi* is perplexing; no such remark occurs in the comm. on c. i. 6. The original form of the sentence may have been "et sicut dixit et in pr. ep." *Inperfectioribus* is possibly an error or correction for "in superioribus."

11. *sec.* [*legem*] *diuinam*] So Pitra, without however noticing that *legem* is not in his MS. I reprint his text, but confess myself dissatisfied with it. *Diuinam* looks like the blunder of a scribe whose eye was resting on *diuinae* in the previous line. If it is to keep its place and a noun must be supplied, why not *sec. donationem diuinam?* Or should we read *sec. diuinum* or *diuina* (κατὰ θεῖον, κατὰ τὰ θεῖα)?

19. *defundere fecit*] κατήρτλησεν (?). *Defundere* appears to be intransitive. In the next sentence Pitra changes *quidem* into *quaedam*, and inserts *secundum* before *illa*. His suspicion that something has been lost seems to be needless—the sense is clear: 'the first believers were led to Christ by the teaching of the Law and the Prophets.'

nos a ceterorum permixtione per legis doctrinam; ita ut pii seruati opportuni esse uideremur illa quae secundum Christum sunt suscipere. nam prophetis ante multorum temporum spatia id praedicantibus, cognoscentes ante exitum negotii illa quae secundum Christum sunt iam uidemus, sicque illa recipimus postquam facta sunt.' in euangeliis et quidem uidetur ad Petrum Andreas frater eius dixisse: *quem scripsit Moyses in lege, et prophetae, inuenimus Messiam, qui est Christus.* magis quoque aduenientibus, dum Herodes legisperitos interrogaret, responderunt ei quoniam in Bethleem eundem uenturum expectant secundum propheticam uocem. et multa huiusmodi inueniet quis in euangeliis inserta. quibus unusquisque a primordio denuntiatione praecedentium prophetarum de Christo instructus, praedicationem euangeliorum uisus est suscepisse; eo quod et dudum et ex longo tempore ab illis id fieri sperabatur, fratres. quod bene dicit apostolus:

itaque lex paedagogus noster fuit in Christo, ut ex fide iustificemur.

'iustificatio igitur ista et bonorum omnium caput Christi extitit aduentus. ex quo et resurrectionem percepimus, et inmortalem uitam potiti sumus. in qua existentes, ultra non peccabimus; sed in multa constituti delectatione custodiemur, affectum erga Deum inlibatum seruantes, et nullum occursum tristitiae sustinentes. lex autem bona est, quae paedagogi locum implens ad ista nos perduxit, et sua doctrina horum nobis manifestauit aduentum. itaque et utilis est nobis, eo quod ad mag-

1, 2 pii s. oportune C^* *H* pie s. oportuni *C* (*corr*) [oport. (*passim*) *C H*] 3, 4 id spatia *H* (*corr*) 15 fratres *om C* (*corr*) 19 ergo (*for* igitur) *H* 22 delectione C^* 24 tristitia C^* tristitiam *H* 26 nobis *om C* (*corr*) *H*

6. *ad Petrum Andreas*] Th. has blended the words of S. Andrew (John i. 41: εὑρήκαμεν τὸν Μεσσίαν ὅ ἐστιν μεθερμηνευόμενον Χριστός) with those of S. Philip (*ib.* 45: ὃν ἔγραψεν Μωϋσῆς ἐν τῷ νόμῳ καὶ οἱ προφῆται, εὑρήκαμεν).

9. *legisperitos*] τοὺς ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ γραμματεῖς τοῦ λαοῦ (Matt. ii. 4). *Dum interrogaret*, almost = *cum int.*; cf. Ps. lxxv. 10, *dum resurgeret* (ἐν τῷ ἀναστῆναι, *cum res.*, Vulg.), cited by Rönsch (*Itala*, p. 400) from the Roman Missal. See also exx. from Beda, *H. E.* iii. iv., collected by Mayor and Lumby, p. 454.

25. *ad ista nos perduxit*] Th.'s exposition thus holds off from the inference of several of the Gk. commentators, that the Ap. regards Our Lord as the Teacher to Whose school men were conducted by the Law; cf. Thdt.: οἷόν τινι σοφῷ διδασκάλῳ προσφέρει τῷ δεσπότῃ Χριστῷ: and Oec.: ὥσπερ ὁ παιδαγωγὸς προδιδάσκει τοὺς παῖδας ἵνα εἰς διδασκάλους [διδασκάλου?] φοιτήσαντες εὐμαθέστεροι ἔσονται.

nitudinem istorum nos perducere ualuit. et ut nec esset ultra, iustum est, eo quod intentio eius fine conclusa est; aduentu rerum perfectarum finem est consecuta.'

ualde huc mirifice legem laudauit, et magnitudinem gratiae supereminentem publicauit. quod et magis ostendit, paedagogum uocans legem. nam paedagogi utiles quidem sunt puerulis paruulis propter paruulitatem eorum. non sunt autem necessarii, quando puer in usu effectus ad perfectam profecerit doctrinam. quoniam autem sufficienter legis utilitatem ostendit, temptat ultra ex comparatione etiam gratiae publicare magnitudinem, simul comprobans ex his, quoniam ultra locum non habent illa tenere:

ueniente autem fide, iam non sumus sub paedagogo.

quare?

omnes enim filii Dei estis per fidem, quae est in Christo Iesu.

†hoc est ut dicat, 'perfecti estis.' hoc enim erat consequens, ut post paedagogi memoriam, filios Dei diceret. filio enim Dei nihil minus est, quo non sit perfectus.* sed quoniam probationem filiorum adoptionis inmortalitatem diuina scit esse scriptura, et quod non decet filios Dei mori, sicut et Dauid in psalmis dicit: *ego dixi: dii estis, et filii Excelsi omnes; uos autem sicut homines moriemini*, quasi quia non deceat mori illos

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ἀντὶ τοῦ εἰπεῖν τέλειοι· τοῦτο γὰρ ἀκόλουθον πρὸς τὸ ὑπὸ παιδαγωγόν, τὸ γίοὶ θεοῦ εἰπεῖν. τῷ γὰρ υἱῷ τοῦ θεοῦ οὐδὲν λείπει πρὸς τελειότητα.

1 ne cesset *H* (*corr*) 4 ualde hoc *C* (*corr*) 8 perfecerit *H* 23 sq. Coisl. 204 f. 28 b [Cr. vi. 58, Fr. 125]. *θεόδωρος* (marg)

15. *omnes enim filii*] Cf. the ecthesis condemned at Ephesus: *δθεν δὴ καὶ πολλοὶ υἱοὶ κατὰ τὸν μακάριον* λεγόμεθα Παῦλον (Migne, 1017).

16. *hoc est*, &c.] Thdt.: *ἔδειξεν τῶν πεπιστευκότων τὸ τέλειον.*

19. *diuina scit ... scriptura*] Cf. Luke xx. 36: *υἱοὶ εἰσιν θεοῦ τῆς ἀναστάσεως υἱοὶ ὄντες.* Rom. viii. 23 (cited below).

20. *sicut et Dauid*] Ps. lxxxii. (lxxxi.) 6, 7. *Moriemini* is from the O. L. and Vulg.; the LXX., which Th. followed, has *ἀποθνήσκετε*; cf. Thdt. (on Pss., *l. c.*), *ὑμεῖς δὲ ὡς ἄνθρωποι ἀποθνήσκετε ... ὁ δὲ Σύμμαχος οὕτως ... ἀποθανεῖσθε.* Comp. Th.'s comment on Rom. viii. 19: *τὴν υἱοθεσίαν τὴν ἀθανασίαν καλῶν, ἐπειδὴ υἱῶν εἶναι νομίζει θεοῦ τὸ ἀθανάτους εἶναι· δθεν καὶ ὁ Δαβὶδ λέγει· 'ἐγὼ εἶπα· θεοί ἐστε καὶ υἱοὶ ὑψίστου πάντες· ὑμεῖς δὲ ὡς ἄνθρωποι ἀποθνήσκετε·' ὡς ἂν οὐκ ἔχοντος λόγον τοῦ ἀποθνήσκειν τοὺς υἱοὺς τοῦ θεοῦ χρηματίσαντας.*

qui filii Dei nuncupati sunt; quod nullo modo illis accidere fas erat, si uirtutibus donatam sibi adoptionem filiorum custodire uoluissent; ideo filiorum adoptionem apostolus resurrectionem esse dicit, eo quod inmortales erimus tunc—secundum hoc enim et in baptismate filiorum adoptionem adsequi dicimur, secundum quod in baptismi primitias suscepimus, formam in eodem baptismate mortis quoque et resurrectionis implentes. sic enim et ad Romanos scribens dicit: *non solum autem, sed et ipsi primitias Spiritus habentes nos ipsi in nobis ipsis ingemiscimus, filiorum adoptionem expectantes, redemptionem corporis nostri;* filiorum adoptionem uerum uocans, eo quod tunc post resurrectionem inmortales effecti permanebimus. sic et in hoc loco dicit quoniam 'credentes in Christum filii Dei facti estis;' hoc est, 'a morte extitistis securi, et ab omni passione liberi.' qui autem huiusmodi sunt, perfecti (ut fas est) effecti, ultra non poterunt peccare, inmortalitatem semel potiti. lex autem quae paedagogi locum implebat, in his qui huiusmodi sunt locum habere non poterat. quid enim est quod minus illis possit esse, quod et a paedagogo adsequi possint? 'itaque neque inmortalibus uobis iam factis locum legitima obseruatio in uobis poterit habere; illa enim corporalia sunt mandata, quae et ad praesentem hanc et temporalem uitam competere uidentur.' et quoniam ista in futuro erunt saeculo, nunc autem illa necdum potiti sumus, nisi solummodo in forma; ideo ad baptismatis transit rationem, in quo illorum forma suscepta est, et quasi iam de confessis apud eosdem rebus baptismi referat uirtutem:

quotquot (inquit) *in Christo baptizati estis, Christum induistis; non est Iudaeus neque gentilis; non est seruus neque liber, non est masculus neque femina; omnes enim uos unum estis in Christo Iesu.*

5 adoptionem *om H** *ins* (*bef* fil.) *H* (*corr*) 6 in (*bef* bapt.) *om C* (*corr*) 7 quique *C** 11 ueram *C om H* | nunc (*for* tunc) *C* 16 inmortalitate *C* (*corr*) 17—19 locum—paedagogo *om H.* 21 illa (*bef* habere) *add H* 22 quo (*for* quoniam) *C* 23 nunciauit (*aft* saeculo) add *H* (*corr*) 26 hisdem (*for* eosd.) *C H*

8. *ad Romanos scr.*] See above, p. 38, l. 1, note.

18. *minus...esse*] λείπειν: see p. 55, ll. 18, 24.

26. *apud eosdem*] See vv. ll. The dative may reflect the Gk. (παρ' αὐτοῖς): cf. Rönsch, *Itala*, p. 442.

29. *unum estis*] The neuter is probably due to the translator, since Th.'s comment seems to shew that he read εἷς ἐστέ. Cf. Thdt.: τὸ εἷς ἀντὶ τοῦ 'ἓν σῶμα.'

quod dicit tale est: †'praesentis uitae principium omnium Adam extitit. residui uero homines, omnes quicumque in praesenti uita nati esse noscuntur, communem ab illo habuerunt essentiam. ratione autem naturae, unus homo omnes sumus; ad communem enim humanitatem, tamquam membri alicuius ordinem unusquisque nostrum implere uidetur. sic itaque et in futura uita illa inmortali, quae post resurrectionem erit, principium quidem uitae illius est in Christo. omnes autem qui communicamus ei et in resurrectione et in inmortalitate illa quae post resurrectionem est, tamquam unus efficimur ad eum, dum similitudine rerum membri ordinem unusquisque nostrum obtinere uidetur ad illum quod commune est. tunc igitur *neque masculus, neque femina* uidebitur: non enim est nubere aut nuptu tradi. *neque Iudaeus, neque gentilis:* non enim locum habet circumcisio in inmortali natura; neque discernere quisquam poterit circumcisum ab eo qui praeputium habet. *neque seruus, neque liber:* omnis enim rerum uarietas erit tunc interempta.'

τῆς παρούσης ζωῆς ἀρχὴ μὲν τοῖς πᾶσιν ὁ Ἀδάμ. εἷς δὲ ἄνθρωπος οἱ πάντες ἐσμὲν τῷ λόγῳ τῆς φύσεως, πρὸς γὰρ δὴ τὸ κοινὸν ὡσπερεὶ μέλους τάξιν ὁ καθεὶς ἡμῶν ἐπέχει· οὕτως δὴ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς μελλούσης ζωῆς ἀρχὴ μὲν ὁ Χριστός, πάντες δὲ οἱ κοινωνοῦντες αὐτῷ τῆς ἀναστάσεως καὶ τῆς μετὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν ἀθανασίας ὥσπερ εἷς γινόμεθα πρὸς αὐτόν, τῇ ὁμοιότητι τοῦ πράγματος μέλους τάξιν πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν τοῦ καθ' ἕνα ἡμῶν ἐπέχοντες. τότε τοίνυν οὔτε ἄρσεν οὔτε θῆλυ θεωρεῖται, οὐ γάρ ἐστιν γαμῆσαι ἢ γαμηθῆναι· οὔτε Ἰουδαῖος οὔτε Ἕλλην, οὐδὲ γὰρ περιτομὴ ἐν ἀθανάτῳ φύσει χώραν ἔχει, ὥστε διακριθῆναι περιτετμημένου ἀκρόβυστον· οὔτε δοῦλος οὔτε ἐλεύθερος, πᾶσα γὰρ ἀνωμαλία πραγμάτων ἀνῄρηται.

4 rationem *H* 9 in resurrectionem et inmortalitatem illa *H* 11 similitudinem *C*H* 13 esse (*for* est) *C*H* 17 omnes *C** 19 sq. Coisl. 204, f. 29 a, b [Cr. vi. 59, 60, Fr. 125, 126]. *θεόδωρος. ἄλλος τις τὸ αὐτὸ ῥητὸν οὕτως λέγει· τῆς παρ., κ.τ.λ.* 28 *περιτετμημένων* Cr.

2. *quicumque...noscuntur*] οἱ ... γνωριζόμενοι: cf. p. 5, ll. 15, 18.

14. *nuptu tradi*] Cf. Vulg., Matt. xxiv. 38, "nuptui (nuptum, *Cod. Amiat.*) tradentes" = *ἐκγαμίζοντες*. On the dat. *nuptu*, cf. Hildebrand, *Apul.* i. pp. 27, 154.

quia ergo secundum formam per baptisma in illis efficimur, hoc dicit* quoniam *in Christo baptizati, induti estis Christum:* hoc est, 'participes estis effecti inmortalis eius naturae; ut hoc uideamini existentes quod ille est post resurrectionem, ita ut Christus in omnibus uobis uideatur, nulla in uobis uisa discretione.' si igitur et unus omnes homines sumus, caput nobis adscribentes Christum, et in uno quodam (ut fas est) corpore consummati habemur; sicuti et alibi dicit: *uos estis corpus Christi et membra de membro.* et alibi euidentius similitudinem quam habebimus ad eum significans, dicit: *quoniam quos praesciuit, praeordinauit conformes fieri imaginis Filii sui.* etenim si multum omnibus nobis praecellit, et differt honore et dignitate (eo quod ab omnibus adorabitur); sed secundum rationem resurrectionis et inmortalitatis, per gratiam et nos ad eum suscipimus similitudinem.

ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν κατὰ τύπον διὰ τοῦ βαπτίσματος ἐν ἐκείνοις γινόμεθα, τοῦτο λέγει.

2 estis induti *H* 3 participati *H* | inmortali *H* 5 uid. uobis *H* | discretionem *C** discretus *H* 8 habemus *H* 13 se (*for* sed) *H*

2. *induti estis Chr.*] With the interpretation here given, cf. Th.'s comment on Rom. xiii. 14: *τὸ ἐνδύσασθε ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐνεδύσασθε λέγει· βούλεται γὰρ εἰπεῖν ὅτι διὰ τῆς ἀναγεννήσεως τοῦ βαπτίσματος συναφθέντες τῷ Χριστῷ καὶ μέλος τοῦ κοινοῦ σώματος τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀποφανθέντες, οὗπερ ἐκεῖνός ἐστιν κεφαλή, ὥσπερ ἐνεδύσασθε αὐτὸν τῇ κοινωνίᾳ τῶν προσδοκωμένων, καθὸ καὶ συμμετασχεῖν αὐτῷ τῆς ἀναστάσεως ἐλπίζετε.*

9. *membra de membro*] *μέλη ἐκ μέλους* (1 Cor. xii. 27). Th.'s comment on the passage is: *τάξιν ἐπέχετε σώματος ἐκ διαφόρων συγκειμένου μελῶν, τῇ δυνάμει τοῦ πνεύματος εἰς τὴν τοῦ δεσποτικοῦ σώματος καταστάντες συνάφειαν.* This looks as if Th. had read *ἐκ μέρους*, which was certainly the reading of Chrys. and Thdt. (*ad h. l.*). The translator follows the Vulg. and Latin authorities.

10. *quoniam quos praesciuit*, &c.] Rom. viii. 29.

12. *multum ... praecellit*] See Bensly, *Missing Fragment*, pp. 62 n., 87. The very measured language in which Th. here asserts the superiority of Our Lord is to be understood as having reference to the Human Nature; cf. his comm. on Col. i. 15.

13. *ab omnibus adorabitur*] *i.e.* the *homo susceptus* will receive universal homage. Cf. the Theodorean ecthesis condemned at Ephesus (Migne, 1017): *τὴν παρὰ πάσης τῆς κτίσεως δέχεται προσκύνησιν, ὡς ἀχώριστον πρὸς τὴν θείαν φύσιν ἔχων τὴν συνάφειαν, ἀναφορᾷ θεοῦ καὶ ἐννοίᾳ πάσης αὐτῷ τῆς κτίσεως τὴν προσκύνησιν ἀπονεμούσης*: and see the comm. on Phil. ii. 10, 11: "hoc enim illi donauit ut omnes illum adorent, et ut omnes Deum confiteantur Iesum Chr. in gloria Dei Patris effectum...propter illam copulationem quam habet ad Unigenitum."

et optime dixit quoniam unus sumus omnes, per eam copulationem quam habemus in Christo, unde et adiecit :

si autem uos Christi, utique Abrahae semen estis; et secundum promissionem heredes.

admirabilis uirtus sermonis! paulo etenim minus comprobauit quoniam et naturaliter filii Abraham facti essent. †'si enim uos corpus Christi propter regenerationem illam quam in baptismate estis consecuti, quae formam habet illius similitudinis quae tunc uobis erit ad eum; Christus autem est Abrahae semen; necessarium est et uos quoque, eius corpus, huius esse semen, cuius est et ille.* alioquin inpossibile est unum esse corpore, et existimare caput quidem alterius esse, residuum uero corpus alterius. †unde iusta ratione et promissionis heredes facti estis.* sicut enim ad illum qui ex eo est copulationem accepistis, in id ipsum ei reputamini necessario, et horum eritis heredes; quoniam et illi participati estis promissionibus illis quae ad illum factae sunt a Deo, patrem quidem eundem adscribentes uobis, benedictionem uero a Deo consequenter illis promissionibus quae ad eum factae sunt iure et ipsi accipientes.'

horum quidem dictorum fortitudinem, et quod sine ulla controuersia dictum habeatur, nemo digne umquam poterit demirare. praestabat enim eis et ad illorum sensum, qui aestimabantur per uim fuisse ab eo adtracti, abundantem probationem

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εἰ γὰρ ὑμεῖς τοῦ Χριστοῦ σῶμα διὰ τὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ βαπτίσματος ἀναγέννησιν τύπον ἔχουσαν τῆς τότε παρεσομένης ὑμῖν πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁμοιότητος, ὁ δὲ Χριστὸς τοῦ Ἀβραὰμ σπέρμα· ἀνάγκη καὶ ὑμᾶς, τὸ ἐκείνου σῶμα, τούτου εἶναι σπέρμα οὗπερ δὴ κἀκεῖνος· ὅθεν εἰκότως καὶ τῆς ἐπαγγελίας κληρονόμοι.

2 adicit *C* 10 que (*for* quoque) *C** qui *C* (*corr*): *adding* estis *aft* corp. 12 corpus *C* (*corr*) | quidem *om H** 13 iusta rationem *C** iuxta r. *H* 15 ei *om H** 17 patre *C* 19 ipse *C** 22 ad *om H* 23 per *om H*

5. *paulo ... minus*] μικροῦ : cf. on c. vi. 17 (Gk.).

14. *copulationem accepistis*] Cf. Th.'s comm. on John i. 13: *θείᾳ δυνάμει διὰ τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁμοιότητός τε καὶ συναφείας τὴν γένεσιν δεχόμενοι.* Heb. iii. 12, 13: *οἱ πιστεύσαντες καὶ τοῦ πνεύματος μετειληφότες μέτοχοι τῆς ὑποστάσεως τοῦ Χριστοῦ γεγόναμεν, ὥσπερ τινὰ φυσικὴν τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν κοινωνίαν δεξάμενοι.*

21. *demirare*] The act. is frequent in both MSS. of this translation. Cf. Rönsch, *Itala*, p. 301, Bensly, *M. F.*, p. 17, Hildebrand, *Apul.* i. 68.

simul et confirmationem baptismatis ab inoperatione illa Spiritus sancti, quae tunc in opere miraculorum ostendebatur. quoniam autem sufficienter in his ostendit perfecta esse illa quae secundum Christum sunt, ab ipsis ultra quae dicta sunt secundum comparationem ostendit quoniam et primitus justa ratione sub lege conuersabantur, et nunc sub lege conuersari nullo modo illis sit aptum:

dico autem quanto tempore heres paruulus est, nihil differt a seruo, dominus cum sit omnium; sed sub tutoribus et dispensatoribus est usque ad [prae]finitum tempus a patre. sic et nos cum essemus paruuli, sub elementis mundi eramus seruientes.

elementa quidem mundi solem nominat et lunam, ex quibus quoque et menses perficiuntur et anni. haec enim uarie obseruabant illi qui erant in lege, secundum data sibi praecepta. uult autem dicere quoniam 'si quis moriens heredem instituerit suum filium, paruulum adhuc aetate constitutum, habere quidem eum statim integram relictorum potestatem non patitur; tempus uero quoddam statuet ei, post quod perfectam habens aetatem, ultra possit illa quae secundum se sunt gubernare, dispensatores et tutores rerum in medio constituens tempore. necessarium est filium eum et heredem, usque *ad praefinitum tempus a patre*, nihil differre a seruo, nullam habentem potestatem suorum, sub aliorum uero degentem potestate; eo quod et ipse et substantia autem relicta, sub potestate habetur illorum qui a patre sunt dispensatores constituti, nihil illi ad praesens conferente dominatione quam habere uidetur, fracta aetatis imbecillitate. sic et nos quando eramus inperfecti, necdum inmortalitatis suscipientes fruitionem, sicut sub tutoribus et dispensatoribus

10 sicut (*for* sic et) *H** 19 posset *C* H* 22 a *om H* | potestate *H* 23 degente *H* 24 ei (*for* autem) *C* (*corr*) haut *H* [cf. p. 37, l. 13, n] 25 nihili *H* 26 qua *C** | imbecillitatem *C** 27 erramus *C**

1. *ab inoperatione*] For *inoperari* = ἐνεργεῖν, *inoperatio* = ἐνέργεια, cf. Rönsch, *N. T. Tertullians* p. 703; *Itala*[2], p. 513.

12. *elementa q. m. solem*, &c.] This interpretation, probably due to the influence of Origen (Lightfoot, *ad h. l.*), is given by Chrys. and Thdt. in a slightly different form (Chrys.: τουτέστιν νουμηνίας καὶ σάββατα· αὗται γὰρ ἡμῖν αἱ ἡμέραι ἀπὸ δρόμου σελήνης καὶ ἡλίου γίνονται. Thdt.: τὰς νομικὰς παρατηρήσεις, ἐπειδήπερ ἀπὸ ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης νύξ τε καὶ ἡμέρα τελεῖται, κ.τ.λ.). Th. repeats his view of the στοιχεῖα τ. κ. below, p. 64, and on Col. ii. 8, *q. v.*

eramus sub istius mundi elementis, dies obseruantes et tempora et menses, ut non secundum omnem potestatem quod nobis uidebatur absolute ageremus. horum uero custodia faciebat nos paternas persentire leges, quibus nos cum pudicitia et multa scrupulositate uiuere uolebat.'

†substantiam quidem apostolus posuit esse uirtutes, et illam caritatem quam erga Deum et erga proximos exercere debemus; usum uero eius, non ut conueniebat, nos fuisse abusos, eo quod contraria facientibus nobis, exterminabatur ipsa substantia.* horum autem possessio tunc nobis firma aderit, quando illam quae per inmortalitatem est acceperimus perfectionem; eo quod nec possibile erit tunc peccare, aut aliquid contrarium uirtutibus facere. nunc uero quia et delinquere nos adhuc res patitur, ne ad plenum traditam nobis exterminemus substantiam, tamquam †sub tutoribus facti sumus, sub huius mundi elementis; dies obseruantes et tempora et menses, ut assidua horum custodia et quod in iisdem cotidie conuersamur, ad memoriam semper adducamur Dei, qui nobis leges huiusmodi dedit; ut sic pudice uiuentes traditam nobis substantiam non exterminemus, usque tunc dum futura institerit perfectio, firmam et integram nobis substantiae praestans fruitionem; utpote sufficientibus nobis tunc integram hereditatem custodire paternam.'* unde et adicit:

οὐσίᾳ μὲν ὑπέθετο τὴν ἀρετὴν ὁ ἀπόστολος, τῇ περὶ τὸν θεὸν ἀγάπῃ καὶ τῇ περὶ τὸν πλησίον γνωριζομένῃ, χρῆσιν δὲ αὐτῆς οὐκ εἰς δέον, τῷ τἀναντία διαπραττομένους ἀφανίζειν αὐτῆς τὴν ὑπόστασιν. ὑπὸ ἐπιτρόπους τοίνυν καὶ οἰκονόμους γεγόναμεν, ἵνα ἡ συνεχὴς τούτων παρατήρησις εἰς ὑπόμνησιν ἄγῃ πάντοτε ἡμᾶς τοῦ δεδωκότος θεοῦ τοὺς νόμους, καὶ οὕτως σωφρονέστερον βιοῦντες μὴ τὴν παραδοθεῖσαν ἡμῖν παραφανίζωμεν οὐσίαν, ἄχρις ἂν ἡ τότε ἐπιστᾶσα τελειότης βεβαίαν καὶ ὁλοτελῆ τῆς οὐσίας παράσχῃ τὴν ἀπόλαυσιν, ἅτε δὴ καὶ φυλάττειν τότε ἀκέραιον τὴν πατρῴαν δυναμένοις κληρονομίαν.

4 sentire *C* 12 contr. aliquit *H* 17 isdem *H* 20 tunc *om C* (*corr*) 21 sq. substantiae ... nobis *om* (*per homoeot.*) *H* 24 sq. Coisl. 204, f. 29 b—30 a [Cr. vi. 60, 61, Fr. 126]. *Θεόδωρος. ἄλλος φησίν· οὐσίᾳ, κ.τ.λ.*

14. *ne ... exterm. substantiam*] Th. seems to have in his thoughts Luke xv. 13: *διεσκόρπισεν τὴν οὐσίαν αὐτοῦ ζῶν ἀσώτως.*

cum ergo uenit plenitudo temporis, misit Deus Filium suum factum ex muliere, factum sub lege, ut illos qui sub lege erant redimeret; ut filiorum adoptionem recipiamus.

'quoniam autem tempus uenit secundum quod ad perfectum occurrere digni habeamur, liberi effecti a morte et a corruptione et omni passione, uenit Dei Filius, factus ex muliere, hoc est, habens naturam quam et nos; qui et sub lege factus est, utpote homo constitutus secundum naturam, et quidem legi debitum restituens quod a nobis debebatur. sicque ipse exsurgens inmortalem illam uitam adsumpsit, consistens in illam integritatem quam olim speramus; et simillimorum nobis prouisor extitit bonorum, omnes nos a seruitute liberans legis.' quoniam autem filiorum adoptionem et inmortalitatem adquiremus post resurrectionem, et superius euidenter ostendimus. considerandum est autem et ex his quae hoc in loco dicta sunt, quoniam perfectio illorum quae secundum Christum sunt in futuro saeculo nobis aderit, quando et illa quae ab apostolo dicta sunt ipsis rebus uera esse monstrabuntur; interim illa ipsa in promissa accipientibus nobis in praesenti uita.

nam quod dixit: *misit Deus Filium suum factum ex muliere;* euidens quidem est, quoniam de homine dicit, qui et ex muliere factus est et sub lege conuersatus est. filium autem eum

5 a *om H* | correptione *C** 7 sicut (*for* quam) *H* 9 sic quia *H* 11 spirabamus *C* (*corr*) | simillorum *H** 13 et (*bef* inmort.) *om H* 15 et (*bef* ex his) *om H* | in hoc l. *H* 16 quo (*for* quoniam) *C* 19 ipsa *om H.* 21 munere (*for* muliere) *C**

7. *sub lege factus est*] Cf. the Syr. fragment already quoted from Sachau (pp. 30,) ...

14. *et superius euid. ostend.*] *e.g.* on iii. 26, where see note.

21. *de homine dicit*] Comp. the Theodorean ecthesis (Migne, 1017): ὁ δεσπότης θεὸς λόγος ἄνθρωπον εἰληφεν τέλειον ... ὃν ἄνθρωπον ὄντα καθ' ἡμᾶς τὴν φύσιν...γενόμενον ὑπὸ [*leg.*, ἐκ] γυναικὸς καὶ γενόμενον ὑπὸ νόμον, ἵνα πάντας ἡμᾶς ἐξαγοράσῃ τῆς τοῦ νόμου δουλείας ... ἀπορρήτως συνῆψεν ἑαυτῷ. See also the two fragments of Th.'s comm. on Matt. and Hebr. printed in Lagarde's *Analecta Syriaca*, p. 108. Theodoret takes the same view of the passage, although as usual the disciple shrinks from the scarcely orthodox language of the master: ἐπισημήνασθαι μέντοι προσήκει ὅτι τὸ ἐξαπέστειλεν τῇ ἐνανθρωπήσει προσήρμοσεν· οὐ γὰρ εἶπεν· ἀπέστειλεν αὐτὸν γενέσθαι ἐκ γυναικός, ἵνα τῆς θεότητος τὴν ἀποστολὴν ὑπολάβωμεν· ἀλλὰ γεννώμενον [*for. leg.*, γενόμενον] ἐκ γυναικός· τοῦτο δὲ τῆς οἰκονομίας ἴδιον.

iure uocat, utpote praeter omnes homines participatum filii adoptionem, propter copulationem illam qua Deus Verbum qui ex Patre est genitus eum sibi copulare dignatus est. et quoniam dixit nos filiorum accipere adoptionem, hoc est, illam inmortalitatem quae ex resurrectione est, rebus ipsis illud confirmat:

quoniam autem estis filii Dei, misit Deus Spiritum Filii sui in cordibus uestris clamantem: Abba, Pater.

†sequebantur enim tunc datum Spiritum miracula illa quae fiebant, sicut saepius dixi. quae ipsi accipiebant, faciebant, indubie sibi datum Spiritum ostendentes. hinc autem et filiorum adoptionem se adsecutos esse credebant. unde et ipse confidens firmitati probationum, utpote ex ipsis rebus sumptae, quae et apud illos erant indubia, adicit:

itaque iam non es seruus, sed filius; si autem filius, et heres Dei per Christum.

'sic nulla tibi (inquit) communio ultra est ad eos qui sub lege uiuunt.* quoniam autem Spiritum adsecuti estis, euidens

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ἠκολουθεῖ τότε τῇ δόσει τοῦ πνεύματος τὰ γινόμενα θαύματα, ὅπερ ἀναμφίβολον αὐτοῖς τὴν δόσιν ὡς εἰκὸς ἐποίει τοῦ πνεύματος· ἐντεῦθεν δὲ καὶ τὸ τῆς υἱοθεσίας μετειληφέναι ἐπίστευον. ὅθεν καὶ αὐτὸς θαρρήσας τῷ ἰσχυρῷ τῆς ἀποδείξεως, ὡς ἅτε δὴ ἀπὸ τῶν πραγμάτων εἰλημμένῳ τῶν καὶ παρ' αὐτοῖς ἀναμφιβόλων ἐπάγει· ὥΣΤΕ ΟΥΚΕΤΙ ΕΙ ΔΟΥΛΟΣ, ΑΛΛΑ ΥΙΟΣ· ΕΙ ΔΕ ΥΙΟΣ, ΚΑΙ ΚΛΗΡΟΝΟΜΟΣ ΘΕΟΥ ΔΙΑ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ. *οὕτως οὐδεμία σοι (φησὶν) πρὸς τοὺς ὑπὸ νόμον ζῶντας κοινωνία λοιπόν.*

2 quia (*for* qua) *H* 8 nostris (*for* uestris) *H* [ὑμῶν Chr. Thdt.] 13 probationem *H* 15 est (*for* es) *H* | heredes *H* 19 sq. Coisl. 204, f. 30 b. [Cr. vi. 61, Fr. 127]. *θεόδωρος* (marg.) 23 *εἰλημμένων* cod. edd. cf. lat. 24 *εἰ δὲ υἱός* om. edd.

1. *utp. ... part. filii adoptionem*] See above on iii. 28 and *infra pass.*, esp. on Col. i. 13, *υἱὸν ἀγάπης αὐτὸν ἐκάλεσεν* [sc. *τὸν ἀναληφθέντα ἄνθρωπον*], *ὡς οὐ φύσει τοῦ πατρὸς ὄντα υἱόν, ἀλλ' ἀγάπῃ τῆς υἱοθεσίας ἀξιωθέντα.* This adoption was manifested at the Baptism, but followed from the Union (*ἕνωσις, συνάφεια, copulatio*), which again was the result of the divine foreknowledge and acceptance of the *homo susceptus* (*κατὰ πρόγνωσιν, κατ' εὐδοκίαν*). See the fragments of Th.'s treatise on the Incarnation (Migne, 975, 980, &c.; cf. Dorner II. i. pp. 42, 388).

9. *sequebantur enim*, &c.] See note on p. 1, l. 4. Thdt.: *ἀναντίρρητος δὲ ἡ ἀπόδειξις. ἑώρων γὰρ τὰ διὰ τοῦ θείου πνεύματος ἐνεργούμενα θαύματα.* On *τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ υἱοῦ* and *Ἀββᾶ ὁ πατήρ*, see Th.'s remarks on Rom. viii. 11, 15.

est. hunc uero participantes, nec quod filii sitis negare poteritis. facti autem filii, necessario estis et heredes, cum multa libertate degentes et omni metu liberi et omni necessitate et, ut fas est, securi. tantum ergo abest ut sitis serui, quod obprobrium est illorum qui sub lege sunt.' nam quod dixit *per Christum*, iure id dixit, eo quod omnium horum idem sit auctor. deinde post probationem adicit quod ualde erat graue:

sed tunc quidem nescientes Deum, seruistis his qui non sunt natura dii. nunc autem cognoscentes Deum, magis autem cogniti a Deo, quomodo conuertimini iterum ad infirma et egena elementa, quibus iterum denuo seruire uultis?

elementa et superius et in hoc loco solem dicit et lunam et stellas; ex quibus dies quoque et menses fiunt et anni et tempora. seruire ergo elementis dicit, eo quod illa, id est, dies et menses obseruarent, quasi ab illis facta. et quod dixit: *seruistis autem his qui non sunt natura dii;* de ipsis dicit sole et luna et stellis; eo quod adorabant illa cum essent gentes ut deos, secundum legem gentium.

et haec diximus ut nihil obscurum inquirenti esse uideatur. sensus uero apostolicus multam habet profunditatem. etenim paulo minus ostendit eos non iudaismum tenentes, sed ad gentilitatis iterum recurrisse obseruationem. dicit enim quoniam 'primitus quidem nescientes uerum Deum, seruistis autem istis,

7 probatione *C* H* 9 cognoti *C** [cf. Rönsch, 295] 13 mensens *C** 16 seruis *H* (*corr*) | soli *H* 17 et (*for* eo) *H* 20 apostolus *H* | multum *C** | produntatem (*sic*) *H* 21 iudaismo *C* H* 23 autem istis *om C*

5. *q. d.* 'per Christum'] The name of Th. must therefore be added to the list of Gk. fathers who support the reading κληρ. θεοῦ διὰ Χριστοῦ. With his interpretation of διὰ Χρ. comp. Thdt.: ἔτυχες δὲ τούτων διὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, οὐ διὰ τοῦ νόμου.

12. *elementa et superius,* &c.] *i.e.* c. iv. 1 (where see note).

16. *de ipsis dicit s. et l.*] So Thdt.: τὰ στοιχεῖα θεοποιοῦντες. On Th.'s reading ("his qui non sunt n. d." (*bis*), *i.e.* τοῖς μὴ φύσει οὖσιν θεοῖς), see Ellicott and Lightfoot *ad h. l.*

20. *sensus uero apost.*] The meaning seems to be: 'The foregoing passage (vv. 8, 9) requires more than mere verbal illustration; there is a deep irony underlying the words. The Apostle implies that the perversion of the Galatians to Judaism was in fact a relapse into heathenism; they were now again worshipping their old pagan deities under new forms and names.' Cf. Chrys.: εἰδωλολατρεία τὸ τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν, ἡ τῆς τῶν ἡμερῶν παρατηρήσεως φυλακή.

23. *seruistis autem istis*] See vv. ll. The reading of the Harley MS. seems to remove the necessity for Pitra's insertion ["iis qui natura non sunt dii"].

(tamquam diceretur) qui non erant dii. quoniam enim cognouistis aliquando uerum Deum. magis autem cogniti estis a Deo (non enim scientibus aut uidentibus diuina uobis quodammodo inluxit scientia); iterum ergo illis ipsis elementis seruire deproperatis sub alia specie?' id ipsum iterum ut uideret peragere festinantes, probauit propemodo quoniam hac ratione ad praesens eos inculpat, eo quod alio quodam modo ad antiquos ritus rursum recurrere nitantur, per illud quod dixit: *quomodo conuertimini iterum?* conuertere etenim quis uera ratione dicitur, quando ad illa ipsa iterum regreditur. ostendens quemadmodum illis seruiunt:

dies obseruatis et menses et tempora et annos.

'haec (inquit) ex illis, id est, elementis perficiuntur. itaque si horum obseruantiam magnam quandam esse existimatis, cum timore illa implentes, rursus illis seruire uidemini.' et sciens dictorum suorum firmitatem, adicit:

estote sicut ego, quoniam et ego sicut uos.

'eram (inquit) et ego sub lege; sed praeelegi extra legem uiuere, sicut et uos per eam quae in Christo est fidem uiuebatis. imitamini ergo et uos me, cum illa quae in Christo est fide a conuersatione legitima uosmetipsos extraneos facientes.'

3 uobis *add* (*aft* scient.) *H* 5 uideretur *C* uidetur *C* (*corr*) uidere *H* 6 propemodum *H* 16 scientes *C* H* 17 uos *om H* 18 sub in lege *H* | praelegi *H* post elegi *l* 20 mecum, illam *C* (*corr*) 21 uosmetipsis *H* | EXPLICIT LIBER PRIMUS GALATHARUM . INCIPIT LIBER SECUNDUS EORUNDEM add (*aft* facientes) *C H*

3. *non enim ... scientia*] Cited by Lanfranc.

9. *conuertere*] sc. *se* [ἐπιστρέφειν]: cf. Acts vii. 42, Vulg.

14. *magnam quandam*] = magnum quoddam (*μέγα τι*).

15. *seruire uidemini*] Pitra suggests that verse 11 ("timeo uos ne forte," &c.) with its accompanying exposition may have fallen out after *uid.* But the verse (as the Cardinal himself has noticed) occurs just below (p. 66, l. 22), and its displacement is not improbably due to design; the words were regarded by Th. as forming a suitable introduction to the second part of the Epistle.

18. *sed praeelegi*, &c.] Th. appears to interpret as if S. Paul had written, *ὅτι κἀγὼ ἐγενόμην ὡς ὑμεῖς*: "I, a Jew by birth, put myself into the position of a Gentile, became like you; I ask you now to become like me." Chrys. (*καὶ γὰρ ταῦτα κἀγὼ ἔπασχον πάλαι*) and Thdt. (*τοῦτον εἶχον πάλαι τὸν ζῆλον...ἀλλ' ὁρᾶτε πῶς μεταβέβλημαι*) support the opposite view. Lanfranc cites the paragraph *eram —facientes* with one singular variation; see vv. ll.

II.

Frequentibus ualde probationibus et quae omnem excludunt controuersiam omnifarie apostolus abusus, suam prosecutionem ueram esse sufficienter comprobauit; ex rerum qualitate ostendens eorum differentiam, et quod multo meliora sint illa quae secundum Christum sunt ab illis quae erant in lege, eo quod hic quidem facile est iustificari, illic uero durum ualde et propemodum inpossibile. fidem uero firmans ratione, et dignitatem eius per omnia ostendens, tam de tributo credentibus Spiritu, [quam de] illis quae secundum Abraham facta fuerant, et scripturalibus testimoniis, quibus locum non posse habere legem, istis tenentibus, pronuntiauit. sed ex comparatione utilitatem dicens legis, eminentiam illorum quae secundum Christum sunt insinuauit. haec quidem uniuersa euidenter cognoscere poterit quis ex illis quae in anterioribus diximus; in quibus et cum competenti scrupulositate per omnia, ut potens erat, dicebat. ueneranda uerba apostoli sunt intellectus facientis. interpretationi autem quoniam in praeeuntibus probationibus competentem suis sermonibus adhibuisse uisus est uirtutem; in medio uero etiam duris usus sermonibus, eos fuerat adgressus, neque stultos eos uocare dubitans, ubi res ipsa locum ei praebebat increpationis necessarium; iure ergo ait:

timeo uos, ne forte sine causa laborauerim in uobis.

quare? 'quoniam aliter uenerari adceleratis, quibus antea seruiebatis.'

et post increpationem ad uerecundiam eos inuitans adicit, inpensa sollicitudine curans sanare eos, sciens quoniam grauis est increpatio homini, etiamsi et iuste ei inferri uideatur:

fratres, obsecro uos, nihil me nocuistis.

satisfacit illis pro pondere uerborum grauissimorum. 'nihil

6 iustificare C^* H 7 fide H | rationem C^* H 8 tributum C^* H 9 Spiritum C H | illic C H 12 imminentiam C^* H 16 facientes C H | interpretationem C H 19 duris etiam H 21 increpationes necessariorum C^* H 26 curauit C^* H

4. *meliora ... ab illis*] Rönsch, *Itala*, pp. 452, 453.

8. *de tributo ... Spiritu*] See vv. ll., and cf. *de aliquid*, p. 18, l. 17 (vv. ll.).

16. *interpretationi*] Or read: [*ad* (or *in*)] *interpretationem*.

nocitus sum (inquit) a uobis; itaque ne quis me existimet ira et recordatione malitiae ad hos uenisse sermones.'

scitis autem quoniam per infirmitatem carnis euangelizaui uobis in primis, et temptationem meam quae est in carne mea non sprevistis, neque respuistis; sed sicut angelum Dei suscepistis me, sicut Christum Iesum.

'e contrario uero cum essem in persecutionibus et miseriis et tribulationibus multis, ad uos ueni; et tunc propter illa mala quae mihi imminebant, non respuistis me. sed *sicut angelum. Dei suscepistis me*, immo uero ut ipsum Christum.' *infirmitatem* enim *carnis et temptationem*, eam quae in corpore est tribulationem dicit.

quae ergo erat beatitudo uestra?

†in hoc loco dicens: 'quae erat beatitudo?' hoc est, 'ubi est beatitudo illa, qua beatos dicebant uos omnes pro tali affectu quem erga praedicationem ostendistis, per illum honorem qui tunc mihi a uobis est praebitus? ubi ergo est ille honor?' id est, fuit, periit. beneque non dixit id sententialiter, sed

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τὸ οὖν τίς ἐνταῦθα ἀντὶ τοῦ ποῦ ὁ μακαρισμός; οἴχεται, ἀπώλετο. καλῶς οὐκ ἀποφηνάμενος, ἀλλὰ δι' ἐρωτήσεως ἐνδειξάμενος.

1 ita ut (*for* itaque) *H* 8 tamen (*for* tunc) *H* (*corr*) 17 ubi est ergo *C* (*corr*) *H* 18 sentialiter *C* H* 19, 20 Coisl. 204, f. 32 b [Cr. vi. 66, Fr. 127]. *θεόδωρος* marg.

1. *nocitus sum*] Cf. Hildebrand, *Apul.* i. 41, Rönsch, *Itala*, p. 441 [add to his exx. Iren. v. 5. 2, where *οὔτε ἐβλάβησάν τι* is rendered "neque nociti sunt aliquid."]

ne quis me exist., &c.] Chrys. *οὐκ οἶδν τε τὸν τοιαύτης ἀπολαύσαντα θεραπείας ἐκ κακονοίας ταῦτα λέγειν.*

11. *eam quae in corp. est trib.*] i.e. his bodily sufferings endured for the sake of the Gospel; cf. on vi. 17, *ὑπὲρ ἧς* [sc. *τῆς τοῦ Χρ. ὁμολογίας*] *μικροῦ κατέστιγμαι τὸ σῶμα.* So Thdt. *ad h. l.*, *πολλὴν ἔφερον ἐπὶ τοῦ σώματος ἀτιμίαν*: and Chrys. similarly, *τὰ πάθη καὶ τοὺς διωγμούς· ἀσθένειαν γὰρ καὶ πειρασμὸν ταῦτα καλεῖ.* This "is especially the interpretation of the Greek commentators, though not confined to them" (Lightfoot, *Galatians*, p. 187: cf. *ib.* p. 174, where Th. is justly charged with 'slurring over the preposition' [*δι' ἀσθένειαν*]). Th's. exposition of the cognate passage in 2 Cor. xii. 7 is wanting, but it is doubtless reflected by Thdt.: *ἄγγελον γὰρ Σατᾶν τὰς ὕβρεις καὶ τὰς παροινίας καὶ τὰς τῶν δήμων ἐπαναστάσεις ἐκάλεσεν.*

With Chrys., Thdt. and Oec., Th. seems to have read *τὸν πειρασμόν μου.*

14. *h. e. ubi est b. i.*] So Thdt. *τὸ*

interrogatiue id ostendit.* et adhuc conlaudans ipsam beatitudinem adicit:

testimonium enim perhibeo uobis, quoniam si possibile esset, oculos uestros eruentes utique dedissetis mihi.

et quia honorem illum qui sibi ab illis fuerat praestitutus dixit, ostendens simul qui et qualis fuerit, quamue magnus, et quam sufficiens, ut etiam secundum hoc et reuerentiam illorum haberet, sed nunc omnibus negotiis ueritatem praehonorandam esse existimaret, adicit:

itaque inimicus uobis factus sum uerum dicens uobis?

'sed ecce talia a uobis adsecutus inimici ordinem nunc uideor implere, ueritatem praehonorans.' optime autem adiecit, *uerum dicens uobis*, ita ut non solum ueritatis sollicitudinem habere existimaretur, sed cum eorum prouidentia id se fecisse doceret. ostendit enim quoniam propter illos et hoc ita fuerit gestum, et ut ne a ueritate extorres fierent; ita ut species quidem uideretur esse inimicitiae, opus uero ipsud amicitiae, et inimicos ex comparatione incusans, adicit:

aemulantur uos non bene.

bona adiectio illa quae adiecit dicens: *non bene.* est enim et bene aemulari, quando quis bonum demirans uult eum imitari.

sed excludere uos uolunt, ut illos aemulemini.

5 praestitus *H* 8 non (*for* nunc) *CH* | ut (*bef* non) *add C* (*corr*) 11 a *om C** 17 opus u. i. amicitiae *om H* ipsum *C* (*corr*) 20 qua *C** : *corr* quam 21 aemulare *C** *H* | enim (*for* eum) *C** *H* 22 imitare *C**

γὰρ τίς ἀντὶ τοῦ ποῦ τέθεικεν. Ποῦ had in fact been already admitted into some texts before the age of Th.; it is found in Bℵ, in the Peshito (ܐܝܟܘ) and in the Vulg., though the O. L. had *quae*. Th.'s interpretation shews that he regarded ὑμῶν as the gen. of the *object*.

10. *uobis f. s.*] Th. seems to have read ὑμῖν γέγονα.

21. *est ... bene aemulari*, &c.] Chrys. comes remarkably near to Th. in his comm. on this and the following paragraph: ἔστιν γὰρ καὶ ζῆλος καλὸς ὅταν τις οὕτω ζηλοῖ ὥστε μιμήσασθαι τὴν ἀρετήν· ἔστιν καὶ ζῆλος πονηρὸς ὥστε ἐκβάλλειν τῆς ἀρετῆς τὸν κατορθοῦντα· ὃ δὴ καὶ αὐτοὶ νῦν ἐπιχειροῦσιν, τῆς μὲν τελείας γνώσεως ἐκβάλλειν θέλοντες ... ἵνα αὐτοὶ μὲν ἐν τάξει κάθωνται διδασκάλων, ὑμᾶς δὲ ... ἐν τάξει καταστήσωσιν μαθητῶν.

'uolunt enim uos propellere ab illo intellectu perfecto, in quo nunc estis; ita ut sub legis constituti conuersatione, inueniamini apud illos ordinem implere discipulorum, quasi qui et aliquid melius illis facientibus imitari eos uelitis.'

bonum autem aemulari in bono semper.

'melius est ergo talia uos facere, ita ut ab omnibus aemulemini; ut et alii uos, sicut conuenit, aemulentur, et imitari uos festinent; residui uero inuidentes uobis, nihil uos possint nocere.' et quasi qui talia primitus facerent, adicit:

et non solum in aduentu meo ad uos.

potentissime eos in hisce uerbis curauit, ita ut et aduersariorum ex comparatione argueret sententiam. ex commemoratione uero praeteritorum subito animo accensus, et propter hoc a praecedentibus abstractus sermonibus, ad uerba flectitur fletus, dicens:

filioli mei quos iterum parturio usquedum formetur Christus in uobis.

demirabilis admodum sermo, et multam habens affectionis ostensionem. primum quidem quasi in fletu subito exclamantis locum implet, dicens: *filioli mei*, et ut quis ita dicat, cum dulcissimus pater filios amissos fletu euocet. deinde, quod non dixit *filii*, sed *filioli*; quod maiorem egerentis ostendere poterat dolorem. et quod adiecit: *parturio*; quia multum graue illis qui in partu sunt esse uidetur. †et quod dixit: *iterum*; ita ut et antiquos dolores partus adduceret in memoriam. nam et

1 praecellere (*for* propellere) *H* 4 uellitis *C** 5 bono (*for* bonum) *H* | aemulare *C* 8 uobis (*for* uos) *H*[2] | possent *C** 13 praeteritarum *C* 19 osfensionem (*sic*) *C** offensionem (*for* ostens.) *H* 25 et (*aft* nam) *om H*

6. *ut ab omnibus aem.*] *Aemulari* is a passive here and in v. 18, although used as a deponent in vv. 16, 17, and in the very next clause of the commentary ("ut et alii uos ... aemulentur"). The Vulg., which follows the reading ζηλοῦσθε in v. 18, has *aemulamini*, doubtless in the middle sense.

16. *usquedum*] ἄχρις οὗ: so above, p. 47, l. 14.

21. *non dixit 'filii,' sed 'filioli'*] οὐκ εἶπεν τέκνα, ἀλλὰ τεκνία. The same reading is found in the text of Chrys. and Thdt., but by both it is passed without remark.

22. *egerentis*] sc. fletum *s.* lacrimas: see the exx. given by the lexicographers.

quod dixit: *usquedum formetur Christus in uobis;* pondus indicat passionis esse inmensum, et nec scientis quo statu quoue fine partus ipsius concludantur dolores.*

bene autem dixit: *donec formetur Christus;* ex proprietate partus id accipiens dictum, post quem et solui solent dolores. et hoc in loco quasi de illis qui nati sunt in Christum per fidem et baptisma, deinde abolere temptauerunt ipsam effigiem ueritatis, aliam formationem expectat in illis fieri, quae impleri poterit ab affectu illo qui erga Christum erit perfectus; ita ut et ad plenum ultra a legitimis discedant custodiis. uerumtamen et post talem tantamque fletus exclamationem, et uerba illa quae multum ei inesse affectum ostendebant; quasi qui uictus fuerit passione ita ut nec proloqui aliquid ulterius posset, in tantum in quantum et uult; et quod nec deceat scribentem summam miserabilitatem suis exprimere litteris:

uolebam autem uenire ad uos nunc et mutare uocem meam.

'uolebam uenire magis et mutare sermones meos, et alia quidem dicere, sicut lex lugentem ac deflentem dicere postulat; dicere autem pariter qualia et quanta uolebam.' summa autem adiectione suorum dictorum abusus esse uidetur:

quoniam aporior (confundor) in uobis;

τὸ δὲ πάλιν, ὥστε τῶν παλαιῶν ὠδίνων ἀγαγεῖν εἰς μνήμην· τὸ δὲ ἄχρις οὗ μορφωθῇ Χριστὸς ἐν ὑμῖν, ἐπίτασιν ἔχει τοῦ πάθους, οὐδὲ γὰρ εἰδότος ἐστὶν ποῦ ποτε στήσεται αὐτῷ τὰ τῶν ὠδινῶν.

2 scientes *C H* 6 qua (*for* qui) *H* 8 implere *C H* 9 effectu *H* 22 sq. Coisl. 204, f. 33 b [Cr. vi. 67, Fr. 127]. θεόδωρος (marg.).

5. *post quem et solui s. d.*] Comp. S. John xvi. 21: ὅταν δὲ γεννήσῃ τὸ παιδίον, οὐκέτι μνημονεύει τῆς θλίψεως.

8. *aliam formationem*, &c.] Chrys.: διεφθείρατε (φησὶν) τὴν εἰκόνα, ἀπωλέσατε τὴν συγγένειαν, τὴν μορφὴν ἠλλοιώσατε· ἀναγεννήσεως ἑτέρας ὑμῖν δεῖ καὶ ἀνακλάσεως. Thdt. remarks: ταῦτα καὶ τῶν τοῦ Νουάτου διελέγχει τὴν ἄνοιαν.

15. *miserabilitatem*] = miseriam.

17. *alia quidem dicere*] Cf. Thdt.: τῶν μὲν τὴν ἐκτροπὴν θρηνῆσαι τῶν δὲ τὸ βέβαιον θαυμάσαι. Cf. Meyer, *ad h. l.*

21. *aporior (confundor)*] Pitra expunges the second verb as a manifest gloss; see, however, above, p. 5, l. 16 (note). Possibly *uel* has dropped out between the verbs. For *aporiari* see Rönsch, *N. T. Tertullians*, p. 688. No Latin version uses it here, although it occurs in the Vulg. of 2 Cor iv. 8 (ἀπορούμενοι aporiamur), and S. Jerome (*ad h. l.*) notices the inadequacy of *confundor* to represent ἀποροῦμαι. *Aporia* (p. 71, l. 2) is comparatively common: Rönsch, *Itala*, p. 239.

eo quod in tantum passione sit uictus, ut et quasi quadam aporia teneatur, neque quid conueniat sibi loqui scire possit.

quanti oratores, in unum uenientes, aut matrem deflentem filios suos aut patrem imitare uolentes, tantam compassionis molem aliquando suis poterunt explicare sermonibus, quantum in praesenti ostendit beatus Paulus; simulans quidem nihil, sed secundum insitum sibi affectum quem erga eos habebat uniuersa enarrans. quod in his ostendisse uidetur sermonibus; quasi qui et ingemiscens et cum lamento deflens, et passione uictus, simulque et protractus ab illis solis quae sibi deceant retineri uidetur. et propter hoc optans ad illos uenire, ut omnia illa impleret quae sibi passio fieri suggerebat; quoniam abunde defleuit transductionem eorum in deterius factam, et illos sermones quos in primordio duriores uisus fuerat dixisse, curauit sufficienter, uertitur iterum ad uerba quae ei cum re poterant coaequare:

dicite mihi: qui sub lege uultis esse, legem non audistis?

†bona ad illos facta est conuersio uerborum, et qualem fieri conueniebat ab eo qui rebus ipsis fuerat incitatus; per omnia etenim haec uidetur apostolus ob usurpatorum iram frequentes dictorum sustinere mutabilitates. et modo quidem indignatur aduersus hos, modo uero aduersus illos; pro aliis uero et dolet,

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καλὴ δὲ καὶ ἡ πρὸς ἐκείνους ἀποστροφὴ τῶν λόγων· διὰ γὰρ πάντων φαίνεται ὁ ἀπόστολος ὑπὸ τῆς τῶν γεγονότων ὀργῆς συνεχεῖς τὰς μεταβολὰς δεχόμενος, καὶ τὰ μὲν πρὸς τούτους ἀγανακτῶν, τὰ δὲ πρὸς ἐκείνους, τὸ δὲ καὶ ἀλγῶν ὡς ἐπὶ τέκνοις ἀπολω-

1 tanta *H* (*corr*) 4 imitari *C* (*corr*) | compassione *C** 7 insitum *om H* 10 solo *C* (*corr*) 11 retinere *C H* 14 fuerit *H* 17 legistis (*for* aud.) *H* 21 dictorum *om H* 23 sq. Coisl. 204, f. 34 a [Cr. vi. 68, Fr. 127]. *Θεόδωρος* (marg.).

3. *in unum uenientes*] Pitra corrects *in usum uen.*, but unnecessarily; and the reading of his MS. is confirmed by *H*. After *curauit suff.* (l. 15), the Card. omits the clause *uertitur...coaequare*. It occurs in both MSS.

17. *legem non audistis?*] On this sense of *ὁ νόμος*, comp. Th.'s comm. on Rom. ii. 25: *λέγεται νόμος καὶ ἡ Μωϋσέως ἱστορία, ὡς ὅταν ἐν τῇ πρὸς Γαλάτας φάσκῃ· λέγετέ μοι, κ.τ.λ.*; also Chrys. *ad h. l.*: *νόμον δὲ ἐνταῦθα τὸ βιβλίον τῆς κτίσεως καλεῖ· ὅπερ πολλάκις ποιεῖ, τὴν παλαιὰν ἅπασαν οὕτως ὀνομάζων. Legistis*, the reading of the Harley MS., is doubtless from the Vulg., where it represents *ἀναγινώσκετε* (D E F G).

quasi de filiis amissis. et ad plenum si quis caute considerare uoluerit, multam passionum inueniet mutabilitatem in his quae scripta sunt,* et qualem res ipsa a Paulo fieri exigebat; tanto ardore praedicato, ut omnes Christo properaret offerre, eo quod et omnes uolebat iungere Christo ob enormem affectum quem erga eum habere uidebatur. dicit autem quoniam 'uos qui legi oboedire promittitis non intenditis illa quae lex dicit.' quibus ista in subsequentibus adicit:

scriptum est quoniam 'Abraham duos filios habuit, unum de ancilla et unum de libera.' sed ille quidem qui de ancilla fuerat secundum carnem natus est; ille uero qui de libera per promissionem.

superius nullam posse habere communionem legem cum promissionibus ostendit, eo quod lex quidem exigit hoc ut impleatur, promissio uero donantis comprobat liberalitatem. per omnia uero gratiae confirmare properauit rationem, ideoque et fidei et promissionum facit memoriam cum et illis quae nobis adesse speramus. omnibus autem illis e contrario posuit legem, quae quasi aliqua sequentia praebere uidetur iustitiam, siquidem eis qui primitus legem impleuerint, ea praebere promittit; fraudat uero multos, et, ut uerius dicam, propemodum omnes, propter inpossibilitatem illorum qui legem implere adnituntur. ideo maxime illam quae ex gratia est iustitiam meliorem esse ab illa quae ex lege est, dixit; quoniam hanc sua liberalitate praestat Deus, nemine ob naturalem excluso infirmitatem. id ipsud autem et in praecedentibus ostendens ex illa parabola quae secundum Abraham est, memoratus et quoniam fuerunt ei duo filii, quorum alter naturae sequentia natus est, alter uero per gratiam. propter quod lex

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λόσιν. καὶ ὅλως ἀκριβῶς τις σκοπούμενος, πολλὴν ἴδοι ἂν ἐν τοῖς γεγραμμένοις τῶν παθῶν τὴν ἐναλλαγήν.

1 et ad plenum *bis* C^* 2 mutab. inuen. *H* 5 inormem C^* *H* 8 istis C^* *H* 11 repromissionem *H* 17 cum illis et *C* (*corr*) 25 suam liberalitatem C^* *H* | neminem C^* | ob naturali excl. infirmitate *H* 26 ipsum *C* (*corr*) *H* 28 ei *om H* 29 lex *om C*

4. *praedicato*] Pitra: "forte *praedicat.*" 13. *superius...ostendit*] Cf. c. iii. 18, sq. 28. *naturae sequentia*] ἀκολουθίᾳ φύσεως: cf. p. 78, ll. 15, 24.

dicit quoniam *Abraham duos filios habuit, unum de ancilla, et unum de libera. sed ille quidem qui de ancilla, secundum carnem natus est.* hoc est, naturali sequentia natus est; sic nominans, *secundum carnem,* quoniam et carni adest secundum naturam partus. et Ismahel naturali sequentia carnis natus est, siue secundum Abraham, siue secundum Agar. nam *ille qui de libera natus est secundum promissionem natus est,* hoc est, secundum gratiam. omnis enim promissio per gratiam solet fieri. ordine enim naturae Isaac nequaquam fuisse natus dicitur, eo quod Sarra duplici ratione edere partum non poterat. erat enim una passio sterilitatis, et alia quae illam ob longaeuitatem prohibebat parere. et ipse Abraham aetate senectutis fuerat prouectior effectus. sed natus est praeter omnem spem et naturae sequentiam, propter solam promittentis uirtutem pariter et liberalitatem. sic et illa quae secundum Abraham sunt referens, secundum ut et in diuinis scripturis scriptum esse uidetur, ostendere uero cupiens qua de causa illis sit abusus, adicit:

quae sunt per allegoriam dicta.

qui studium multum habent interuertere sensus diuinarum scripturarum et omnia quae illuc posita sunt intercipere, fabulas uero quasdam ineptas ex se confingere, et allegoriae nomen suae ponere desipientiae; hanc uocem apostoli abutentes, quasi qui hinc uideantur sumpsisse potestatem ut et omnes intellectus diuinae exterminent scripturae, eo quod secundum apostolum *per allegoriam* dicere nituntur, et ipsi non intellegentes quantum differt quod ab illis et ab apostolo hoc in loco dictum sit. apostolus enim non interimit historiam, neque

4 id est (*for* adest) *H* 11, 12 par. proh. *C* 15 et (*aft* sic) *om C* 24 uideatur *C H* uid. sumps. uid. *H*

26. *per allegoriam*] Dr Hort (*Journal of Philology*, IV. No. xii. § 7): "fortasse addendum: haec dicta sunt, omnia per allegoriam." But the MSS. shew no traces of an omission, and the sense is complete as the words stand; *eo quod... nituntur* explains *quasi qui*, &c.

28. *ap. e. non interimit historiam*] So Thdt.: ἀλληγορούμενα· ἀντὶ τοῦ καὶ ἑτέρως νοούμενα· οὐ γὰρ τὴν ἱστορίαν ἀνεῖλεν. ἀλλὰ τὰ ἐν τῇ ἱστορίᾳ προτυπωθέντα διδάσκει. Cf. Chrys.: καταχρηστικῶς τὸν τύπον ἀλληγορίαν ἐκάλεσεν· ὃ δὲ λέγει, τοῦτό ἐστιν· ἡ μὲν ἱστορία αὕτη οὐ τοῦτο μόνον παραδηλοῖ ὅπερ φαίνεται, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄλλα τινὰ ἀπαγορεύει. Severianus (*ap.* Cr. vi. p. 70) is even more explicit: νῦν τῷ ὀνόματι κατε-

euoluit res dudum factas; sed sic posuit illa ut tunc fuerant facta, et historiam illorum quae fuerunt facta ad suum usus est intellectum, quando quidem dicens: *confinis est eius quae nunc est Hierusalem;* quando uero quoniam *sicut tunc is qui secundum carnem natus erat, persequebatur illum qui secundum Spiritum.* sic pro omnibus negotiis historiam confessus est. nec enim confinia esse dixisset illa quae secundum Agar fuerunt *illius quae nunc est Hierusalem,* quam nunc esse confitebatur. neque *sicut* posuisset, quem non esse existimabat. nam quod dixit, *sicut,* similitudinem utique ostendit; similitudo autem fieri non poterit, rebus non stantibus. addito et quod dixerat *tunc,* incertum existimans quantum tempus designans dicit. superflua autem erit et temporum diuisio, si tamen non fuerit factum. sed apostolus quidem ita dicit; isti uero omnia e contrario faciunt, omnem de diuina scriptura historiam somniorum nocturnorum nihil differre uolentes; nec enim Adam, Adam esse dicunt, quando maxime eos de diuina scriptura 'spiritaliter' enarrare acciderit—spiritalem etiam interpretationem suam

7 confinis *C* H* 9 quam *C H* 17 de, scriptura *om C* 18 accederit *C**

χρήσατο οὐ τῇ δυνάμει τῆς ἀλληγορίας. ἡ γὰρ ἀλληγορία οὐ στοιχεῖ τοῖς ῥητοῖς, ἄλλα δέ τινα ἐμφαινόμενα ἀπὸ τῆς κατὰ τὴν ὑφὴν τῶν νοημάτων ἀκολουθίας εἰσάγει· οἷόν ἐστιν τὸ φιλησάτω με, κ.τ.λ. [Cant. i. 2]. *ἐκεῖ γὰρ οὔτε φίλημα ... οὔτε ἕτερόν τι, ἀλλὰ ἄλλα δι' ἄλλων εἰσάγεται· καὶ τοῦτό ἐστιν ἀλληγορίας εἶδος κύριον ... νῦν οὖν τὴν δι' ἔργων προφητείαν ἀλληγορίαν ὠνόμασεν.* Th.'s own definition of *ἀλληγορία* will be found below, p. 79, l. 18. On the cause of this aversion of the Antiochene expositors to allegorical interpretation, see Dr Lightfoot's remarks, *Galatians,* p. 180.

According to Ebedjesu (Assemani, *bibl. orient.* iii. 1. p. 34), Th. wrote "five books ag. the allegorists." Facundus (Migne, *P. L.* 67, 602) cites a treatise "de allegoria et historia quem contra Origenem scripsit, unde et odium Origenianorum incurrit." In the extant commentaries of Th., direct attacks upon the allegorists are not frequent (cf. Toe Water, p. 61); but he is careful to avoid their method, although, as Photius complained (*biblioth.* cod. 38), his own style is not quite free from obscurity (*τὴν δὲ φράσιν οὔτε λαμπρὸς οὔτε λίαν σαφής· φεύγων δὲ τὸν δυνατὸν αὐτῷ τρόπον τῆς ἀλληγορίας καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἱστορίαν τὴν ἑρμηνείαν ποιούμενος.* See Fritzsche, *de Th. v. et scr.* pp. 24—26, Mai, *scr. vet. nov. coll.* vi. praef. § iii.

3. *confinis est*] *συστοιχεῖ*: see below, on v. 25 (note). *quando quidem...quando uero=ποτὲ μὲν...ποτὲ δέ*: cf. p. 8, ll. 3, 21.

9. *neque* 'sicut' *pos.*] So both MSS. Pitra gives *sic,* perhaps on account of the following *quam.* I prefer to read *quem* [or *quae*], retaining *sicut:* 'the Ap. would not have used *ὥσπερ* in reference to an imaginary person [or imaginary events]; he would not have drawn a parallel between a fictitious Ishmael and the real and living persecutors of the Church.'

15. *somn. noct. n. differre*] *τῶν ἐνυπνίων οὐδὲν διαφέρειν.*

uolunt uocari desipientiam—neque paradisum, paradisum, neque colubrum, colubrum esse dicentes. ad quos uolebam illud dicere, ut historiam intercipientes, ultra non habuerint historiam. hoc autem facto, dicant unde habent adserere, quisnam primus homo factus est? aut quomodo inoboediens existit? aut quomodo introducta est mortis sententia? et siquidem de scripturis ista didicerunt, necessario illa quae ab illis dicitur allegoria est manifesta desipientia, quia et superflua esse per omnia arguitur. si autem hoc uerum est, et illa quae scripta sunt non rerum gestarum retinent narrationem, aliud uero quid profundum indicant et quod intellegi debeat, siue et spiritale, sicut ipsi uolunt dicere, quod et deprehenderunt, utpote spiritales quidam ipsi existentes; unde eorum ergo acceptam habent cognitionem? quemadmodum autem illa et dicunt, quasi de diuina ideo docti locuntur scriptura? et sileo interim illud, quoniam haec cum ita se habeant, neque illa quae secundum Christum sunt uidebuntur qua ratione facta sint. reuocauit enim, sicut apostolus dicit, inoboedientiam Adae, et mortis sententiam soluit. quae sunt illa quae olim facta esse dicuntur, et ubi sunt facta? siquidem historia quae de his est, non ista, sed altera aliqua secundum eos significat. quem autem locum obtinebit apostolica dictio: *timeo autem ne sicut coluber Euam seduxit;* si neque coluber fuit, neque Eua, neque seductio alias erga illum extitit? et multis in locis euidens est apostolus historiam antiquorum ut ueritatem per omnia fuisse abusus.

3 abuterentur *C* habuterint (*sic*) *H* (*corr*) | historia *C* (*corr*) 5 extitit *H* (*corr*) 11 indicat *H* | et (*bef* spir.) *om. C* (*corr*) 12 ipse *C** 13 quidem *C* (*corr*) | unde ergo eor. *C* 15 dum (*for* docti) *H* 16 haec cum *C* 17 sunt (*for* sint) *C* 22 siue (*for* sicut) *C* 23 sine (*for* si neque) *H* 24 ergo *C** 25 antiq. ut uer. antiquorum (*sic*) *H** | fuisset *H**

1. *neque paradisum p.* &c.] Comp. Orig. *in Gen.* ii. 9, *ὅταν ἀναγινώσκοντες ἀναβαίνωμεν ἀπὸ τῶν μύθων καὶ τῆς κατὰ τὸ γράμμα ἐκδοχῆς, ζητῶμεν τίνα τὰ ξύλα ἐστὶν ἐκεῖνα ἃ ὁ θεὸς γεωργεῖ, λέγομεν ὅτι οὐκ ἔνι αἰσθητὰ ξύλα ἐν τῷ τόπῳ. ib.* 15, *οἱ ἀναγεννώμενοι διὰ τοῦ θείου βαπτίσματος ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ τίθενται, τουτέστιν ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, κ.τ.λ. de princ.* iv. 16, *τίς δὲ οὕτως ἠλίθιος ὡς οἰηθῆναι τρόπον ἀνθρώπου γεωργοῦ τὸν θεὸν πεφυτευκέναι παράδεισον ἐν Ἐδέμ ... οὐκ οἶμαι διστάζειν τινὰ περὶ τοῦ αὐτὰ τροπικῶς διὰ δοκούσης ἱστορίας καὶ οὐ σωματικῶς γεγενημένης μηνύειν τινὰ μυστήρια.*

12. *utpote spiritales quidam ipsi existentes*] *ὥσπερ πνευματικοί τινες αὐτοὶ ὑπάρχοντες* (?). Cf. p. 30, l. 4, note.

18. *sicut ap. d.*] Cf. Rom. v. 18, sq.

22. *apostolica dictio*] 2 Cor. xi. 3.

23. *sed. alias erga illum*] *Alia*, Pitra; but perhaps unnecessarily. *Erga illum* = *κατ' ἐκεῖνον* sc. *τὸν ὄφιν.*

et hoc locó quasi de gestis negotiis et illis quae apud Iudaeos in confessione erant deducta, adsertionem suam comprobare adnititur; quod ei et ab initio fuerat propositum. quid autem illud est? ut maiora illa quae secundum Christum sunt ostenderentur ab illis quae sunt in lege, et multum praehonorabilior perspiceretur illa quae apud nos est iustitia ab illa quae in lege est. ideo duo testamenta esse dixit; unum quod per Moysen, aliud quod per Christum. uocat autem testamentum in Christum, resurrectionem quam promisit omnibus nobis, primus ipse ex mortuis exsurgens. et hoc in epistola illa quae ad Hebraeos est interpretantes ostendimus euidentius. †sicut enim illa quae per Moysen fuerant data hanc habebant intentionem, ut sub lege hi qui eam

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[ὥσπερ γὰρ τὰ διὰ Μωϋσέως δοθέντα ὑπὸ τὸν νόμον] ἐβούλετο

1 digestis *H* 7 testamento *H* 8 in Christo *C* (*corr*) 12 fuerant *om H** 13 sq. Coisl. 204 f. 34 b. [Cr. vi. 70, Fr. 127] *ὥσπερ γὰρ (φησὶν) ὁ Ἰσμαὴλ κατὰ σάρκα γεγέννηται, οὕτως καὶ ἐνταῦθα ὁ νόμος τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτὸν ἐβούλετο πολιτεύεσθαι καὶ τὴν ἐκ. δικ. δέχεσθαι· καὶ ὥσπερ ὁ Ἰσαὰκ κατὰ χάριν γεγέννηται* [p. 84, l. 15 sq.] (*τοῦτο γὰρ ἡ ἐπαγγελία, τῆς ἀκολουθίας τοῦτο μὴ βουλομένης*), *οὕτως καὶ τῶν κ. Χ., κ.τ.λ.*

10. *interpret. ostendimus*] Leontius (Mai *scr. v. n. c.* vi. p. 299: cf. Fritzsche *de v. et scr. Th.* p. 86) names the comm. on Hebrews before that on Cor. and Gal.: *τήν τε παρεξήγησιν ἣν εἰς τὴν πρὸς Ἑβραίους ἐπιστολὴν πεποίηται καὶ μὴν εἰς τὴν πρὸς Κορινθίους καὶ Γαλάτας.* Compare the pref. to Philemon, *infra*: "Epistolae quae ad Rom. et Cor. et Hebraeos," &c. The text seems to support the inference that Th.'s comm. on Hebr. was an earlier composition. On the other hand, Ebedjesu places it last among his commentaries on the Epistles, adding: ܘܣܝܡ ܦܘܫܩܐ ܡܢܗܘܢ ܠܥܒܪܝܐ ܕܟܠܗ ܥܠܝܗܝܢ, (Assemani, iii. 1. p. 33). It can hardly be supposed that Th. followed an order peculiar to any particular version or MS. Yet it is interesting to notice that in the Sahidic version the Ep. to the Hebr. precedes, whilst in the archetype of the Cod. Vat. it immediately followed, Gal. (Scrivener, *Introd.* pp. 52, 352). The latter order occurs in the Paris MS. Reg. 217, which contains the commentary of Theodoret. According to Dr Payne Smith (*catal. codd. Bodl. Syr.*, p. 417), Dionysius Barsalibaeus (cent. xii.) states that S. Clement of Rome assigned the second place among the Epp. of S. Paul to the Ep to the Hebrews. But a reference to the MS. (Bodl. *Or.* 560, fol. 83) shews that the passage which Dr P. Smith appears to have in view will not bear the construction which he puts upon it.

The following remarks from Th.'s comm. on Hebr. vii. 22 illustrate his view: *τὸ γὰρ ἔγγυος* [*κρείττονος διαθήκης*] *οὕτως λέγει ὡς ἂν τὸ* [*leg.* *τοῦ*] *ἀναστῆναι ἐγγυωμένου ἡμῖν τὸ κέρδος, ἐπεὶ καὶ οὕτως ἔχει· τὸ γὰρ ἀναστῆναι πρῶτος … ἐγγυᾶται ἡμῖν τὴν τῆς ἀναστάσεως ὁμοιότητα.*

11. *illa quae per M.* &c.] The compiler of Cramer's catena has made free

acceperant conuersarentur, et illam iustitiam quae inde erat susciperent (propter quod et de Aegypto exierunt, et remoto in loco fuerunt constituti; ut ab omni gentium permixtione segregati, cum competenti cautela custodire possent legem sibi datam); sic et illa quae secundum Christum sunt hanc habent intentionem et finem, ut soluatur quidem mors, resurgant uero omnes homines qui quolibet tempore fuerunt, et in inmortali ultra degant natura, nec peccare ulterius ullo modo possint propter illam gratiam Spiritus quae inest illis;* per quam et ab omni peccato securi habebimur. haec enim iustificatio et uera est et perfecta. iusta ergo ratione et *testamenta* similiter utraque uocauit, eo quod illa ipsa quae lex docebat, haec et gratia per opera dirigebat; scilicet ut et Deus diligatur et proximus. haec autem ipsa etiam lex seruare praecipiebat, discernens atque docens nullo modo debere peccare. gratia autem id operibus implet per resurrectionem et illam inmortalitatem quae tunc nobis aderit per Spiritum; a quo et gubernati tunc peccare nequaquam poterimus.

iustificatio equidem est et in lege [et] apud Christum. sed in lege quidem adquiritur ab illo qui labore multo et sudore eam adquirere poterit; quod erat durissimum, immo (ut uerius dicam) inpossibile, si tamen pro legum scrupulositate id quis uellet iudicare; nam non peccare ex integro hominem existentem inpossibile est. hic uero per solam gratiam adquiritur; nec enim peccare ultra poterimus tunc quando et excepto omni labore, illam quae a Christo est obtinebimus iustificationem.

πολιτεύεσθαι [τοὺς αὐτὸν παρειληφότας], καὶ τὴν ἐκεῖθεν δικαίωσιν δέχεσθαι· οὕτως καὶ τῶν κατὰ Χριστὸν ὁ σκοπὸς οὗτος ἦν καὶ τὸ τέλος, λυθῆναι μὲν τὸν θάνατον, ἀναστάντας δὲ ἅπαντας τοὺς πώποτε γεγονότας ἀνθρώπους ἐν ἀθανάτῳ διάγειν τῇ φύσει, μηδαμῶς ἁμαρτεῖν ἐπιδεχομένους ἔτι διὰ τὴν ἐνοῦσαν αὐτοῖς ἔτι τότε χάριν τοῦ πνεύματος.

4 sidatam (*for* sibi d.) *H** 8 degeant *C H* 9 est in illis *H* 10 habebantur *H* 11 ultraque *C *H* 14 ipsa lex etiam *H* 15 posse peccare debere *H**: *corr*, pecc. deb. 25 omne *C**

with Th.'s comm. in this place, adding and omitting and disregarding the order; see vv. ll. I have endeavoured to restore the Gk. text from the Latin, which is doubtless faithful in the main to the original.

ideo memoratus est Agar et Sarram (ex quibus altera quidem secundum sequentiam naturae peperit, altera uero cum parere non posset, et per gratiam peperit Isaac; in quibus multum nimis ille qui secundum gratiam fuit natus praehonorabilior est inuentus), ut ex comparatione tali ostendat, quoniam et nunc illa quae secundum Christum est iustificatio multo melior est ab illa, eo quia per gratiam adquiritur; bene pro illa quidem quae in lege est iustificatio illam quae ordine naturae peperit accipiens; pro illa uero iustificatione quae in gratia est, illam posuit quae praeter spem peperisse uidetur; eo quod illis qui in praesentia sunt legitima competit conuersatio; illis uero qui semel resurrexerunt, et facti sunt incorrupti, et circumcisio superflua est et oblatio et sacrificiorum nec non et dierum obseruantia.

†sunt autem quaedam quae secundum naturae fiunt sequentiam, id est, nascentium in hac uita transitus, in quibus etiam legitima conuersatio locum habere uidetur. gratiae uero illa est natiuitas secundum quam resurgentes omnes in futuram uitam nascuntur;* in qua Christi maxime impletur iustificatio. sic ergo pro illa quae secundum legem est iustificatione, illam accepit quae naturae sequentia peperit, utpote lege locum habente tenere illos qui in hac uita nascuntur, qui et secundum naturae nascuntur sequentiam; pro illa uero iustificatione, quae

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ἔστιν δὲ ἀκολουθία μὲν γινομένη φύσεως, ἡ εἰς τόνδε τὸν βίον τῶν τικτομένων πάροδος· ἐφ' οὗ τὴν κατὰ νόμον πολιτείαν χώραν ἔχειν συμβέβηκεν. χάριτος δὲ ἡ γέννησις ἐκείνη καθ' ἣν ἀνιστάμενοι πάντες εἰς τὴν μέλλουσαν ζωὴν ἀποτίκτονται.

1 Saram (*so nearly always*) *H* 3 possit et *C**: *corr*, posset (*om* et) 8 iustificatione *C* (*corr*) | illam quae ordinem *C** illa quae ordinem *H* 10 periisse *H** 11 quae *H** 13 necnon et sanctarum siue dierum obs. *C** solempnitatum (*after* sanct.) *add C* (*corr*) necnon dier. obs. *H* 15 sequentia *C* sapientia *H* 20 iustificationem *C* H* 21 quam *C* | legem *C H* 22 habentem *C H* 23 sequentia *C H* (*corr*) 24 sq. Coisl. 204, f. 34 b, [Cr. vi. 70, Fr. 127].

3. *multum nimis...praeh.*] On *nimis* = σφόδρα see Rönsch, *Itala*, p. 342; and for *multum* = multo, cf. supra, p. 58, l. 12, note. Three lines below both MSS. give *multo*.

13. *nec non et dierum obs.*] The reading in the Corbie MS. probably originated in an attempt to explain *dierum* by the addition of *sanctarum*; *siue* is apparently a copyist's blunder. *Dierum obs.* looks back to c. iv. 10, ἡμέρας παρατηρεῖσθε.

16. *in hac uita*] = in hanc uitam: see Gk.

secundum Christum est, illam quae per gratiam peperit; eo quod et uerissime impletur in illis qui semel resurrexisse uidentur, qui per gratiam praeter omnem spem secundam illam expectant natiuitatem. ob hanc igitur edixit: *quae sunt per allegoriam dicta:* †allegoriam uocans illam comparationem quae ex dudum factis negotiis comparari poterat illis quae ad praesens sunt.* unde et adicit

haec autem sunt duo testamenta; unum quidem a monte Sina, in seruitutem generans, quae est Agar.

tales etenim sunt. ad illud autem redit quod dixit: *quae sunt per allegoriam dicta;* ut sit: 'haec enim sunt duo testamenta, quae sunt per allegoriam dicta.' uult autem dicere quoniam per allegoriam similare poterit quis illis duobus, id est, Agar et Sarrae, duo testamenta; ita ut sit Agar quidem in ordine legitimorum praeceptorum, quia etiam lex data est in monte Sina. generat autem in seruitutem. illi enim qui sub lege conuersantur in ordine seruorum et praecepta accipiunt et legem;

ἀλληγορίαν ἐκάλεσεν τὴν ἐκ παραθέσεως τῶν ἤδη γεγονότων πρὸς τὰ παρόντα σύγκρισιν.

4 se dixit C^* *H* esse d. *C* (*corr*) 10 enim (*for* etenim) *H* 14 in ordinem *H* 18 Coisl. 204 *l. c.* *θεόδωρος* (marg.) *καὶ ἄλλος δέ· ἀλλ.* (*φησὶν*) *ἐκάλεσεν κ.τ.λ.*

5. *allegoriam uocans*] See note on p. 73, l. 27.

8. *haec autem sunt*, &c.] The comment "tales etenim sunt" seems to shew that Th. regarded *αὗται* as referring to Hagar and Sarah. The translator has however retained *haec* from the Latin versions, without perceiving the discrepancy thus introduced between text and comment. Possibly, however, both here and in the O. L., *haec* is another form of the nom. pl. fem.; see Bensly, *M. F.*, p. 64, note.

11. *ut sit*, &c.] *ἵν' ᾖ· αὗται γάρ εἰσιν δύο διαθῆκαι ἀλληγορούμεναι* (?).

13. *duobus*]=duabus: Rönsch, *Itala*, p. 277.

17. *in ordine seruorum*] So on Rom. viii. 15 Th. remarks: *περὶ γὰρ τῶν ἐν νόμῳ λέγει καὶ ἐν τῇ πρὸς Γαλάτας, ὅτι μία μὲν ἀπὸ ὄρους Σινᾶ εἰς δουλείαν γεννῶσα· δούλους τοὺς ἐν νόμῳ παραθέσει τῶν τοῦ μέλλοντος αἰῶνος καλῶν. ἐπειδὴ οὗτοι μὲν ὑπὸ προστάγματα ὄντες, ἢ παραβαίνοντες ἐτιμωροῦντο ἢ φυλάττοντες ἐπαινοῦντο· ὅπερ οὖν τῶν δούλων ἴδιον εἶναι συμβέβηκεν.*

Lanfranc has collected the sense of Th.'s comm. on v. 24, partly in the words of our version: "Agar ancilla pariens secundum usum naturae significat legem quam tenere habent qui in hac uita nascuntur secundum sequentiam naturae, qui etiam sub lege uersabantur in ordine seruorum; Sara autem quae per gratiam peperit, illos qui in Christo resurrexisse uidentur per gratiam, qui etiam praeter spem naturae secundam expectant natiuitatem, quibus iam circumcisio et oblatio sacrificiorum superuacua est."

puniuntur uero sine aliqua excusatione, si peccasse fuerint inuenti; laudantur uero, si secundum omnem scrupulositatem legem observare uoluerint. quod ualde arduum est, et cum multo expeditur labore. seruorum autem est proprium et non liberorum, hoc modo sub lege teneri. et ostendens quoniam ipsa comparatio quae de Agar facta est non est extranea veteri testamento, adicit:

Agar enim Sina mons est in Arabia; coniungitur uero ei qui nunc est Hierusalem, seruit autem cum filiis suis.

†Arabia antiquis temporibus non illa quae nunc nominatur sola erat; sed et solitudo omnis, et illae partes quae circa solitudinem habitabantur; nec non et Aegypti pars non

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Ἀραβία τὸ παλαιὸν οὐχ ἡ νῦν οὕτως ὀνομαζομένη μόνον ἐλέγετο, ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἥ τε ἔρημος πᾶσα καὶ τὰ περὶ αὐτὴν οἰκούμενα μέρη, καὶ μὴν καὶ τῆς Αἰγύπτου μέρος οὐκ ἐλάχιστον.

4 autem *om H* 6 non extr. (*om* est) *H* 8 enim *om H* 13 sq. Coisl. 204, f. 35 b [Cr. vi. 71, Fr. 128]. *θεόδωρος* (marg.) *καὶ ἄλλος δέ φησιν· Ἀραβία, κ.τ.λ.* 14 ἀλλἄγαρ (*sic*) cod. ἀλλ' Ἄγαρ edd.

8. *Agar enim S. mons*, &c.] Th.'s text therefore had *τὸ γὰρ Ἄγαρ Σινᾶ ὄρος ἐστίν*. Our translator has faithfully represented this reading, the Latin authorities notwithstanding.

coniungitur] = *συνστοιχεῖ*: so the Ambrosiaster. In the comm., our translator prefers "confinis," "adfinis est"—the renderings adopted by Aug., Sedul. Scot. Thus "he makes Theodore fall into the common error of interpreting *σωστοιχεῖ* ... 'is contiguous to' ... but the context, as well as the Greek fragment which has *ἰσοδυναμεῖ* [see p. 82, l. 23, *infra*], shows that the blunder is the translator's own" (Lightfoot, *Galatians*, p. 230, note).

9. *qui*] So Sedul. Scot. The other Latin authorities rightly, *quae*; see above p. 74, l. 8; p. 81, l. 10. Cf. Rönsch, *Itala*[2], p. 520.

10. *Arabia ant. temp.* &c.] Lanfranc (followed by Robert of B.) reproduces this passage, but so freely as to disturb the sense: "Arabia ant. temp. non illa quae nunc nominatur sola erat [non illa sola erat quae nunc nom. *R.*] sed et solitudo et pars non modica Aegypti, ubi est mons Sina, in quo data erat lex. unde et fuerat Agar quae significat uetus testamentum, quae [quod *R*] generat in seruitutem, quae etiam coniungitur per significationem [et coniung. in sign. *R.*] ei Ierusalem quae est in hoc saeculo, in qua testamenti legitima implentur."

11. *sed et solitudo omnis*] In the MS. of Cramer's catena (see vv. ll.) this clause stands ἀλλ' ἄγαρ ἥ τε ἔρημος πᾶσα—an error for ἀλλὰ γάρ, κ.τ.λ., which, as Dr Lightfoot remarks (*Galatians*, p. 193, note 1), illustrates the origin of the reading *τὸ γὰρ Ἄγαρ*, Gal. iv. 25. Dr L. proposes to correct the catena by reading ἀλλὰ *καί*, so as to conform the Gk. to the Latin *sed et*. In our translation, however, *sed* appears to be used as the equivalent of ἀλλὰ γάρ, and *sed et* = ἀλλὰ γὰρ *καί* (cf. e.g. p. 85, l. 21; p. 97, l. 22); in the present passage *et—et* after *sed*

modica,* in qua et locus erat ille in quo habitabant Israhelitae eo in tempore quo commorabantur in Aegypto. sic enim dicebatur locus ille, sicut de divina id discimus Scriptura, quoniam *in terram Gessen Arabiae habitant.* quia ergo inde erat Agar et Sina mons ad Arabios uoluit ostendere. quoniam apta est similitudo Agar ad uetus testamentum, eo quod in illo sit data loco, qui locus ad gentem pertinet illam unde erat et Agar.

†nam quod dixit: *adfinis est eius quae nunc est Hierusalem,* de Agar dicit; ut dicat quoniam 'illa quae apud nos est

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[ὃ γὰρ εἶπεν· ϹΥΝϹΤΟΙΧΕῖ ΤΗ̣̑ ΝΥ̑Ν ἹΕΡΟΥϹΑΛΗΜ́,] περὶ τῆς Ἄγαρ [λέγει· ἵνα εἴπῃ] ὅτι τῇ παρ' ἡμῖν Ἱερουσαλήμ, τουτέστιν τῇ κατὰ τὸν

2 eo temp. *H* 4 gesen *C* (*corr*) | Arabii *H* 7 sita (*for* data) *H*
11 Cōisl. 204 *l. c.* τοῦτο οὖν θέλει εἰπεῖν περὶ τῆς Ἄγαρ, ὅτι τῇ παρ' ἡμῖν, κ.τ.λ.

answers to τε—καί. On the fact here stated by Th., see the authorities collected by Dr Lightfoot (p. 88).

4. *in terram Gessen Ar. h.*] This seems to be a combination of Gen. xlvii. 1 (LXX.), ἰδοὺ εἰσιν ἐν γῇ Γεσέμ with c. xlv. 10, καὶ κατοικήσεις ἐν γῇ Γ. Ἀραβίας; xlvi. 34, ἵνα κατοικήσητε ἐν γῇ Γ. Ἀραβίας. The gloss Ἀραβίας was represented in the O. L., but expunged by Jerome with the remark "hic *Arabiae* additum est—in Hebraeis enim voluminibus non habetur; unde et error increbuit quod terra Gessen in Arabia sit."

quia ergo inde erat A.] 'Hagar was an Egyptian (Gen. xvi. 1). But an entire district of Egypt was anciently included under the name of Arabia. Thus in the allegory Hagar may well represent the Arabian mountain Sinai, and the law which was given there.' So Th. explains the connection of thought in v. 25, read as it stood in his text. Neither of the other two great Antiochene expositors has adopted this view. Chrys. takes refuge in an etymological explanation: Ἄγαρ ἐλέγετο ἡ δούλη· τὸ δὲ Σ. ὄρος οὕτως μεθερμηνεύεται τῇ ἐπιχωρίῳ αὐτῶν γλώσσῃ. Thdt. refers to the fact that Hagar's descendants settled in the Sinaitic peninsula: παρὰ δὲ ἐκεῖνο τὸ ὄρος τὸ τῆς Ἄγαρ ἐσκήνωται γένος.

Th.'s exposition of this passage has found its way through the Latin version into the commentary of Sedulius Scotus, who refers to it under the name of Ambrose: "item secundum Ambrosium apta est similitudo Agar ad uetus testamentum, eo quod in illo sit data loco qui locus ad gentem pertinet illam unde erat et Agar; A. enim Aegyptia erat et tamen ex Arabia fuerat, quoniam non modica pars Aegypti in Arabia concludebatur. nam quod dicit: *affinis est eius qui* [sic: ed.] *nunc est Hierusalem*, de Agar dicitur, quoniam illa quae apud nos est Hierusalem, hoc est, quae in saeculo hoc esse uidetur, aequam uirtutem habet ad Agar" (Migne, *P. L.* 103, 190).

5. *ad Arabios*] 'Belonging to Arabia'; cf. Rönsch, *Itala*, p. 390.

7. *data*] *sc.* ἡ παλαιὰ διαθήκη. The translator has retained the gender of the Greek participle (ἅτε ἐν ἐκείνῃ δοθεῖσα τῇ χώρᾳ (?). So below (p. 82, ll. 10, 11) *sub illa*, *ipsa*, refer not to *Agar*, but, as the context shews, to *testamentum quod datum est in S.*

Hierusalem, hoc est, quae in saeculum hoc esse uidetur, aequam uirtutem habet ad Agar; hunc nobis ordinem retinente illa quae nunc est Hierusalem, in qua testamenti illius legitima implentur, ad comparationem illorum quae expectantur, quae etiam frui in futuro speramus saeculo.' quam et continere uidebatur Agar, Sarrae comparata. nam quod dixit: *seruit autem cum filiis suis*, non de Agar id dicit, sed ad testamentum quod datum est in Sina * reddidit illud, ut statuat illud quod dixit: *unum quidem ex monte Sina, in seruitutem generans.* filios eius illos esse dixit qui sub illa conuersantur. bene autem dixit quod et ipsa *cum filiis suis seruit.* testamentum enim quale sit in illis utique cognoscitur qui illud susceperunt. nec enim secundum suam substantiam perspicitur; itaque seruit, quando illi, qui secundum illud sunt, seruire uidentur.

conueniebat allegoriae sectatores ad illud respicere quod dixit: *confinis est eius quae nunc est Hierusalem;* euidenter enim non intercipientis est illa quae secundum Agar, sed aequam eas habere uirtutem ostendere uoluit, secundum quod significatione id ipsum sunt. beatus uero Paulus primum testamentum dicens, dicit et aliud:

quae autem sursum est Hierusalem, libera est; quae est mater omnium nostrorum.

βίον τοῦτον θεωρουμένη, ἰσοδυναμεῖ ἡ Ἄγαρ, ταύτην ἡμῖν τὴν τάξιν ἐπεχούσης τῆς νῦν Ἰερουσαλήμ, ἐφ' ἧς τὰ τῆς διαθήκης ἐκείνης νόμιμα πληροῦται πρὸς τὰ προσδοκώμενα, ὧν δὴ καὶ τεύξεσθαι ἐπὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος ἐλπίζομεν αἰῶνος, ἣν ἐπεῖχεν ἡ Ἄγαρ πρὸς τὴν Σάῤῥαν κρινομένη. τὸ μέντοι ΔΟΥΛΕΥΕΙ ΜΕΤΑ ΤΩΝ ΤΕΚΝΩΝ ΑΥΤΗΣ, *οὐ περὶ τῆς Ἄγαρ λέγει, ἀλλὰ περὶ τῆς ἐν τῷ Σινᾶ δοθείσης δ.αθήκης.*

1 seculo *C* (*corr*) 2 hoc n. ordine retinente illam *C** (ordinem *C* (*corr*) *H*: retinentem *H*): txt *g* 4 quia etiam *H* 8 redigit (*for* reddidit) *s* 13 secundum *om H** 17 eos *C H* 22 nostrum *C* (*corr*) *H* (*corr*) 25 δεῖ cod., Cr.: δὲ Fr.

6. *nam quod dixit ... illud*] Cited by Sedul. Scot. See vv. ll.

12. *nec enim secundum*, &c.] *οὐδὲ γὰρ κατ' ἰδίαν ὑπόστασιν* (or simply *καθ' ὑπόστασιν*) *γνωρίζεται, θεωρεῖται*, or the like; see p. 5, ll. 15, 18. 'It has no personality; it is represented by its children, whose bondage is regarded as its own.'

19. *id ipsum*] = *τὸ αὐτό*: Rönsch, *Itala*, p. 424.

22. *nostrorum*] Both our MSS. (see vv. ll.) exhibit this form *pr. manu* in the text, although in the comm. just below both have *nostrum*.—Thdt. (*ad h. l.*) follows Th. in reading *μήτηρ ἁπάντων ἡμῶν*.

sursum Hierusalem non somnia colligens dicit apostolus, ad similitudinem illorum qui uniuersa in allegoriam iactanda esse existimant; sed quoniam testamentum secundum scit nuncupare resurrectionem, quam expectabant illi qui adsecuti sunt, qui etiam et in caelo morandi licentiam adsequi sperabant, liberi ab omni existentes peccato. ad comparationem ergo huius illam nominauit *quae sursum est Hierusalem;* conuersationem nostram illam quam in caelis habemus hoc modo indicans, eo quod illo commorabimur simul cum Christo degentes; in qua etiam secundum omnem conuersabimur industriam. at *sursum Hierusalem* caeleste habitaculum sic nominans, quoniam et Judæi in locis Hierusalem commorantes cum Deo se commorare existimabant; ubi et debitum Deo persoluere seruitium properabant, hunc locum competentem esse sibi existimantes, eo quod neque sacrificium neque holocaustum neque aliud aliquid secundum legem alibi perficere poterant. illa enim *quae sursum est Hierusalem, libera est; quae est mater omnium nostrum.* ut dicat quoniam 'resurrectionem adsecuti, et secundam illam et gloriosam percipientes natiuitatem, cuius propter et in caelo commorabimur, illam Hierusalem nostram esse existimantes, in libertate plurima omnes simul erimus; legitima praecepta aut alia quae eiusmodi sunt implere non indigentes. cum multa autem fiducia illo commorabimur, eo quod nec peccatis ultra subiacere poterimus.' et utitur scripturale testimonium :

2 uniuersam, iactandam C^* *H* 5 se sperant *C* 10 quo *C* 11 Abraham (*for* at sursum) *C H* | caelestem *C H* 13 commorari *C* (*corr*) 14 sibi ex. esse *H* 19 secundum *C H* | et *om* 2° *H* 20 gloriam (*after* propter) *add in marg. C* (*corr*) | commorabuntur *H* 23 non *om H* | illuc (*for* illo) *H*

3. *testamentum secundum*, &c.] Compare p. 76, l. 8, sq.

9. *illo*]=illic: see below, l. 23, vv. ll.

11. *at sursum*] See vv. ll. Card. Pitra, who omits *habitaculum*, doubtless through an oversight, connects *Abraham* (which he alters into *Abrahae*) with the preceding clause. I had once thought that *Abr. habitaculum* might represent τὸν κόλπον Ἀβραάμ, or the like, i. q., paradisum (cf. Phot. *biblioth.* cod. 237, ὡς ὁ παράδεισος ἡ ἄνω ἐστὶν Ἱερουσαλήμ). But besides other difficulties, the mention of Abraham in this context appears irrelevant. *At sursum H.* might easily, if misunderstood, degenerate into *Abraham H.*, and *caeleste* would then pass into *caelestem* (τὴν ἐπουράνιαν).

13. *commorare*] See p. 59, l. 21, note. Cf. l. 20, *commorabimur.*

20. *cuius propter*] A Graecism (=ἧς ἕνεκα)? cf. Rönsch, *Itala*, p. 442.

25. *et utitur*, &c.] κέχρηται δὲ καὶ γραφικῇ μαρτυρίᾳ (?). *Scripturalis* is un-

scriptum est enim: 'lactare, sterilis quae non paris; erumpe et clama, quae non parturis; quoniam multi filii desertae magis quam eius quae habet uirum.'

hoc non tamquam prophetice de resurrectione dictum posuit; sed testimonium abusus est propter nomen *sterilis*, eo quod sterilem constitutam Sarram in ordinem secundi accipit testamenti; ut dicat quoniam 'omnia illa erunt praeter spem. exsurgemus enim qui mortui sumus; ita ut et numero multo ampliores ab illis inueniamur. multo enim ampliores erimus qui in hoc concurrimus testamento. illi enim qui sub lege sunt testamento, gens est una. nos uero qui resurrectionis testamentum adsequi habemus, omnes sumus filii.' unde et adicit:

nos autem, fratres, secundum Isaac promissionis sumus filii.

quod dixit: *secundum Isaac*, hoc est, 'erimus secundum Isaac; non secundum naturam, sed secundum gratiam. sicut enim Isaac praeter omnem spem natus est; eo quod et gratiae est resurrectio, non naturae.' et quoniam ab illis quae in diuina tenentur scriptura probauit testamentorum differentiam, ostendens quoniam illorum quae secundum naturam sunt, multo meliora sunt illa quae secundum gratiam; ipsa ergo praeditus sequentia, etiam praesentibus abutitur negotiis:

sed sicut [tunc] is qui secundum carnem natus erat, persequebatur eum qui secundum Spiritum, sic et nunc.

2 multae filiae *C H* 7 erant *H* 10 legis *C* (*corr*) 11 recsurrectionis *C** 12 filii *om H* 22 praesentia *H* 23 tunc *om C H*

known to the lexicons; see however Paucker (*melet. lexist. alt.* p. 22), and cf. supr. p. 66, l. 10.

2. *multi filii*] See vv. ll. The fem. can only be a copyist's error arising from the proximity of *desertae*.

4. *non tamquam prophetice*, &c.] Lanfranc and Robert of B. epitomize this passage, omitting *non t. proph.* and for *omnes sumus filii* substituting *ex omni gente sumus*.

With Th.'s refusal to recognize a distinct prediction in Isai. liv. 1, comp. his remarks on Rom. iii. 12, τῇ μαρτυρίᾳ οὐχ ὡς προφητικῶς εἰρημένῃ ἐχρήσατο, ἀλλ' ὡς ἁρμοζούσῃ τοῖς ἀποδεδειγμένοις ... ὥσπερ οὖν καὶ ἡμεῖς ἄχρι τῆς δεῦρο ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησιαστικαῖς διαλέξεσιν μαρτυρίαις συγκεχρήμεθα, ὡς ἂν ἁρμόζειν δυναμέναις ἀπὸ τῆς διανοίας τοῖς παρ' ἡμῶν λεγομένοις. *Ib.* ix. 25, x. 18, xi. 9. See Fritzsche, *de v. et scr. Th.* p. 35 sq., Toe Water, p. 100 sq.

11. *qui...adsequi habemus*] οἱ μέλλοντες ἐπιτυχεῖν: cf. Rönsch, *Itala*, pp. 447, sq.

14. *nos ... sumus*] So Chrys., Thdt.

16. *sicut ... naturae*] *Ita et nos*, or the like, must be supplied after these words.

21. *ipsa ergo*, &c.] "Following up this train of thought." Pitra suggests *ipsa praevidens sequentia*.

de illis qui secundum Christum sunt, †non solum quae fidei sunt et promissionis, ponit nomen (sicuti et in superioribus iam ostendimus), sed et Spiritus; et multis in locis hac uel maxime abutitur uoce, sicuti et ad Romanos quis euidenter perspicere poterit; eo quod expectamus participatione Spiritus fruitionem accipere futurorum bonorum. sic igitur et de illis qui secundum legem sunt, illud quod corporis est dicit; eo quod secundum praesentem hanc uitam lex utilis esse potest. nam quia 'carnem' temporale dicit, et quod facile soluitur, cum nostram [non] nominauerit naturam,* multis in locis id ostendimus in interpretatione apostolica; et plenaria nostra expositio id euidenter ostendit, illis tamen qui cautissime uolunt dictis intendere. et quoniam Agar eicitur quae sequentia naturali peperisse uidebatur, quae formam acceperat ueteris testamenti, eo quod et tenere [ordinem] poterat, secundum praesentem uitam, illorum qui naturali ordine nascuntur; quod et nuper ediximus. *sicuti ergo tunc ille qui* ex naturae ordine *fuerat natus illum persequebatur qui* per promissionem *fuerat natus,* †*sic et* hic illi qui *nunc* legis existunt uindices illa quae gratiae sunt indagare adnituntur.* bene

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οὐ τὸ τῆς πίστεως καὶ τῆς ἐπαγγελίας μόνον ἐντίθησιν ὄνομα, ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ τὸ τοῦ πνεύματος· ἅτε δὴ προσδοκώντων ἡμῶν τῇ μετουσίᾳ τοῦ πνεύματος τὴν ἀπόλαυσιν δέξασθαι τῶν μελλόντων· οὑτωσὶ δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν κατὰ νόμον τὸ τῆς σαρκός, ἅτε δὴ κατὰ τὸν παρόντα τουτονὶ βίον χρησιμεύειν τοῦ νόμου δυναμένου· σάρκα γὰρ τὸ πρόσκαιρον καὶ εὐδιάλυτον λέγει, ὅταν μὴ τὴν ἡμετέραν ὀνομάζῃ φύσιν.

[οὕτως καὶ νῦν] *οἱ τοῦ νόμου προεστάναι δῆθεν βουλόμενοι, τὰ τῆς χάριτος ἀπελαύνουσιν.*

2 ponet *C** 3 et multis et multis *H** 5 participationem *H* 8 temporalem *C H* txt *g* 9 soluit *C H* | non *om C H* txt *g* 13 qui (*for* quae 1°) *H* 14 ordinem *om C H* 16 nuber ediximus *C* nubere diximus *H* 20 sq. Coisl. 204, f. 36 b [Cr. vi. 73, Fr. 128] ἄλλος δέ φησιν οὐ τὸ τῆς π., κ.τ.λ. 24 υἱὸν (for βίον) Cr. (per incuriam). 27 οἱ τοίνυν τοῦ νόμου κ.τ.λ. cod. and edd. See lat.

1. *quae fidei*, &c. ... *ponit nomen*] = "fidei et promissionis ponit nomen." The phrase *quae ... promissionis* is an attempt to reproduce the form of the Gk. (τὸ τῆς π., κ.τ.λ.).

2. *sicuti et in sup.*] Cf. p. 52, l. 5, sq.

4. *sicuti et ad Rom.*] *e.g.* on Rom. viii. 2: τὸ τοίνυν πνεῦμά φησιν τὸ ἐπ' ἐλπίδι τῆς ἀθανασίας ἡμῖν δεδομένον· οὗ τὴν ἀπόλαυσιν ἡ ἐπὶ τὸν Χριστὸν πίστις παρέσχηκεν ἡμῖν.

8. *carnem temporale dicit*] Cf. p. 35, l. 12, note, and *infra*, p. 94, l. 5, note.

autem *secundum Spiritum* dixit, hoc est, ut dicat eum qui secundum promissionem est; eo quod nostram personam ad similitudinem illius erat e contrario positurus. in quibus *Spiritus* nomen ueraciter ponebatur propter illa quae ab illis creduntur. optimos uero allegoristas uolebam hoc in loco illud interrogare, utrum diuina scriptura retulit nobis quoniam Ismahel persequebatur Isaac, hoc significans quoniam quidam erant illorum qui ex circumcisione sunt, qui in nouissimis temporibus aliquando illos, qui ex Galatis Christo crediderant, transducturi erant ad legem? et quis poterit condigne aliquando id deridere? itaque si nihil aliud, saltem hoc eos perspicere conueniebat, quoniam historiam apostolus quasi uere factorum negotiorum, et in confessione deductorum existentem, in sua posuit narratione ut confirmaret illa quae dixerat. secundum comparationem uero uoluit ostendere historiam ad illam similitudinem. unde et illa quae facta fuerant illis ab extraneis abusus esse uidetur. quibus inconsequenter simul et magnifice adicit:

sed quid dicit scriptura? 'eice ancillam et filium eius; non enim heres erit filius ancillae cum filio liberae.'

ut dicat quoniam 'nihil prodest illis laborare, sicuti nec illi tunc profuit. † nec enim est aliqua communio praesentibus ad futura, sed nec habere possunt locum legitima in nostram conuersationem, quam secundum formam implemus resurrectionis. quid ergo festinant illi eos qui in Christo crediderunt etiam ad legis custodiam trahere?' deinde quasi qui ex praecedentibus colligere poterat negotium dicens: *

οὐδὲ γάρ ἐστίν τις κοινωνία τῶν παρόντων καὶ τῶν μελλόντων· οὐδ' ἔχει χώραν τὰ νόμιμα ἐπὶ τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς διαίτης, ἣν κατὰ τύπον πληροῦμεν τῆς ἀναστάσεως. καὶ λοιπὸν ὡς ἐπὶ τῶν προκειμένων ἐπισυλλογίζεται.

1 Spiritum Spiritum *H** 2 nostra persona *C H* 3 positura *C H* | Spiritum *H* [*for. leg.* Spiritum nomen...ponebat] 7 erant quidem *C* quidem erant *H* 9 transducti erant *C** transducti sunt *H* 11 saltim *C** [cf. Wagner *orth. Verg.* v. 470, cited by Hild. *Ap.* ii. 633] 13 delictorum (*for* deduct.) *H* 19 enim *om C* 21 nec enim talia *H* 22 in legitima *H** in legitimum *H* (*corr*) 26 collidere *H*

5. *allegoristas*] Cf. p. 73, l. 28, note.

13. *in confessione deductorum*] ἐφ' ὁμολογίᾳ τῶν διηγημένων or the like; 'written with a view to the acknowledgment of the facts.' The reading of *H* looks like an attempt to escape from the difficulty.

21. *nec enim est al. comm.*] Cf. p. 4, l. 14, note.

itaque, fratres, non sumus ancillae filii, sed liberae.

cui dicto etiam exhortationem connectit:

libertate qua nos Christus liberauit state, et nolite iterum iugo seruitutis obduci.

ab illis quae ostensa sunt ab eo exhortationem faciens, 'ne (inquit) *a libertate qua* uos *Christus liberauit* discedentes; iterum uos sub *iugo seruitutis* legitimae constituatis.'

et ultra confidens et multitudini [et] magnitudini probationum quae nullam controuersiam admittebant (alia quidem ex rebus perspicuis, alia uero de diuinis sumpta scripturis, alia uero aliunde, omnia autem summe expressa habebantur); dicit in subsequentibus, quasi de rebus indubiis contestationem faciens:

ecce ego Paulus dico uobis quoniam si circumcidamini, in Christo uobis nihil proderit.

bene posuit: *ecce ego Paulus*, quasi confidens super contestationis factae iustitiam, et quod numquam negari possit ob rerum ueritatem. 'circumcisi enim, a Christo nihil expectetis percipere, eo quod nec est uobis ad eum ultra communio.' deinde quod fecit in praecedenti negotio, ponit illud et uoce:

testificor autem iterum omni homini circumcidenti se, quoniam debitor est totam legem implere.

nam quod dixit: *testificor*, euidenter id posuit. et quod dixit *iterum*, contestatio enim et haec erat, et illud quod superius fuerat dictum: 'ecce (inquit) et aliud contestor, quoniam qui circumcidit se obnoxius est implere legem omnem. quare?

3 liberauit. state *H* 8 et 3° *om* *C* H* ac *C* (*corr*) 10 prospicuis *H* 11 habebuntur *H* | adicit (*for* dicit) *C* 13 ecce *om* *H** 14 Christus *H* (*corr*) 16 negare *C*H* 19 ponet *C** 25 omnem legem *C*

1. *non sumus*, &c.] Th. read and punctuated as follows: οὐκ ἐσμὲν παιδίσκης τέκνα, ἀλλὰ τῆς ἐλευθέρας. τῇ ἐλευθερίᾳ ᾗ ἡμᾶς Χριστὸς ἠλευθέρωσεν στήκετε, καὶ μὴ πάλιν ζυγῷ δουλείας ἐνέχεσθε. See Dr Lightfoot's summary of the various readings in V. 1 (*Galatians*, p. 200).

13. *in Christo u. n. proderit*] Card. Pitra edits *Christus ... proderit*, but the singular construction *in Christo* is supported by the Corbie MS. as well as by the first hand of *H*: see vv. ll. It is difficult to account for this reading, unless we suppose that the scribe or translator had his eye upon v. 6 *infra* (ἐν γὰρ Χρ. Ἰ. οὔτε περιτομή τι ἰσχύει, κ.τ.λ.).

20. *circumcidenti se*] περιτεμνομένῳ: so the O.L. and Vulg., with Aug. Ambrstr. Cf. *infra* (l. 24), "qui circumcidit se."

quoniam circumcisio confessio est legis seruandae. debet autem is qui confitetur, pactus sui implere conditionem. si autem hoc possibile sit uobis, uos uideritis.' quoniam inpossibile est, eo quod et multa nimis praeuaricabant, et ipsi perspicere poterant facile et statim ante omnia, eo quod praeceptum fuerat nihil illorum quae ad honorem pertinent diuinitatis alibi debere implere praeter in locum Hierusalem. aut enim non implebant illud quod constitutum erat, aut implentes praeuaricabant. posuit autem illud, ualde perspicuum existens in his maxime quae praeuenerant, si tamen circumcisi ab illis donationibus quae erant a Christo extranei constituebantur; et a lege nullum iuuamen adsequi poterant, eo quod nec custodirent illam sicut conueniebat. deinde et aliud adicit:

destructi estis a Christo, qui in lege iustificamini.

'nulla uobis est cum Christo ultra communio, qui ex lege iustificamini. itaque et ipsa simulatio qua uos credere in eum confingitis superflua esse inuenitur, et nullum habet iuuamen.' et ostendens hoc ex ipsis rebus ita se habere:

a gratia excidistis.

'illa quae a Christo sunt, gratiae sunt. lex autem non est gratia. quae ergo nobis erit cum aduersariis communio?'

mirabilis uero per omnia uidetur apostolus, et frequentia sensuum est talis qualis habet fieri a uiro in mediis constricto necessitatibus et ui legum impulso et contestanti super his quae sibi fiunt, ita ut in tempore suas possit exequi iustitias ante

11 nullum *om H* 17 confiditis *H C H* 23 et (*for* est) *C H* | at uero (*for* a uiro) 24 contestantem *C H*

7. *praeter*] = praeterquam: see Hildebrand, *Apul.* i. 78.

22. *et freq. sensuum*, &c.] Pitra reads this passage as follows: "et freq. sens., et talis qualis habet fieri. At uero in mediis constricto necessitatibus, et ui legum impulso, et contestanti super his quae sibi fiunt, ita ut in tempore suas possit exsequi iustitias ante iudicem, ipsi uindicare ueritatem tempus euenerit [*inuenerit* cod]." In his appendix he suggests: "et freq. sens. talis qualis solet fieri in mediis constr. necessitatibus ... ante iud., ipse si uindicare uerit. temp. inuenerit." I have ventured to depart from the MSS. so far as to substitute *et* for *est*, *a uiro* for *at uero*, *ipsum* for *ipsi*. *Exequi iustitias* = δίκας λαμβάνειν (?) 'The impassioned style of the Apostle is that of an injured man who submits under protest, and appeals to a higher court.'

iudicem ipsum, cum uindicare ueritatem tempus inuenerit; et quia nihil eorum quae secundum se erant reliquit in tempore uiolentiae, neque adquieuit illis quae non bene fiebant; e contrario uero et contradixit et contestatus est, litigans pro uirtutis suae possibilitate. talium enim proprium est ut omnia illa dicant quae competere suis partibus existimant, et frequenter dicere illa et compendiose, sicut et hoc in loco Paulus fecisse uidetur. denique postquam arguit malitiam actus eorum, e contrario etiam sua posuit—quod et hoc ipsud proprium est illorum qui contestantur:

nos enim Spiritu ex fide spem iustitiae expectamus.

solummodo quia non clamat et dicit quoniam 'nihil horum nostrum est; nullam cum istis habemus communionem. nos iustificari speramus per fidem, Spiritus expectantes gratiam per quam et perfectam bonorum participationem adquirimus.' et adhuc his sua connectens:

in Christo (inquit) *Iesu neque circumcisio quid ualet, neque praeputium; sed fides* [*quae*] *per caritatem inoperatur.*

'talia sunt illa quae secundum Christum sunt ita ut non in circumcisione, non in praeputio ueritas sit definita. fides enim est apud nos quae omnia implet; quam etiam et erga illa quae expectantur consequentem illius promissis conuenit demonstrari, in caritate perfectam fidem exhibentes. caritatem autem dicit illam quae erga Deum est et erga proximum. qui enim credidit non absoluta quadam intentione, sed cum animae suae firmitate, sicut et est credere conueniens, euidens est quoniam et diligere eum adceleret utpote omnium bonorum nobis conlatorum auctorem; nec non et proximum diligat. nam

1 ipsi *C*: *om H* 7 hoc *om H** 9 ipsum *C* (*corr*) *H* 11 Spiritum *C H* 12 conclamat (*for* non clamat) *C* (*corr*) | dicat *H* 17 aliquid *H* (*corr*) 18 quae *om C* H* 23 in caritatem perfectam *C** in caritate perfecta *C* (*corr*) 24 proximos (*for* erga proximum) *H* 26 dignum (*bef* est cred.) *add C* (*corr*) | et (*aft.* conuen.) *add C* 28 diligit *C*

12. *solummodo quia non clamat*] μονονουχὶ κράζων *s.* βοῶν.

17. *in Christo...I.*] Vulg., "nam in Chr. I." Γάρ is wanting in a few Gk. MSS. (Tisch.[8] *ad h. l.*); but the omission of the conjunction by our translator is probably due to accident, or to the insertion of *inquit*.

23. *in caritate perfectam fidem*] Cf. S. James ii. 22: ἐκ τῶν ἔργων ἡ πίστις ἐτελειώθη. *Demonstrari* = ἀποδείξασθαι (?). In the next page (l. 14) it is passive.

illa caritas quae erga Deum est, etiam proximum diligere ut fas est praecipit, et maxime illum qui eiusdem fidei esse uidetur. hunc enim diuina scriptura 'proximum' uocat. diligens uero proximum, opere utique suae animae demonstrat affectum. nec enim possibile est illum qui Deum diligit non opus facere aliquod, unde et dilectionis euidentem poterit ostendere probationem. ille enim qui proximum diligit, necessario in opere suam ostendit amicitiam. hoc ergo dixit *fidem quae per caritatem inoperatur*, quod cum uera fide erga Deum ostendit caritatem, pariter etiam et erga proximum itidem subsequentem ostendit caritatem. caritas uero necessario in opere debet cognosci, eo quod uerae sit fidei, quam conuenit habere illos qui Christo crediderunt; quia per caritatem in operibus debet demonstrari qui qualisue sit. 'haec quidem apud nos cum sollicitudine debita aguntur; circumcisionis uero et praeputii nullam curam habemus.' et quasi qui sufficienter fuerit contestatus, iterum ad exhortationem suum uertit sermonem:

currebatis bene: qui uos impediuit ueritati non suaderi?

ad summam eos uerecundiam adducit, dum illa quae primitus ab eis fide integra gesta fuerant cum illis comparat quae ad praesens faciebant, reprehendens simul factum eorum. uidetur enim per omnia perspici eos, et demiratione dignos eos ostendere, ex illis quae dudum gesserant.

persuasio non est ex uocante [*uos*].

2 praecepit *C* H* 6 poteris *C* H* 8 hanc *H* (*corr*) 10 ut idem (*for* itidem) *C* 12 uere *C H* 14, 18 quis (*for* qui) *H* (*corr*) 16 quasi quia *C* 21 faciebat *H* | eorum *om H* 24 persuasione euocante *C* p. ex uocante *H*

2. *qui eiusdem fidei e. u.; hunc enim*, &c.] Cf. infr. c. vi. 10: ἐργαζώμεθα τὸ ἀγαθὸν πρὸς πάντας, μάλιστα δὲ πρὸς τοὺς οἰκείους τῆς πίστεως: where see Th.'s remarks.

18. *ueritati non suaderi*] An imitation of the Gk. (τῇ ἀληθείᾳ μὴ πείθεσθαι). Rönsch (*Itala*, p. 441) gives instances of *suaderi* used as a pass.; the present construction, as far as I can find, is peculiar to this translation, where it is frequent. Pitra reads *ueritate*, but against his MS., which is supported by *H*.

24. *persuasio non est*, &c.] See vv. ll.; *persuasione*=persuasio n̄ ē. *uos* has probably been omitted by a copyist who connected "persuasione euocante" with *gesserant*.

haec uult dicere: quoniam †'gratia erat Dei ut uocaret uos, quod et fecit, dans Spiritus sancti gratiam, promittens futura. nam permanere firmos in fide, non erat illius, sed uestrum.* hoc enim solum conferre uos conueniebat; residua uero omnia ex illius accedebant gratia. et ecce et hoc facere distulistis.' deinde malitiam admissam detegens, adicit:

modicum fermentum totam massam fermentat.

'non solum illa quae fiunt defleo, sed illa quae hinc oriuntur pertimesco. doctrina enim non bona, semel principium mali accipiens, augmentum in tempore scit adquirere.'

et ut ne aestimaretur non bonam de illis habere spem, simul et sanans eos adicit:

ego confido in uobis in Domino quoniam nihil aliud sapietis.

sufficiens erat Galatas desperantes confirmare et reducere ad fidei integritatem, eo quod et Paulus bona de illis sperabat. ad haec curans Galatas, aduersariis sese inuehit dicens:

qui autem conturbat uos, portabit iudicium, quicumque est ille.

demiratione dignum est quod dixit: *quicumque est ille;* ostendens quoniam non ueretur personam, quando ueritatis discutitur ratio. et quoniam interposuit consilium quod illis dabat, sua euidenter comprobauit. iterum ad circumcisionis

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τῆς χάριτος θεοῦ ἦν τὸ καλέσαι, τὸ δοῦναι τοῦ πνεύματος τὴν χάριν, ὑποσχέσθαι τὰ μέλλοντα· τὸ μέντοι μένειν βεβαίους ἐπὶ τῆς πίστεως οὐκ ἦν ἐκείνου, ἀλλ' ὑμέτερον.

2 facit *H* 10 in tempores scit *H* 15 sperat *C* 16 adhuc *C* | esse (*for* sese) *C**: *corr* se 19 persona *H* 22 sq. Coisl. 204, f. 38 a [Cr. vi. 77, Fr. 129] *θεόδωρος. ἄλλος δέ φησιν· τῆς χάριτος, κ.τ.λ.*

3. *non erat illius, sed uestrum*] Pitra: "Haec nisi corrigerentur aliis locis ... semipelagianismi quid redolerent." On Th.'s sympathy with the views of Pelagius see Fritzsche, *de v. et scr. Th.*, pp. 107—115. In the present instance his anxiety to assert the concurrence of man's freewill with the work of the Holy Spirit has led him into a strange interpretation of the passage, which he takes to mean: "obedience to the truth [*ἡ πεισμονή=τὸ πείθεσθαι ἀληθείᾳ*] is not to be expected as a gift from God, but to be rendered on your own part as an answer to His gracious call." Thdt. repeats this exposition: *ἴδιον Θεοῦ τὸ καλεῖν, τὸ δὲ πείθεσθαι τῶν ἀκουόντων.*

8. *non solum*, &c.] Thdt.: *ὑμᾶς μὲν θρηνῶ, δέδια δὲ τὴν τῆς νόσου μετάδοσιν.*

19. *non ueretur pers.*] Cf. pp. 10, 11.

recurrit uerba, et in sua persona id examinans, probationem eorum facit; eo quod illa quae de eo dicebantur, etiam ceteris apostolis similiter competere poterant, eo quod et illi propter illam quam in Christo habebant fidem, eius implentes doctrinam, ad similitudinem eius similiter persecutionem patiebantur. et maxime a Judaeis id pati uidebantur.

ego autem, fratres, si circumcisionem adhuc praedico, quid adhuc persecutionem patior? ergo destructum est scandalum crucis.

'si per legem (inquit) est iustificatio, et praedicari conuenit circumcisionem ad legis custodiam, sicut illi dicunt, utpote minime nobis iuuatis de sola illa quae in Christo est fide, si non et legem custodierimus; uana quidem sunt omnia illa quae secundum crucem sunt, et quod hinc infirmi scandalum patiuntur. uane autem et nos persecutionem patimur, siue ego siue ceteri qui et praedicant illam quae in Christo est fidem. et propter hoc quoniam ipsi persecutionem patiuntur similiter sicut et ego, cum liceat nobis illa quae legis sunt docere et omnem carere molestiam, simul lucrantes cotidianos angores. sed non ita se res habet; nec enim possibile est per legem iustificari. sed gratia in nobis Christi ista implere uidetur, qui propter hoc et crucifixus est et mortuus, ut exsurgens communem nobis bonorum illorum quae inde sunt praebeat fruitionem. ideo praedicamus, quia non erubescentes ignobilitatem illam quae ex ea esse existimatur, gloriamur uero in illis bonis quae per illam facta sunt. ideoque etiam si persecutionem pati conueniat, non abhorremus; maiores enim fructus exinde per passionem sumere expectamus, in tantum communicare ei sperantes in gloriam, in quantum ignobilitati et passionibus communicare uoluerimus.' et quoniam euidenter ostendit superfluam esse circumcisionem, siquidem illa quae

2 ei (*aft* facit) *H* 3 illis *H* 5 ad similitudinem eius similitudinem persecutionum *H* 10 eius (*for* est) *H* 14 patiantur *C** 18 dicere *H* 20 impossibile *H* 23 commune *C*H* | quae desunt *C* | praebeant *H* 27 patimur (*for* pati conu.) *H* 31 superfluum *H*

12. *iuuatis*] The lexicons give no instance of this form. Cf. *infra*, p. 105, l. 10, *adiuuatus*.

19. *lucrantes cotidianos angores*] Cf. Acts xxvii. 21: κερδῆσαι τὴν ὕβριν ταύτην καὶ ζημίαν.

secundum Christum sunt interceptionem faciunt legis, cuius uim obtinere uidetur circumcisio ; exaestuauit ira motus contra illos homines qui pro nihilo sollicitudinem expendere properant :

utinam et abscidantur qui conturbant uos.

'ad plenum (inquit) si salutem nobis et perfectionem per Christum adesse speramus, et corporis friuolam excisionem bonum quid esse iudicant, etiam integra membra genitalia sibi excidant, ut maiores adquirant lucros, si tamen carnis excisione iuuari se existimant.'

et ad plenum quis considerans illa quae in hac sunt epistola, tam quae extra probationem sunt, siue ad Galatas dicta siue ad aduersarios, inueniet densam eam esse et sensus uarietate illustratam ; nunc quidem ista, nunc uero illa dicentem. quod proprium est illorum qui irascuntur, ita ut et multa contingant, et omnia frequenter et compendiose dicant, nullo in loco sensum dilatantes. beatus uero Paulus inuehens se aduersariis sufficienter, ad exhortationem Galatarum recurrit, perfectam super uirtutibus faciens ad illos doctrinam, ita ut ostendat eis quod hoc multo aptius illis esse uidetur, qui non sub lege, sed sub gratia Christi conuersantur. disputans uero ad eos de his quae sibi maxime imminere uidebat, ita ut res ipsa exigebat, etiam et caritatis uerba permiscuit :

uos autem, fratres, in libertatem uocati estis.

optime ab illis quae ante a se fuerant ostensa exhortationis sumpsit principium. '*uocati* (inquit) *estis*, ut participes sitis libertatis.' et confirmans dictum suum :

1 faciunt *om H* 2 iram *H* 5 abscidentur *C** 14 dicente *C* H* 19 ad illos *om H*

5. *abscidantur*] So O. L. (Sabatier); Vulg., abscindantur.

8. *etiam integra membra*] Thdt.: *εἴθε καὶ τέλεον ἐξέτεμον ἑαυτούς.* So "all the Greek commentators, I believe, without exception; the Latin fathers, who read 'abscindantur' in their text, had more latitude" (Dr Lightfoot). See (e. g.) Pelagius *ad h. l.* Sedulius Scotus gives Th.'s explanation as an alternative: "uel, utinam totis potius uirilibus suis castrentur." Lanfranc, on the other hand, allows only the metaphorical sense: "id est: eunuchizentur a malis moribus."

9. *lucros*] Cf. Rönsch, *Itala*, p. 268.

24. *uos autem*] *ὑμεῖς δέ.* The Latin authorities follow the reading *ὑμεῖς γάρ*, and so Thdt. *ad h. l.*

tantum ne libertatem in occasione carnis detis.

'non enim est iustum libertatem uos abuti ad peccandum.' utile autem esse uidetur, ut et illud dicatur quod dixit: *in occasione carnis*, qua ratione illud posuit pro 'peccare'; et maxime propter eos qui existimant 'carnem' multis in locis peccatum ab scriptura nominari, cum diuina scriptura, nominibus aliud quid significantibus, alia nullo in loco nominari patitur absolute; sed cum quadam ratione abuti solet nominum mutabilitate, sicut et hoc in loco fecit. 'carnem' enim apostolus, sicut in multis locis ostendimus, illud quod temporale est et mortale et solubile scit uocare, eo quod et omnis caro talis est. quoniam ergo disputat et de praesenti statu et de futuro qui per Christum praestitus est nobis. est autem inmortalis quidem ille status, et omni peccato liber; mortalis uero iste, et peccato succumbens. pro ergo 'peccare,' *in occasionibus carnis* posuit, ut dicat quoniam 'non conuenit propter libertatem qua praediti estis ista agere quae mortales sequuntur. diligentiam uero illorum debetis habere, quae etiam decere uobis existimatis, eo quod et in spe uocati estis inmortalitatis, in qua et uerae libertatis participationem habetis.' et quoniam modo quodam contrarium esse uidebatur, quod et liberos eos esse dicebat, et ab actu certo eos excludebat, hoc [autem] erat iterum alia ratione sub lege eos quidem constituere, quod opus seruorum esse euidenter in superioribus ipse pronunciauit:

sed per caritatem seruite inuicem.

2 libertate *C* 16 quam *C H* [cf. p. 17, l. 18, vv. ll.] 17 secuntur *H*
18 dicere *C H* 20 quidam *H* 22 autem *om C H* 24 praenuntiauit *H*

1. *in occ. carnis detis*] *Detis* is doubtless due to the translator or his copyists —a reminiscence of the Vulg.; cf. the remark of S. Jerome: "subauditur *detis*, quod quia in Graeco non habetur, Latinus posuit interpres."

5. *propter eos qui existimant*, &c.] Cf. p. 35, l. 12, note, for Th.'s account of the scriptural uses of σάρξ. In this place he regards the word as equivalent to ἡ θνητότης, our present mortal condition, viewed as the fruitful occasion of sin; thus εἰς ἀφορμὴν τῇ σαρκὶ here = εἰς τὸ ἁμαρτάνειν. Compare his explanation of σαρκικός in Rom. vii. 14: ἀντὶ τοῦ 'θνητός,' καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πολλὴν περὶ το ἁμαρτάνειν ἔχων ῥοπήν. The allusion may be partly to the Manichæans (cf. p. 5, l. 11, note), partly to the opponents of Pelagius, especially those who held the Augustinian doctrine of the *caro peccati*.

24. *in superioribus*] Sec c. iv. 3 ὑπὸ τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου ἦμεν δεδουλωμένοι: *ib.* 9 πάλιν ἄνωθεν δουλεύειν θέλετε.

est et aliter non peccare, quando quis caritatem saluam custodit; ille enim qui talis est non solum a nocibilitate aliorum sese cohibet, sed et compellitur bonum facere. neque seruire piget aliquando dilecto sibi, si non hoc usus exegerit; eo quod nec necessitate legum adactus id facit. unde de stabilitate confidens caritatis quae omnem excludit controuersiam, neque 'seruire in inuicem' ponere distulit, et quidem contrarium id esse libertati ualde sciens. omnis enim libertas hanc seruitutem libenter subit, eo quod nec mos est obsequium illorum qui se diligunt grauiter ferre, siquando sibi in inuicem seruierint; pusillanimes uero tunc efficiuntur, quando seruitii opus non secundum suum propositum implere uidentur. deinde et latius caritatis opus explicans, dicit:

omnis enim lex in uno uerbo impletur: 'diliges proximum tuum sicut teipsum.'

'compendiose (inquit) in hoc omnis legis impletur intentio. nam non occidere, neque adulterium facere nec furtum et quodcumque istis est simile quae ad nociuitatem aliorum fieri solent, haec lex quidem minis et terroribus prohibet fieri, et nec sic facile potest illos qui subiacent sibi corrigere. caritas uero cum omni illa delectatione et facilitate et omni implet instantia. etenim quisnam modo patietur nocere illum, quem maxime uidetur diligere? sed et bona illi praestare pro uirium suarum possibilitate, pro quo amicitiae legem adcelerat. sic et illos qui non sunt sub lege, possibile est illa quae legis sunt implere. caritas enim non ex lege impleri solet, sed solo animi arbitrio. hanc autem sequitur necessarie, ut legis impleat uoluntatem. maxime autem uos caritatis decet implere legem, qui futuram

4 si non hoc si *C** si non *H* 5 stabilite *H* 7 in (*bef* inuicem) *om H** 8 liberati *C** 9 subdit *H* | more (*for* mos est) *C** norit *C* (*corr*) morem *H* 10 in (*bef* inuicem) *om C* (*corr*) 18 nocibilitatem *C* (*corr*) 22 q. non solummodo patietur non nocere *C* (*corr*) 26 implere *C* (*corr*) 28 quae *H*

3. *neque seruire piget*, &c.] Thdt.: ὁ γὰρ εἰλικρινῶς ἀγαπῶν οὐδὲ δουλεύειν παραιτεῖται τῷ φιλουμένῳ.

7. *in inuicem*] The lexicons give exx. of ab, ad, pro, inuicem. *In inuicem* seems to be in our MSS. an alternative form for the simple *inuicem*. *Et quidem*=καίπερ.

14. *impletur*] πληροῦται—the reading of Chrys., Thdt. So also the Latin versions.

16. *compendiose*] Thdt.: δύνασθε διὰ τῆς μιᾶς ταύτης ἐντολῆς πάντα πληρῶσαι τὸν νόμον.

illam et inmortalem uitam expectatis, quando inuiolata in uobis caritatis custodita fuerit lex, nihil existente in rebus humanis quod eam ultra soluere possit.' multis in locis manifestus est apostolus et propemodum in omnibus locis multam exhortationem faciens super caritatem, eo quod scit omnia bona continere; et quod excepta hac nihil ex illis quae conueniunt umquam fieri posse. hac uero permanente inlibata, facile est et illa ferre quae dura esse uidentur. et hoc in loco non solum propter exhortationis utilitatem, sed et propter praesentium, euidenter ad ista exisse uidetur; eo quod apud Galatas, quibus ita fuerat persuasum ab illis qui ex circumcisione erant ad legis accedere custodiam, ut et carnis susciperent circumcisionem, schismata uero inter hos et non leues hinc adnascebantur contentiones, ab illis uel maxime qui nullam transductionem fidei fuerant perpessi. qui non ratione quadam aut exhortatione illos qui auersi fuerant cum debita modestia corrigere properabant, sed uehementer in illos insurgebant, insultantes illis eo quod et a ueritate fuerant extorres effecti. necessarie ergo et propter hanc causam etiam caritatis explicare poterat rationem; eo quod ad omnem correctionem uirtutum necessaria sit caritas, et maxime in praesenti negotio illis conueniens. unde adicit:

si autem in inuicem uos mordetis et consumitis, uidete ne ab inuicem consumamini.

nociuitatem ualde et aperte in his contentionibus ostendit. aptissime etiam uerborum est abusus ordinem, ne ista talia insuadibilia esse uiderentur, quae ab ordine dictorum nullo modo fieri possunt. nam deuorare in inuicem et consumi

3 posset C^* 4 multa exortatione H 5 hanc (*ait* scit) *add* H 6 illius H 14 max. uel qui H 17 in illis C^*H 19 poterat *om* H 21 in praesente C^* 22 ab uicem C^* 24 ualde et aperte in his cont. nociuitatem ost. H nocibilitatem ualde, &c. C (*corr*) 25 ordine C (*corr*) 26 quod C

9. *propter praesentium*] Sc. *utilitatem*. Or perhaps = *τῶν παρόντων ἕνεκα* (?): cf. p. 83, l. 20, note. The construction of the following paragraph is broken by the long relative clause *quibus ... circumcisionem;* the sequence is no doubt "eo quod apud Galatas ... schismata et non leues hinc adn. contentiones," &c.

15. *qui non ratione*, &c.] See the comm. on c. V. 26, sq.

22. *si...consumitis, uid. ne...consumamini*] *εἰ...κατεσθίετε, βλέπετε μὴ...ἀναλωθῆτε*. Possibly the tautology in the translation is due to the slip of an early copyist, who wrote *consumitis* for *comeditis*.

26. *insuadibilia*] *ἀπειθῆ*: Rönsch, *Itala*, p. 112.

inpossibile est, quantum ad homines uidetur. quod apte composuit, dicens in praecedentibus, *mordetis*. nam morderi interea res patitur. et quia morsum solet sequi esca et consumi (illud autem quod manducatur, necessario et consumitur et expenditur), non [autem] de homine id fieri solet; ergo primum illud posuit, quod fieri poterat. deinde coniunxit illa quae de ordine quodam naturaliter fieri poterant, ut ex dictorum ordine etiam illa quae dixerat necessario confirmaret, et quod uidebatur in illis esse insuadibile dictorum subterfugere uideretur iactantiam. uult autem dicere quoniam † si uolueritis aduersus alterutrum sic pertinaciter contendere, non solum nihil adiuuabitis illos qui peccauerunt, sed e contrario alienos eos a pietate perficietis, praeeligentibus interea illis hoc sustinere, propter contentionis uestrae enormitatem.' quod et bene 'consumi' posuit, eo quod scit huiusmodi res peractam minorationem in communi inferre, cum quidam a pietate discedunt.* et hoc dicens ad integram primum progreditur doctrinam. deinde recurrit iterum ad illa quae proposita sibi erant:

dico autem: Spiritu ambulate, et desiderium carnis non perficietis.

εἰ μέλλετε πρὸς ἀλλήλους οὕτως φιλονεικεῖν ἀνενδότως, οὐ μόνον οὐδὲν ὠφελεῖτε τοὺς ἁμαρτάνοντας, ἀλλὰ γὰρ τοὐναντίον ἕξω παντελῶς γενέσθαι αὐτοὺς τῆς εὐσεβείας παρασκευάζετε. ὃ καὶ καλῶς 'ἀναλίσκεσθαι' ἐκάλεσεν, ἅτε δὴ μείωσιν ἐργαζομένων τῷ κοινῷ τῶν τῆς εὐσεβείας ἀποχωρούντων.

3—5 consumi non de homine id fieri solet (soleat *H*) illud (id *H*) autem quod manducatur necessario (nec. *om H*) et cons. et exp., ergo, &c. *C H* 6 de *om C* 11 solumque *C* . 13, 14 contentiones uestras *C** 15 in oratione *C* minoratione *H* 21 sq. Coisl. 204, f. 40 a [Cr. vi. 81, Fr. 129] *θεόδωρος. ἄλλος δέ φησιν· εἰ μέλλετε, κ.τ.λ.*

3. *et consumi, illud autem*, &c.] I have ventured to depart from the order of the MSS., in which the text appears to have fallen into confusion at this point, probably through the omission of the words *non a. de homine id f. s.* by a copyist *prima manu*, and their insertion in a wrong place by the corrector. The second *autem* would in this case naturally disappear.

14. *eo quod scit*, &c.] Pitra reads: "eo quod huiusmodi res peractam uorationem in communi inferre [solet];" with the note "uel omissa uel interturbata nonnulla sunt quae restituere tuto non ualui." With the help of the Greek and of the Harley MS. (cf. vv. ll.) restoration is easy. For *minoratio*, see p. 19, l. 12, note. Here it = *μείωσις*: below, in Phil. ii. 29, iv. 11, *ὑστέρημα, ὑστέρησις*.

his euidenter ostendit illud quod a nobis fuerat dictum; e contrario enim 'carni' statuit 'Spiritum.' nam et 'Spiritum' pro resurrectione accepit et futura inmortalitate; eo quod et per Spiritum ista nobis adquiri sperantur. sicut et 'carnem' sumpsit ad mortalitatem, eo quod carnem sequitur ut peccet; inmortalitatem uero, quod nequaquam possit peccare. 'compendiose (inquit) illud dico: in spe inmortalitatis accepistis Spiritum. illa ergo agite quae consentanea uestrae existunt promissioni; in inmortalitatem ergo uiuere, secundum ut nobis est possibile. illa uero quae sequuntur mortalitatem nolite facere.'

caro enim concupiscit aduersus Spiritum, Spiritus uero aduersus carnem; haec autem contraria sibi sunt in inuicem, ut non illa quae uultis faciatis.

nam quod dixit, *concupiscit aduersus Spiritum*, hoc est, 'interimit illa quae illius sunt;' ut dicat: '†interimit quidem mortalitas inmortalitatem, et inmortalitas excludit mortalitatem. nec enim consentiunt sibi ista in inuicem. unde nec nobis licet facere illa quae uolumus. nec enim possumus in illa per fidem existentes, illa quae mortalitatis sunt facere.' nam quod dixit, non *ut* in causando illud dixit, sed quasi consequens, secundum suam proprietatem.* admirabiliter uero in his ostendit magis illis uirtutem debere competere (eo quod et in forma

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ἀναιρετικὸν μὲν θνητότητος ἀθανασία, ἀθανασία δὲ θνητότητος, οὐδὲ γὰρ συμφωνεῖ ταῦτα ἀλλήλοις· ὅθεν οὐδὲ ἡμῖν ἔξεστιν ποιεῖν ἅπερ βουλόμεθα, ἐπεὶ μηδὲ δυνατὸν ἐν ἐκείνοις ὄντας τὰ τῆς θνητότητος πράττειν. τὸ γὰρ ἵνα οὐκ ἐπὶ αἰτίας εἶπεν, ἀλλ' ὡς ἀκόλουθον, κατὰ τὸ οἰκεῖον ἰδίωμα.

9 in inmortalitate ergo uiuite *C* (*corr*) 10 secuntur *H* 11 uero *om H* 12 in *om H* 17 in *om H* 20 ut *om H* | in *om C* 23 sq. Coisl. 204, f. 40 b, [Cr. vi. 82, Fr. 129] *Θεόδωρος. ἄλλος δέ φησιν· ἀναιρετικόν, κ.τ.λ.*

1. *a nobis fuerat dictum*] Cf. p. 85, l. 3 sq.

2. *Sp. pro res. accepit*] Cf. p. 37, l. 13, note.

12. *haec autem*] *ταῦτα δέ*: so Chrys., Thdt., Vulg. "haec enim."

18. *in illa per fidem exist.*] i.e. in futura, in inmortalia: cf. p. 58, ll. 1, 16, *ἐν ἐκείνοις γινόμεθα.*

20. *non* ut *in causando*] Cf. p. 44, l. 4, note. For arguments in support of the telic force of *ἵνα* in this place, see Bp. Ellicott's comm. Chrys. and Thdt. agree with Th. in restricting *ἃ ἂν θέλητε* to the *θελήματα τῆς σαρκός*. On the other hand Oec. expounds (but as an alternative): *μήτε τὰ κακὰ...μήτε τὰ ἀγαθά.*

futurae uitae consistunt), quam imitari eos secundum uirium qualitatem in praesenti conuenit uita. deinde ex illis ipsis etiam omnis sermonis comprobat propositum:

si autem Spiritu ducimini, non estis sub lege.

'ad plenum (inquit) secundum illa uiuitis, nec sub lege ultra uos uiuere est possibile.' optime in id ipsud utraque colligit ex illis quae ab illis credebantur, quod non conueniat eos peccare, neque sub lege esse. nam mortales et peccare possunt, et legem habent necessariam quae illos a peccato possit prohibere; superflua uero utraque uidebantur erga illos qui et a morte sunt securi, et peccare ulterius non possunt. deinde et euidenter utrumque ab alterutro separat, dicens:

manifesta autem sunt opera carnis; quae sunt adulterium, fornicatio, immunditia, impudicitia, idolorum seruitus, ueneficia, inimicitiae, contentiones, aemulationes, prouocationes, dissensiones, haereses, inuidiae, homicidia, ebrietates, comessationes, et his similia.

quoniam non sicut quidam haereticorum existimauerunt, carnem naturam nostram uult dicere, euidens est. nam et inimicitiam et idolorum culturam et inuidiam et iram et alia quae huiusmodi sunt, carnis esse dixit; quae passiones solius animae perspicue esse uidentur. dicit autem quoniam manifestata sunt illa quae in natura mortali peragi possunt. 'quae illa? illa quae praedixi:'

6 in *om H* 18, 19 non, naturam *om H* 21 animae *om H* 22 quod (*for* quon.) *H* | non (*bef* manif.) *add C** 23 mortales *H* | quae illam *C**

12. *utrum ab alterutro*] On this use of *alteruter*, see Paucker, *spic. addend. lex. lat.* pp. 7, 8; *Beiträge zur lat. lex.*, p. 608; cf. Lumby and Mayor, p. 446.

13. *quae sunt adult.* &c.] This list of sins in Th.'s text seems to have stood: *μοιχεία, πορνεία, ἀκαθαρσία, ἀσέλγεια, εἰδωλολατρεία, φαρμακεῖαι, ἔχθραι, ἔρεις, ζῆλοι, ἐριθεῖαι, διχοστασίαι, αἱρέσεις, φθόνοι, φόνοι, μέθαι, κῶμοι*—unless *prouocationes* is meant to cover both *θυμοί* and *ἐριθεῖαι*.

18. *sicut quidam haereticorum*] See above, p. 94, l. 5, note. Cf. Chrys.: *ἐνταῦθα δὲ ἐπιτίθενταί τινες λέγοντες ὅτι διεῖλεν εἰς δύο τὸν ἄνθρωπον ὁ ἀπόστολος... καὶ μάχην τῷ σώματι πρὸς τὴν ψυχὴν δεικνὺς οὖσαν. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστιν ταῦτα, οὐκ ἔστιν· σάρκα γὰρ ἐνταῦθα οὐ τὸ σῶμα καλεῖ ... ἡ γὰρ ἐπιθυμία οὐ σαρκὸς ἀλλὰ ψυχῆς, κ.τ.λ.* Thdt.: *τὰ τούτοις ὅμοια οὐ τῆς σαρκὸς ἀλλὰ τῆς ψυχῆς ἐστιν ἴδια. οὐ τοίνυν τῆς σαρκὸς κατηγορεῖ, ἀλλὰ τοῦ ῥᾳθύμου φρονήματος.*

quae et ante dico uobis, sicut et praedixi; quoniam qui talia agunt regnum Dei non possidebunt.

bene posuit illud quod dixit, *ante praedixi*, ut ne nunc in primis necessitate adactus illud dicere uideretur: 'tantum abest ut aptari uobis possint huiusmodi actus ita ut nec possibile sit illos qui in his sunt regnum adquirere. illa enim quae regnum Dei fieri non admittit, nec status ille qui tunc erit patitur, illi qui talia agunt participare illorum nequaquam poterunt; eo quod et contraria illorum quae tunc erunt ad praesens agere pertemptant.' deinde transit ad aliam partem:

fructus (inquit) *Spiritus est caritas, gaudium, pax, patientia, bonitas, benignitas, fides, mansuetudo, continentia.*

bene indicans [fructum] Spiritus caritatem omnibus anteposuisse uidetur, reliqua uero adiecit. haec enim quae secundum praesentem sunt uitam necessaria sunt illis qui custodiunt illam quae in futuro uel maxime implebitur. 'fructum' ergo 'Spiritus' dicit, hoc est, illa quae per mortalitatem a nobis adquiri uidentur. et iustum est nos qui in illis iam sumus, secundum illa conuersari. quaedam autem sunt ex illis quae dicta sunt, quae neque tempus habere poterunt ut in futuro impleantur saeculo; quale est illud quod dixit: 'patientiam' et 'continentiam.' tunc enim superflua erit patientia, quando nemo inuenitur qui tristare aliquem possit. superflua autem erit continentia, dum

4 illud dicere...actus *om* (*per homoeotel.*) *H* 7 admittunt *C H* 9, 10 poterant, erant $C^{*}H$: *C* (*corr*) *remodels the sentence thus:* nec status ille qui tunc erit patitur illos qui talia ag. part. illorum, eo quod et contr. illorum quae tunc erunt, &c. 14 fructum *om* $C^{*}H$ 16 nec (*bef* necess) *add* C^{*} 17 illa *H* 19 uidetur H^{*} 24 tristari al. possint *C* (*corr*)

4. *in primis*] τὸ πρότερον: cf. p. 67, l. 4.

7. *admittit*, &c.] Pitra retains *admittunt* and places a semicolon after *patitur*; then, partly following the lead of the Corbie corrector, he reads the remainder of the sentence: "[nec] illos qui talia agunt, participare et contrariis illorum quae tunc ad praesens agere pertentant." In his *addenda et corrigenda* (Spic. Solesm. i. p. 567) he removes the semicolon and *nec*, but still omits *nequaq. pot.*

13. *bonitas, benignitas ... continentia*] Our translator, it will be observed, agrees with the text of Cod. Amiat. in omitting *castitas*, and placing *bonitas* before *benignitas*. *In bonitate* stands for ἐν χρηστότητι, *infra*, Eph. ii. 7.

19. *in illis*] Comp. p. 98, l. 18, note.

non sunt illa quae mouere quemquam possint. necessarie ergo caritatem anteposuit. secundum praesentem enim uitam si quis sub hanc esse uoluerit, etiam cetera facillime poterit expedire. in futuro saeculo caritas omnia secum habet, cessantibus tunc omnibus nobis; laborem ad uirtutum inoperationem inicere ad praesens uidetur. bene ergo carni 'opera' aptauit, eo quod et a nobis illa aguntur; Spiritum uero dicens, 'fructum' posuit, eo quod gratia tamquam fructus aliquos per Spiritus cooperationem illa adsequi possumus. nec enim ipsi aliquando secundum nos ipsos uirtutis opera perficere possumus; sicuti nec fructus terrae adsequi possimus, etiam si multum laboremus, si non Deus dare illos fuerit dignatus. deinde dicens illa quae sunt Spiritus, quod et multa demiratione [dignum est] adicit:

aduersus huiusmodi non est lex.

quae enim erit lex aduersus bona, excludens ea? alioquin iusta ratione non *lex*, sed potius iniquitas eiusmodi uocabitur, quando uel maxime bonos prohibet actus. sic per omnia ostendit et uirtutem magis competere nostrae promissioni, et quod sub lege ultra esse non possumus; eo quod nec possimus in futuro saeculo peccare, in cuius superna iam nunc consistere uidemur, eo quod et possibile sit et in praesenti uita nos ab omni legitima obseruatione esse securos, consequenter intentioni nostrae illa agentes quae per caritatem impleri conueniunt. unde et adicit:

illi autem qui sunt Christi, carnem crucifixerunt cum passionibus et concupiscentiis.

3 hac C^* 6 uidentur *C H (corr)* 9 possimus *C* 12 dignatos C^* 13 dign. est *om C H* 16 iniq. *om H* | uocabit C^* 17 actos C^* 18 provisione *C* 23 quia (*for* quae) *H*

5. *ad praesens uidetur*] Card. Pitra (who punctuates the whole passage differently) here adds "[haec accommodari]." Th.'s meaning is more clearly expressed below, in his comment on vi. 9, *q. v.*

6. *opera ... fructum*] Cf. Chrys.: τὰ μὲν ποντρὰ ἔργα ἐξ ἡμῶν γίνεται μόνων, διὸ καὶ ἔργα καλεῖ. τὰ δὲ καλὰ οὐ τῆς ἡμετέρας ἐπιμελείας δεῖται μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ φιλανθρωπίας. Thdt.: καρπὸν τοῦ πνεύματος τὴν ἀγάπην καὶ τὴν χαρὰν καὶ τὰ λοιπά προσηγόρευσεν· ἐκείνου γὰρ τῇ ψυχῇ συνεργοῦντος τούτων ἕκαστον κατορθοῦται.

14. *huiusmodi*] ὁ τοιοῦτος, or τοιοῦτό τι.

20. *in cuius superna*] Cf. Eph. ii. 6, συνεκάθισεν ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις.

25. *qui sunt Christi*] Th.'s text seems to have omitted Ἰησοῦ. So Chrys., Thdt., and the Latin authorities, exc. Aug.

'nos (inquit) qui Christo credidimus euidens est, etsi non re, forma tamen baptismatis concrucifixi sumus Christo, mortui existentes praesenti uitae, ita ut neque passio neque concupiscentia locum in nobis ullum possit habere. migrauimus enim in futuram illam uitam per regenerationem Spiritus.' et sicuti recapitulans illa quae dixerat, adicit:

uiuimus ergo Spiritu, et Spiritu constamus.

'conuenit ergo nos in uita illa constitutos in qua per Spiritum sumus regenerati, illa quae consentanea sunt illius uitae agere.' haec quidem apostolus de futuris adfirmauit. quoniam autem labor nobis est necessarius secundum praesentem uitam, et quasi medii quidam praesentis interim uitae sumus et futurae, latius nobis dictum est in superioribus, et illa ipsa frequenter dicere inconueniens esse existimamus.

sic de integra conuersatione exhortatus ad proposita recurrit, dans illis consilium non ultra litigare aduersus alterutrum, competenti uero sermone corrigere debere illos magis qui peccauerunt:

non efficiamur (inquit) *uanae gloriae appetitores, alterutrum prouocantes, alterutrum inuidentes.*

et inueniebat enim aliquos apud eos, de illis qui non fuerant transducti, magna sapere super firmitatem arbitrii sui, et saepe illud ad ostentationem sui proferre. unde fiebat ut illi qui persuasi fuerant, prouocati uenirent ad contentiones; necessarium enim erat illos utpote homines dictis illorum permoueri, et maxime cum propria pulsarentur conscientia; unde et facile ad contentionem prorumpebant. bene ergo *uanae glo-*

2 reformata tamen *H* 4 migrabimus *H* 15 exortator *C* 21 inquit (*for* enim) *C* 24 quae (*for* qui) *H* 25 permouere *C** *H*

2. *forma tamen baptismatis*] κατὰ τύπον μέντοι τοῦ βαπτίσματος: cf. pp. 30, 33, 34.

7. *uiuimus*, &c.] The translation suggests the reading ζῶμεν δὲ [οὖν? so Chrys.] πνεύματι· πνεύματι καὶ στοιχοῦμεν. Both the omission of εἰ, the insertion of δέ, and the ind. mood of the second verb have some slight MS. authority. Th., however, appears to have read στοιχῶμεν, see comm., "conuenit ... agere."

8. *conuenit ... agere*] Cited by Lanfranc.

13. *dictum est in sup.*] Cf. p. 30, l. 4, note: p. 49, l. 20.

20. *alterutrum inuidentes*] The acc. is possibly an imitation of the Gk. (ἀλλήλους φθονοῦντες, the reading of Chr., Thdt. [*cod.*], Oec.). Cf. p. 99, l. 12, note.

27. *uanae gloriae*] = κενοδόξους; unless *appetitores* (see text) has fallen out.

riae illos uocauit, eo quod ostendere se ipsos uolentes et gloriam ab hominibus inquirentes, pro quibus non fuerant seducti sua sententia. 'prouocare' autem dixit, eo quod magna de se iactantes, ad contentionem commouebant illos qui negauerant. et quod adiecit *inuidentes*, grauiter admodum id et opportune adiecit. 'sicut enim inuidentes illorum saluti, ita hisce sermonibus uidemini eos ad contentionem prouocare, ut omni ex parte a uestra discedant communione; cum conueniat uos, (sed non salutem eorum uera ratione desideratis), exhortatione potius eos ad id quod melius est reuocare.' unde inproperans eos pro quibus non bene egerant, adicit, simul docens eos quemadmodum facere deberent:

fratres, etsi praeoccupatus fuerit homo in aliquo delicto, uos qui spiritales estis, instruite eum qui eiusmodi est, in spiritu mansuetudinis; considerans teipsum, ne et tu tempteris.

'sic magis conuenit facere uos qui estis perfecti, uerbis lenissimis eos qui peccauerunt reuocantes, simulque reputantes quoniam homines et uos estis, sicut' et illi, qui multam perpeti mutabilitatem ob naturae potestis inbecillitatem. et illa ipsa struens:

inuicem onera uestra portate, et sic adimplebitis legem Christi.

†ut dicat 'caritatem.' hanc enim uocat *legem Christi*. 'sed

[ἵνα εἴπῃ τὴν ἀγάπην· ταύτην γὰρ λέγει] νόμον Χριστοῦ. ἀλλὰ

2, 3 namque f. s. &c. C^{*} non f. s. ab sua sent. *C (corr)* iamque f. s. sua sent. *H* 4 commonebant *H* 5—7 grauiter...saluti *om H* 8 coin (*for* omni) *H* 9 si (*for* sed non) *C (corr)* | desideratis *om H* 13 etiam etsi *H* 20 astruens *C (corr)* 23 sq. Coisl. 204 f. 42 b [Cr. vi. 86, Fr. 129] *θεόδωρος.* ἄλλος δέ φησιν· νόμον Χριστοῦ τὴν ἀγάπην φησίν. ἀλλὰ καὶ κοινωνῆσαι αὐτῷ τὸ φορτίον ὀφείλεις· τοῦτο δὲ γίνεται ὅταν, κ.τ.λ.

11. *inproperans*]=ὀνειδίζων: Rönsch, *Itala*, p. 194.

18. *homines et uos estis*] Thdt.: ἄνθρωπος εἶ, τρεπτὴν ἔχων τὴν φύσιν· συνάλγησον τῷ κακῶς διακειμένῳ.

21. *onera uestra portate*] Comp. below, v. 5., "suum pondus portabit." Our translator is careful to distinguish the synonyms (*βάρη, φορτίον*), though in the Latin versions *onus* is used for both. Not so Th. himself, who in the comm. on v. 2 substitutes *φορτίον* for *βάρη*: see l. 23 sq. (vv. ll.).

adimplebitis] Unless the translator is thinking of the Latin versions, ἀναπληρώσετε stood in Th.'s text. Theodoret, as edited, reads ἀναπληρώσατε, *ad h. l.*; his comment is ambiguous: οὕτως γὰρ πληροῦται τῆς ἀγάπης ὁ νόμος.

22. *ut dicat 'caritatem'*] Thdt.: νό-

communicare eis secundum uirtutem unusquisque uestrum debet, sarcinam eorum subleuans. quomodo autem hoc fieri poterit? si per exhortationem et lenitatem uerborum animam eius recreare accelerauerit, quae peccati conscientia grauata admodum esse uidetur;* si sanis consiliis animum eius erigere, si exhortatione eundem recreare uolueris; si animaequiorem feceris, inuitans eum ad promissionem meliorum.' et modum illis ostendens quod facere eos conueniens erat, iterum inuehit se illis qui ob fidem seruatam magna de se sapiebant:

si enim uidetur quis esse aliquid, cum nihil sit, seipsum seducit.

bene posuit: *cum nihil sit;* qualiscumque enim quisquis ille fuerit, scrupulositati iudicis comparatus, nihil esse uidebitur, utpote homo existens. et quoniam uidebatur firma propositio eos extollere:

opus autem suum probet unusquisque, et tunc in seipsum solum habebit gloriam, et non in alterum. unusquisque enim suum pondus portabit.

'igitur si te hoc faciat magna sapere eo quod permanseris inuertibilis in fidem, secundum teipsum gloriare, si tamen tibi hoc utile esse uidetur. noli autem te extollere aduersus proximum, eo quod nec aliquid ei prodesse potes per tuam stabilitatem. unusquisque enim pro se rationem est redditurus.' optime autem ostendit non debere illum qui stat extollere se aduersus illum qui peccauit, siquidem nihil illum de sua iuuabit stabilitate. primum quod non conueniat de his magna sapere pronunciauit, instruens ut suam respicientes naturam, solliciti magis sint per singula momenta de illis incertis quae accidere solent

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καὶ κοινωνῆσαι [αὐτοῖς κατὰ τὸ δυνατὸν ἕκαστος ὑμῶν ὀφείλει, τὸ φορτίον αὐτῶν βαστάζων. καὶ πῶς ἂν γένοιτο τοῦτο;] ὅταν διὰ παραινέσεως καὶ χρηστότητος ἐπικουφίζῃς αὐτῷ τὴν ψυχὴν ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ ἁμαρτήματος συνειδήσεως βεβαρημένην.

1 eos *C*H* 12 scrupulositate *H* | uidebatur *C** 15, 16 seipso, altero *C* (*corr*) 19 fide *C* (*corr*) 21 potest *C* 23 is (*for* non) *H* 27 accedere *C**

μον γὰρ Χριστοῦ τὴν ἀγάπην ἐκάλεσεν (citing John xiii. 34). I have endeavoured to restore the Gk. of this passage from the Latin, which appears here to represent the original.

naturae mortali. et quoniam eueniebat aliquos esse inter illos, nam tales plurimam diligentiam properabant implere ut illos qui deliquerant reducerent ad fidei antiquitatem:

communicet (inquit) *is qui catechizatur uerbum ei qui se catechizat in omnibus bonis.*

'si est quidam qui docet illa quae doceri conueniunt, conuenit illum qui docetur ualde intendere dictis illius, et in bonis suis participem illum recipere; ita ut de quibus habet, usibus eius ministret; eo quod non est demiratione dignum, si in spiritalibus adiuuatus, corporalia ei ad inuicem fuerit uisus ministrare.' hoc autem utile utrisque poterat esse; et illis qui docebant, ut animaequiores existentes docerent, et illis similiter qui discebant. nam conligare cupiebat eos in affectu doctorum, a quibus et eruditi quasi debitores eorum seipsos deberent existimare. hoc faciebat etiam, ut et dictorum iuuamen cum multa susciperent reuerentia. deinde iterum ad integram exhortationem proficit:

nolite errare. Deus non irridetur. quod enim quis seminauerit, hoc et metet; quoniam qui seminat in carne sua, de carne metet corruptionem; qui autem seminat in Spiritu, de Spiritu metet uitam aeternam.

compendiose inquit: 'siue illa quis quae carnis sunt agit, talia recipiet; siue meliora, mercedem accipiet aequam suo labori.' et quia laborem habebat uirtutum directio, adicit:

bonum autem facientes non deficiamus. tempore enim suo metemus non fatigati.

bene ad semen redit, messem dicens mercedum esse retri-

3 delinquerant C^* 4, 5 catecizatur, catecizat, C catezizatur, catezizat H | uerbis H 6 quidem C (*corr.*) | docere C^*H 10 adiutus C (*corr*) | ad uicem C 18 qui C^* 19 de (*for* in) H 25, 26 suum metemur C^*

2. *nam tales*, &c.] It is difficult to believe that the MSS. are right here. Either some error lurks in *nam tales*, or a line has fallen out after *inter illos*.

4. *qui catechizatur uerbum*] ὁ κατηχ. τὸν λόγον. So O. L. and the Cod. Amiat. The Clementine Vulg. prefers the Latin construction "catechizari *uerbo*." On *catechizare*, see Rönsch, *Itala*, p. 248.

10. *adiuuatus*] See p. 92, l. 12.

15. *dictorum*] So both MSS. Pitra: *doctorum*.

butionem. optime autem adiecit: *non fatigati*, quia sufficiens est ad uerecundiam inuitare; eo quod inconueniens est non in praesente sustinere seminis laborem (siquidem et cum multo labore etiam messem colligere compellimur), pro uirtutibus uero nolle laborare quarum retributio nullum uidetur habere laborem. in requie enim constituti mercedem earum recipiemus. deinde quasi iam de confessis bonis adicit:

itaque dum tempus habemus, operemur quod bonum est ad omnes, maxime ad domesticos fidei.

'in hoc saeculo operandi tempus est. non praetermittamus illud; laborantibus enim indubia est mercedum retributio.' bene autem dixit: *operemur quod bonum est;* in communionis intellectu id posuit siue eorum qui docere debent, siue eorum qui opus habent discere; quod et ad plenum de omni actu uirtutum significari potest. optimum enim omne est quod uirtutibus est praeditum; quod et erga omnes debet esse, eo quod et nobis optimum esse uidetur. nam quod dixit, *ad domesticos fidei;* ostendit et quod aliis uideatur. ego autem cupiebam his intendere

1 autem *om H** | his (*aft* adiecit) *add H* (*corr*) 3 praesenti *C* (*corr*) 5 nollo *C** nollum [i. e. nullum (?)] *C* (*corr*) | conuenit (*for* laborare) *C* (*corr*) | idem (*C*: id est *H*) noli considerare laborem (*aft* laborare) *add CH* 14 discernere *H* 15 est *om H* 17 aptum (*for* opt.) *C* 18 quod et *H*

1. *non fatigati*] Th. regards *μὴ ἐκλυόμενοι* as descriptive of the state of the future reapers, not as expressing the condition of successful reaping: "hereafter we shall reap without fatigue." This explanation, apparently suggested by the Peshito (ܢܗܘܐ ܓܝܪ ܙܒܢܐ ܕܢܚܨܘܕ. ܘܠܐ ܢܬܡܐܢ ܠܢ.), is given by each of the great Syrian expositors. Cf. Chrys.: *ἐπὶ μὲν γὰρ τῶν γηπόνων οὐχ ὁ σπείρων μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ θερίζων πολὺν ὑπομένει τὸν πόνον... τότε δὲ οὐδὲν τούτων ἔνι, φησίν. ἃ καὶ παραδηλῶν ἔλεγεν· καιρῷ γάρ, κ.τ.λ.* Thdt.: *πόνου γὰρ δίχα θερίσομεν τὰ σπειρόμενα· τοῦτο γὰρ ἔφη μὴ ἐκλυόμενοι.* The words omitted from the text just below ("id est, noli considerare") are a manifest gloss, originating in a misapprehension of the passage. A full stop having been placed after *compellimur*, the following words ("nolle [noli?] laborare") assumed the form of a direction; and a command so startling seemed to need a marginal note by way of apology.

18. *ego autem cupiebam*, &c.] An attack on the growing intolerance of Western Christendom, which had already found expression in the execution of Priscillian, and which S. Augustine himself, in his latter years, shewed some disposition to defend [*Retract.* ii. 5: "dixi non mihi placere ullius saecularis potestatis impetu schismaticos ad communionem uiolenter arctari. et uere tunc mihi non placebat, quoniam nondum expertus eram uel quantum mali eorum auderet impunitas uel quantum eis in melius mutandis conferre posset diligentia disciplinae"].

illos qui aestimant indiscrete nocendos esse eos qui sunt nobis alieni a fide. quos conueniebat illud excogitare, quoniam non omne quod quis pati dignus sit, hoc et nobis deceat facere. quapropter plurimam nos adhibere conuenit diligentiam.

quoniam uero et exhortationem consummauit, siue illam quae ex integro est siue de illis de quibus cogebatur consummare epistolam, incipiens iterum ad negotii propositum recurrit:

uidete qualibus litteris uobis scripsi mea manu.

†inuehere se cupiens aduersariis ualde maioribus litteris usus est, designans quoniam neque ueretur eos, neque negat illa sua esse quae dicit,* sed et ualde arguere eos, si usus exegerit, sufficiens sit. propter hoc primum ostendens litterarum magnitudinem adicit:

quicumque uolunt placere in carne, hi cogunt uos circumcidi, tantum ne crucis Christi persecutionem patiantur.

'qui uolunt (inquit) secundum praesentem hanc uitam placere aduersariis pietatis, (ut dicat Iudaeis) ita ut persecutionem non patiantur propter Christum, ista facere adnituntur.' et quia ualde erat graue ut infidelium gratia talia facerent, ipsi simulantes se fidem tenere, ut ne uideatur a se id confinxisse, properat confirmare illud quod dixit:

μέλλων καθάπτεσθαι τῶν ἐναντίων ἄγαν μείζοσιν ἐχρήσατο γράμμασιν, ἐμφαίνων ὅτι οὔτε αὐτὸς ἐρυθριᾷ οὔτε ἀρνεῖται τὰ λεγόμενα.

1 existimant *H* 2 illos (*aft.* conu.) *add* C^*H 3 nos *C* (*corr*) 5 uero *om C* (*corr*) 10 negant C^* *H* | confix. *C* [confinx. *conicc. Pitra*] 14 eos (*for* uos) C^* 20 id a se 22 Coisl. 204, f. 44 b [Cr. vi. 90, Fr. 129]

θεοδώρου. ἄλλος δέ φησιν· μέλλων, κ.τ.λ.

9. *ualde maioribus litteris*] On the other hand Chrys.: *τὸ δὲ 'πηλίκοις' ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ οὐ τὸ μέγεθος ἀλλὰ τὴν ἀμορφίαν τῶν γραμμάτων ἐμφαίνων λέγειν.* Thdt. states both views, but inclines to Chrysostom's: *τὸ δὲ 'πηλίκοις γράμμασιν' τινὲς μὲν μεγάλοις, τινὲς δὲ φαύλοις ἠρμήνευσαν. ἐγὼ γὰρ (φησὶν) ἔγραψα τὴν ἐπιστολὴν καίτοι μὴ γράφων εἰς κάλλος.* The latter was also the view held by Eusebius of Emisa, according to the margin of Cramer's Catena [vi. 90].

10. *neque ueretur eos*] Pelagius: "intelligite quod non timeam, qui litteras manu mea nuper scripsi."

nec enim hi qui circumcisi sunt ipsi legem custodiunt; sed uolunt uos circumcidi, ut in uestra carne glorientur.

'quoniam multa legis praecepta praeuaricant manifestum est. nec enim sacrificia implent, quae definitis in lege tribus temporibus annue in Hierosolimis adscendere adcelerant, secundum legis praeceptum. alia etiam plurima quis eos praeuaricantes inueniet, modo si diligenter considerare uoluerit. itaque si affectu legis circumcisionem simulant tenere, id erga legis ostendant custodiam. si autem legem praeuaricare indiscrete adcelerant, quemadmodum uos circumcisionem suscipere suadent? euidens est quoniam in ablatione carnis uestrae gloriam sibi apud homines conlocare deproperant, ut ab aduersariis, quasi familiares quidam legis existentes, nullam persecutionem patiantur.' sufficienter uero ostendens illos non affectu legis ista agere, e contrario sua illis contrasistit cum ualida et nimis compendiosa probatione:

mihi autem absit gloriari, nisi in cruce domini nostri Iesu Christi; per quem mihi mundus crucifixus est, et ego mundo.

bene posuit, *absit;* quia qui deuotat se, ne aliquando in aliud aliquid magnum sapiat cupit. 'sed haec (inquit) mihi semper dignum gloriae reputari, id est, crucem Christi, per quem mihi praesens mundus uidetur esse mortuus, dum animo iam illa quae futura sunt considero. nam et ego praesenti uitae sum emortuus, in illis iam me conuersare existimans.' et quidem hoc ad praesens; nunc uero ad illa quae inquiruntur:

5 annua *C* 19 in *om C (corr)* 23 iam *om H* | mundo (*for* uitae) *H* 24 illius *C*H* illa *C (corr)* | conuersari *C (corr)*

1. *hi qui circumcisi sunt*] οἱ περιτετμημένοι (?) The printed texts of Chrys. and Thdt. *ad h. l.* give the other reading (οἱ περιτεμνόμενοι); and the past tense may have been derived from the Latin fathers (Hieron., Aug., Ambrstr.); the Vulg. has the present.

3. *praecepta praeuaricant*] See Rönsch, *Itala*, p. 298.

5. *in Hierosolimis*] Comp. p. 83, l. 13 sq., and Thdt. *ad h. l.*: πῶς γὰρ ἔστιν αὐτοὺς φυλάξαι τὸν νόμον, πόρρω τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων διάγοντας;

15. *contrasistit*] ἀντιτάσσει. For the *intrans.* sense cf. Rönsch, *Itala*, p. 187.

18. *per quem*] So below in the comm. Th., however, probably understood δι' οὗ in reference to the cross: comp. Thdt.: ἐγὼ δὲ ἐπὶ μόνῳ τῷ σωτηρίῳ σταυρῷ μεγαλοφρονεῖν εὔχομαι. διὰ τοῦτον [τούτου?] πέριττός μοι πᾶς ὁ βίος καὶ νεκρῷ παραπλήσιος, οὐ μόνον δὲ αὐτὸς ἐμοί, ἀλλὰ κἀγὼ αὐτῷ· τὴν γὰρ ἀθάνατον προσμένω ζωήν.

nec enim circumcisio aliquid ualet neque praeputium, sed noua creatura.

'Christo enim omnia renouante per suum aduentum, omnis status praesens iam uidetur esse solutus; ita ut nec aliquem locum possit habere examen circumcisionis et praeputii. quae enim et fieri poterit discretio in inmortali natura? ad illa igitur inspicio: illam ego incorruptibilitatem et inmortalitatem quae tunc erit considero, quando et omnium illorum quae in lege sperantur erit renouatio. haec enim nobis Christus per suam prouidit crucem; in qua etiam magna semper superopto, non illam ignobilitatem quae uidetur erubesci, sed illa lucra quae exinde adnascuntur considerans.' et confidens magnitudini rerum, adicit:

et quicumque regulam hanc sectantur, pax super illos et misericordia, et super Israel Dei.

†ut dicat quoniam 'omnes quotquot secundum ista propositum habent, illa bona fruantur quae ab eo sunt.' 'pacem' quidem dicens, eo quod tunc omnis dissensio dissoluetur et omnis tristitia tunc erit exclusa. 'misericordiam' autem dixit, quoniam tunc nobis omnia bona tribuentur sola eius misericordia. simile autem est illi dictioni et illud quod dixit: *gratia uobis et pax*, quod et in omnibus anteponit epistolis; eo quod nec aliquam habet differentiam secundum significationem

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ἵνα εἴπῃ ὅτι πάντες οἱ κατὰ ταῦτα προῃρημένοι τυγχάνουσιν τῶν παρ' αὐτοῦ καλῶν· τὴν μὲν εἰρήνην εἰπών, ὡς ἂν τότε πάσης λυομένης διαστάσεως· τὸ δὲ ἔλεος, ἐπειδὴ φιλανθρωπίᾳ ἅπαντα ἡμῖν

1 in Christo enim Iesu (*bef* nec enim) *add C H* | enim 2° *om C* (*corr*) 6 etsi (*for* et) *H* 10 quia (*aft* qua) *add H* 15 et super Israel *om H* 16 istam *C*H* istum (*om* secundum) *C* (*corr*) 21 simili est autem *H* 23 nec (*aft* quod) *om C* aliam (*bef* aliquam) *add H* | secunde *C** 24 sq. Coisl. 204, f. 46 a [Cr. vi. 93] *θεοδώρου* (om. Cr.). *Ἄλλοι δὲ ὧδε λέγει· καὶ ὅσοι τῷ κανόνι τούτῳ στοιχήσουσιν· ἵνα εἴπῃ, κ.τ.λ.*

1. *nec enim*, &c.] So Chrys. reads: *οὔτε γὰρ περιτομή τι ἰσχύει.* Both our MSS. prefix *in Chr. enim I.*; but the retention of *enim* after *nec* by *C* H* shews that these words have crept in from the margin.

10. *superopto*] Apparently an ἅπ. λεγ.

14. *sectantur*] *στοιχοῦσιν* apparently; see however the textual note above (l. 24 sq.).

17. *fruantur*] Th. regards *εἰρήνη, κ.τ.λ.* as a simple affirmation. On the contrary Thdt. says: *ἐπηύξατο τὸν ἔλεον.*

misericordia a gratia.* optima autem omnibus est facta adiectio:

de cetero laborem mihi nemo adhibeat; ego enim stigmata domini Iesu Christi in corpore meo fero.

†quasi qui in multis laboribus ob eorum inciderit malitiam,* et ideo modo pro se satisfacere cogitur, modo graui se ira inuehere, plurima etiam contra suam uoluntatem et suos mores et sententiam peragere; Galatis increpare, et arguere illos qui uidebantur esse praeclari propter praehonorationem ueritatis, ut nec angelis pepercisse uideatur. et tandem aliquando, postquam omnia compleuisse uidetur, laborem praesentiens adicit: †discedant (inquit) et non fiant mihi prouisores laborum. me enim a Christi discedere confessione per omnia est inpossibile: pro qua multa passus, paulo minus toto corpore sum confossus.'* consueto uero fine epistolam credidit esse claudendam:

gratia domini nostri Iesu Christi cum spiritu uestro, fratres. amen.

neque hoc in loco 'Spiritum' sine causa posuit, sed quasi prouisorem existentem expectatae resurrectionis, in qua nul-

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τὰ πρὸς αὐτοῦ προσγίνεται ἀγαθά. ὅμοιον δέ ἐστιν τὸ χάρις ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη, ἐπεὶ μηδὲ διαφέρει τὸ ἔλεος τῆς χάριτος.

ὡς εἰς πολλοὺς καμάτους ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκείνων ἐμπεπτωκὼς κακίας.

ἀπαλλασσέσθωσαν (φησίν) καὶ μὴ γινέσθωσαν πρόξενοι καμάτων· ἐμὲ γὰρ ἀποστῆναι τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ ὁμολογίας τῶν ἀδυνάτων, ὑπὲρ ἧς πολλὰ παθὼν μικροῦ κατέστιγμαι τὸ σῶμα.

8 Galatas *C* 10 agilis *C H* 14 confusus *C H* txt *g* 16 fratres *om H* 22 ὡς γὰρ cod. edd.

3. *laborem mihi nemo adh.*] O.L. and Vulg., "nemo mihi molestus sit." Cf. S. Jerome *ad h. l.*: "melius in Graeco legitur *de cetero labores mihi nemo adhibeat.*"

stigmata] Cf. Th.'s comm. on Ps. liii.: ὁ θεῖος Δαβὶδ καὶ τὴν εἰς αὐτὸν γεγενημένην ἀδικίαν διδάσκει καὶ τὴν εἰς τὸν δεσπότην ἐσομένην προδιαγράφει, τῇ κοινωνίᾳ τῶν παθημάτων ἐναβρυνόμενος καὶ μονονουχὶ βοῶν μετὰ Παύλου· ἐγὼ τὰ στίγματα τοῦ κ. Ἰησοῦ ἐν τῷ σώματί μου βαστάζω.

4. *domini I. C.*] Chrys. *ad h. l.* reads τοῦ κ. ἡμῶν I. X., Thdt., τοῦ κ. I. Our translator possibly follows the O. L. rather than the text of Th.

10. *nec angelis pepercisse*] Cf. p. 10.

14. *toto corpore sum confossus*] Chrys.: οὗτος ἐπὶ τοῖς τραύμασιν ἐναβρύνεται; and so Thdt.

18. '*Spiritum*'...*prouisorem*, &c.] This

lum habet locum legitimorum custodia. solum quia non est contestatus et hoc in loco, quoniam 'inpossibile est eos gratiae Christi participare et illa bona frui quae inde sunt, si non illo modo quem gratia flagitat, fuerint conuersati.'

1 quae (*for* quia) *H* 3 participari *C* (*corr*) | sed non $C^{*}H$ si *C* (*corr*) 4 quam $C^{*}H$ | explicit (*aft* conuers.) *add C*

somewhat singular exposition of μετὰ τοῦ πνεύματος ὑμῶν is repeated in a modified form by Thdt.: προστέθεικεν δὲ τὴν τοῦ πνεύματος μνήμην, τῆς δοθείσης ἀναμιμνήσκων αὐτοὺς δωρεᾶς ἣν οὐ διὰ τοῦ νόμου, δια δὲ τῆς πίστεως ἔλαβον. Similarly Chrys.

THEODORUS MOPSUESTENUS

IN EPISTOLAM B. PAULI

AD EPHESIOS.

ARGUMENTUM*.

SCRIBIT Ephesiis hanc epistolam beatus Paulus, eo modo quo et Romanis dudum scripserat quos necdum ante uiderat. et hoc euidenter ipse ostendit, in ipsa epistola sic scribens: *propter hoc et ego audiens eam fidem quae in uobis est in domino Iesu, et caritatem quam in omnes sanctos habetis, non cesso gratias agere pro uobis.* numquam profecto dixisset se auditu de illis

* INCIPIT ARGUMENTUM *CH*

1. *Scribit Ephesiis*, &c.] In the argument Th. (1) compares the present Ep. with the Ep. to the Romans, (2) discusses the date of this Ep. and its relation to the Ephesian ministry of the Apostle John, (3) points out that the difficulty of the Ep. lies partly in the words, which he promises to explain in detail. Under the first head he shews that the Epp. to the Romans and Ephesians agree in that (*a*) both were addressed to Churches not as yet visited by S. Paul, (*b*) both have for their main subject the benefits derived from the Incarnation, (*c*) both consist of two divisions, a doctrinal and an ethical, the latter part in each Ep. opening with the same form of exhortation (παρακαλῶ οὖν ὑμᾶς: Rom. xii. 1, Eph. iv. 1). On the other hand the Ep. to the Ephesians differs from the Ep. to the Romans in its tone and scope, handling the doctrine of Redemption in an uncontroversial and devotional manner.

2. *quos necdum ante uiderat*] So Severianus, according to Cramer's *catena:* Σευηριανὸς δέ φησιν· ὥσπερ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἔγραφεν ὅτε μηδέπω αὐτοὺς τεθέατο, οὕτως καὶ τοῖς Ἐφεσίοις. Similarly the Euthalian argument (ἀμφοτέροις δὲ ἐξ ἀκοῆς γνώριμος) and Oec. (ταύτην ἐπιστέλλει...οὔπω μὲν ἑωρακὼς αὐτούς, ἀκούσας δὲ περὶ αὐτῶν). On the other hand the argument of Thdt. winds up a careful summary of the facts with a distinct rejection of Th.'s view; cf. Thdt.'s comm.on c. I. 15 (διὰ τοῦτο κἀγὼ ἀκούσας, κ.τ.λ.): ἐντεῦθέν τινες ὑπετόπησαν ὡς μηδέπω θεασάμενος αὐτοὺς ὁ θεῖος ἀπόστολος γέγραφεν τὴν ἐπιστολήν· ἔδει δὲ συνιδεῖν ὅτι καὶ Κορινθίους ἐπιστέλλων τὰ λυπηρὰ ἀκούσας ἀπέστειλεν [citing 1 Cor. i. 11].

4. *propter hoc*, &c.] C. i. 15, 16. A comparison of this rendering with that of the same verses where they occur in the course of the comm., and of both with the O. L. and Vulg., is instructive as shewing to what extent our translator held himself free to translate at will, and how far he was influenced by existing versions.

cognoscentem gratiarum pro illis facere actionem, si eos alicubi uel uidisset, uel ad notitiam eius ulla ratione uenire potuissent.

habet autem ipsa epistola aliqua ex parte similitudinem secundum intellectum ad illam epistolam quam ad Romanos dudum scripsisse uidetur. nam et in illa adnititur ostendere Christi aduentum hominibus multorum bonorum causam extitisse conlatorum; quod et in hac epistola similiter fecisse uidetur. in hac ergo parte similitudo saluatur epistolae. in schemate uero et ceteris illis quae ad promissionem sui abusus est propositi plurimam inueniet quis immutationem, modo si caute dictis intendere uoluerit. illic enim disputationem cum multo agone et examine faciens docuisse uidetur. primo in loco, quod aduersariorum arguerit dogmata, gentium, inquio, et Iudaeorum. deinde comparatione ostendit Christi aduentus utilitatem; et hoc non simpliciter neque absolute, sed cum multo examine id egisse uidetur, ut nihil inexaminatum subrelinqueret ex illis quae aduersarii ad destructionem dogmatum pietatis inuenire se posse existimabant. nam illa quae doctrinam habere uidentur eorum quae a Christo nobis sunt praestita ualde quis et caute considerans, infirmiora inueniet illis quae aduersus aduersarios dicta sunt ab eo; et hoc optime quis recognoscet, si epistolae a nobis interpretatae textum decurrens, librare secum dicta uoluerit. in hac uero epistola, sub specie gratiarum actionis illa explicat quae a Christo nobis sunt praestita, simul ostendens quod aduentu suo multorum

1 cognoscente C^*H | alicui C^*H mali (*bef* alicui) *add H* 2 potuisset C^*H 5 nam etiam illa ad notitiam (*for* nam—adnititur) *H* 8 seruatur (*for* saluatur) *C* (*corr*) 9 ad *om H* 13 inquit *H* 15 sed (*for* neque) *H* 17 adstructionem C^*H 23 noluerit *H*

8. *in schemate*, &c.] "In the plan of the Epistle and in the detailed treatment of the subject." Card. Pitra refers to a passage of Quintilian (*institt.* ix. 2) where *schema* is explained as a 'figure,' "in quo quod non dicimus accipi uolumus"; but the technical meaning appears to be alien to this context. *Agon* is rare in the metaphorical sense; cf. however 2 Macc. iii. 21 "in agone constituti" (διαγωνιῶντος).

13. *aduers. arguerit dogmata*] Th.'s argument to the Ep. to the Rom. is lost. Thdt., however, dwells at length on the polemical character of that Ep., comparing the writer to a beleaguered general: καθάπερ ἄριστός τις στρατηγὸς πανταχόθεν ὑπὸ πολεμίων κυκλούμενος καὶ τούτους βάλλει κἀκείνους, κ.τ.λ. Cf. p. 119, l. 17, note.

16. *subrelinqueret*] Cf. "subrelictorum liber" = παραλειπόμενα (Lucif. Calar. *de non conv. c. haer.* Migne, *P. L.* 13, 774).

23. *sub specie gr. act.*] See Th.'s remarks below on Phil. i. 2, Col. i. 3, 1 Thess. i. 2, &c.

bonorum nobis omnibus causa extiterit; de quibus etiam et doctrinam absolutam fecisse uidetur.

habet autem similitudinem ad illam epistolam et in hac parte, eo quod dogmaticos primum consummans sermones— dogmatici autem sunt sermones qui narrationem aduentus continent Christi, simul indicantes et illa bona quae suo nobis praestitit aduentu—quibus finitis, ad ethicam postea transit exhortationem, singulas prosecutiones suas discernens. aequum etiam principium ethicorum fecisse uidetur uerborum. illic enim post dogmaticorum consummationem, ad ethicos transiens sermones, sic inchoauisse uidetur: *obsecro autem uos, fratres, per misericordiam Dei.* et in hac epistola similiter: *obsecro,* inquit, *uos ego uinctus in Domino.* obsecrationem ethicorum uerborum in utrisque epistolis principium suorum fecisse uidetur. quando uero dicimus dogmaticos aut ethicos sermones, discernentes a proposito, eos ita dicimus comprobantes. fieri enim potest ut et dogmatici sermones ethicis permisceantur, non a sola sequentia, sed interdum et ad probationem dictorum; apostolo maxime consueto et dogmaticis sermonibus probationem facere ethicorum. epistolae igitur argumentum, ut compendiose dicamus, hoc est: doctrina illorum bonorum quae a Christi aduentu in nos conlata esse uidentur, quae et sub specie gratiarum actionis sunt explicata. hoc est autem dogmatis comprobatio, cum et exhortationem illorum quae ad uirtutem pertinent explicat.

4 consummat *C* (*corr*) 12 ut (*for* et) *C** | hac (*bef* ep.) *om C***H* 14 uerborum (*aft* suorum) *add C H* 17 dogmaticis serm. ethici *C* 18 ad (*for* a) *H* 21 tam (*for* ut) *H* 22 a Chr. aduentum *C***H* ad, &c. *C* (*corr*) 24 hoc autem est *C*

6. *indicantes et illa bona,* &c.] Lanfranc: "*Ambrosius.* Docet illa bona quae Christus nobis suo aduentu praestitit cum gratiarum actione; postea transit ad ethicam exhortationem sic inchoans: 'obsecro uos egò uinctus in Domino.'"

8. *prosecutiones*] *Prosecutio* = ἀκολουθία (cf. p. 166, ll. 13, 20).

10. *ad ethicos transiens*] Cf. Th.'s comm. on Rom. xii. 1, ἐπειδὴ τοὺς δογματικοὺς συνεπέραινεν λόγους, τῶν ἠθικῶν ἐντεῦθεν ἅπτεται, ἀναγκαιότατα ἀπὸ παρακλήσεως τὴν ἀρχὴν ποιούμενος.

15. *quando uero dicimus,* &c.] The sense appears to be: 'When we speak of one portion of an Ep. as doctrinal and of another as ethical, distinguishing the two portions by their respective purposes and intents ("discernentes a proposito" = ἀπὸ τῆς προθέσεως s. τοῦ προκειμένου διακρίνοντες), we use these terms to point out their relation to the argument. It is S. Paul's habit to base his exhortations upon doctrine, and with this view ethics and dogma are sometimes interwoven, at other times, as in these

†illud autem ualde demiratione dignum mihi accidit de illis qui dixerunt* beatum Paulum propter hoc uel maxime laudare Ephesiorum fidem, ut ostendat quemadmodum recepit dogmatum illorum traditionem quae ab Iohanne euangelista ad eos dudum fuerat facta. uidentur enim illud dixisse absolute ex sola coniectura, eo quod et fuisse dicatur ad Ephesios beatissimus Iohannes, existimantes †quod et idem illis inprimis fidem eam quae in Christum est tradiderit, non considerantes quoniam Iohannes in nouissimis temporibus Ephesi accessit; uixit enim usque ad tempora Traiani imperatoris a temporibus Neronis incipiens. a quo Nerone Paulus ob pietatis praedicationem capitalem uidetur subiisse sententiam, quando contigit et Iudaïcum bellum sumpsisse principium. hoc igitur bello omnes apostoli a Iudaea discesserunt; quod bellum

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ἐπῆλθέν μοι σφόδρα θαυμάζειν ἐκεῖνα τῶν εἰρηκότων τὸν μακάριον Ἰωάννην τὰν εὐαγγελιστὴν πρῶτον τοῖς Ἐφεσίοις παραδεδωκέναι τὸν τῆς εὐσεβείας λόγον· οὐκ ἐνενόησαν γὰρ ὡς Ἰωάννης τοὺς ὑστέρους χρόνους παρ' Ἐφεσίοις ἐγένετο, διαγενόμενος ἄχρι τῶν Τραϊανοῦ τοῦ βασιλέως καιρῶν, ἀπὸ τῶν Νέρωνος ἀρξάμενος, ἀφ' οὗ Παῦλος ἀπετμήθη τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ ὁ Ἰουδαϊκὸς πόλεμος ἀρχὴν ἐδέξατο. ἐπὶ τούτου γὰρ δὴ τοῦ πολέμου πάντας μὲν ἀναχωρῆσαι

5 uidetur *H* 12 praedicatione *H* | subisse *H* 15 sq. Coisl. 204, f. 47 b [Cr. vi. 97, Fr. 130] *θεόδωρος δέ φησιν· ἐπῆλθεν, κ.τ.λ.* 19 *ἐφ' οὗ* is suggested by Fr.; tod., Cr., as in text.

two Epistles, kept distinct.' *Comprobantes* seems to represent *τοὺς τὴν ἀπόδειξιν ποιουμένους* (=qui comprobare possunt).

1. *de illis qui dixerunt*, &c.] Severianus, in the fragm. already cited (p. 112, l. 2, note), maintains this view: *τοῖς Ἐφεσίοις [ἐγραφεν] Ἰωάννου προλαβόντος καὶ τὸ κήρυγμα αὐτοῖς καταβαλλομένου.* Thdt. thus disposes both of Sever. and Th.: *τινὲς τῶν προηρμηνευκότων τὸν θεῖον ἀπόστολον ἔφασαν τὸν θεσπέσιον Ἰωάννην τὸν εὐαγγελιστὴν πρῶτον παραδεδωκέναι τοῖς Ἐφεσίοις τὸ σωτήριον κήρυγμα· τινὲς δὲ ἄλλους τινὰς εἰρήκασιν τοῦτο πεποιηκέναι, τὸν δὲ θειότατον Παῦλον μηδέπω τοὺς Ἐφεσίους τεθεαμένον τήνδε τὴν ἐπιστολὴν πρὸς αὐτοὺς γεγραφέναι. ἀλλ' ἡ τῶν ἀποστολικῶν πράξεων ἱστορία τούτων ἡμᾶς σαφέστερον διδάσκει.*

9. *Ephesi*] = *παρ' Ἐφεσίοις, εἰς τὴν Ἔφεσον* (p. 116), *ἐν Ἐφέσῳ* (p. 118).

10. *uixit enim*, &c.] i. e. S. John's life at Ephesus (including the exile to Patmos) lasted from A. D. 67 or 68 to the end of the first century. For the further limit see Iren. ii. 22. § 5, iii. 3. § 4; for the earlier, Euseb. *H. E.* ii. 26. iii. 1.

12. *capitalem uid. subiisse sent.*] "Was beheaded:" cf. Gk. So below: "contigit ut...capite puniretur." Comp. Tert. *de praescr.* 36, Euseb. *H. E.* ii. 25.

14. *omnes ap. a Iud. disc.*] Comp. Th.'s prologue to S. John's Gospel (cited above, p. 3, l. 25, note). The departure

magnum existens multis malis Iudaeos adfecisse uidetur. tunc ergo Iohannes Ephesi accessit, et commoratus est in ea; usque ad tempus etenim Traiani in hac ciuitate uisus est commorasse, sicut et superius diximus. Paulus uero hanc epistolam scripsit ad eos illo tempore quo adhuc non uiderat eos. reliquit autem Timotheum post hoc ut curam ecclesiae eorum adhiberet; qui iam et fuerat apud illos.* cui et scribit, adsignans qui et qualis et quemadmodum in ecclesiasticum debeat creari ministerium; quemadmodum autem et erga uiduas dispensationem implere debeat. instruit eum simul et de ceteris omnibus, sicut et ex ipsa est euidenter discernere epistola. †quis autem sic fatuus qui existimet, praesente Iohanne, Timotheum relictum fuisse ad ecclesiarum dispensationem, uel isdem fuisse praepositum? sed et illud necessario reputari conueniens est, quoniam* beatus Paulus bis Romae accessit regnante Nerone. et primum quidem adpellans Festum apud Iudaeam,

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τοὺς ἀποστόλους τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἐγένετο· τότε δὲ καὶ Ἰωάννης εἰς τὴν Ἔφεσον γενόμενος διετέλεσεν ἐπ' αὐτῆς, ἄχρι τῶν Τραϊανοῦ διαγεγονὼς ὡς ἔφην καιρῶν. Παῦλος δὲ οὐδὲ τεθεαμένος αὐτοὺς ἐπιστέλλων φαίνεται· καταλιμπάνει δὲ Τιμόθεον μετὰ τοῦτο ἐπιστατήσοντα τῇ παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐκκλησίᾳ, γεγονὼς ἤδη παρ' αὐτοῖς ὡς εἰκός. τίς δὲ οὕτως ἠλίθιος ὥστ' ἂν οἰηθῆναι ὅτι παρόντος Ἰωάννου Τιμόθεον ἐπὶ τῷ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν οἰκονομεῖν κατελίμπανεν; ἔτι καὶ

1 id fecisse C^*H afflixisse C (*corr*) 3 uita (*for* ciuitate) H 12 praesentem Iohannem C^*H 14 reputare C

of the Apostles is there attributed to various calls of office (*διαφόροις οἰκονομίαις αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τοὺς πόρρω τόπους ἐξήγαγεν [ἡ θεία χάρις]*). With regard to S. John it is simply added, *οὕτως δὴ καὶ ὁ μακ. Ἰ. οἰκεῖ τὴν Ἔφεσον.*

5. *quos adhuc non uiderat*] See above, p. 112, l. 2, note. Th. is compelled by his theory to throw back the date of this Ep. to a period anterior to the first visit of S. Paul to Ephesus (Acts xviii. 19) which probably took place A.D. 54. According to this view the Ephesian letter must be dissociated from the Epistles of the first Roman imprisonment, and connected with those of the second missionary journey. That Th. himself was satisfied with this arrangement is singular, since he elsewhere distinctly recognizes the close affinity which exists between the Epp. to the Ephesians and Colossians, and even feels himself obliged to offer some explanation of the resemblance; see on Col. i. 25—7.

reliquit autem T. &c.] Comp. the arguments to 1 and 2 Tim. *infra.*

7. *qui iam*, &c.] i.e. Paulus; see Gk.

15. *bis Romae accessit*] So Euseb. *H. E.* ii. 22, *λόγος ἔχει...τὸν ἀπόστολον δεύτερον...ἐπιβάντα τῇ αὐτῇ πόλει τῷ κατ' αὐτὸν τελειωθῆναι μαρτυρίῳ.*

16. *adpellans Festum*] Cf. Thdt.:

dum ille in gratiam Iudaeorum eundem Hierosolimis mittere uellet, sicque Romae in uinculis ductus, inde iudicio Neronis liberatus, securus abire iussus est. duobus uero annis commoratus Romae, exinde egressus, multis pietatis doctrinam praedicasse uisus est. secunda uero uice Romam accedens, dum illo adhuc moraretur; contigit ut sententia Neronis ob praedicationem pietatis capite puniretur. †Ephesios autem uidit multum antequam Romae ab Iudaea duceretur (quod ex libro Actuum apostolorum discere quis euidenter poterit), quando etiam et ceteri apostoli adhuc in Iudaea commorabantur. igitur adparet eum omni ex parte multo ante hanc epistolam Ephesiis scripsisse quam Iohannes illo commoratus.* et haec contemplatione cautelae doctrinae dicta sunt a nobis, ut ne quis absolute sensus diuianrum scripturarum fortuitu existimet accipiendos. intendi autem ulterius debet interpretationi quae per partes fit, ex quibus possibile est nos apostolici intellectus prudentiam perspicere, quod uel maxime plus omnibus necessarium esse conuenit. his autem obsistit nihil neque ullam

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τοῦτο πρὸς τοῖς εἰρημένοις λογίζεσθαι χρή, ὡς Ἐφεσίους ἐθεάσατο πολλῷ πρότερον ἢ ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἀναχθῆναι ὅλως, ὡς ἐν ταῖς Πράξεσιν τῶν ἀποστόλων μάθοι ἄν τις σαφέστερον· ὥστε φαίνεσθαι αὐτὸν πανταχόθεν πολλῷ πρότερον τῆς Ἰωάννου διατριβῆς ταῦτα γράφοντα πρὸς αὐτούς.

1 gratia C^*H 7 praedicatione H 8 quo C^* 12 Ephesis C^*H | esset (*aft* commor.) *add* C (*corr*) 13 contemplationem C^*H 14 esse (*aft* exist.) *add* C 16 per *om* H^*

τῇ ἐφέσει χρησάμενος τὴν Ῥώμην *κατέλαβεν*. In Acts xxv. 11 the Vulg. rightly has "*Caesarem* appello"; and so this comm., *infra*, arg. to Phil.; on the other hand, in the arg. to 2 Tim., we have "*Felicem* adpellans"—an obvious mistake, which the corrector of the Harley MS. has noticed and set right. In the present passage the context shews that *Festum* is not due either to the scribe or to the translator; the sense is "appealing from Festus to Caesar," "claiming from F. the right of appeal to Rome." Comp. infr. on Phil. i. 12; "beatus Paulus adpellans Festum" = *ἐφέσεως κατὰ τοῦ Φήστου χρησάμενος*.

8. *ex libro Act. ap.*] c. xviii. 19. See above, p. 110, l. 5, note.

13. *contemplatione cautelae*] 'For the sake of accuracy.' Beyond the limits of this translation, the phrase appears to be almost confined to the writings of jurists and legal documents.

14. *absolute*] *ἁπλῶς*: 'without reference to the occasion and historical connection.' On the form *fortuitu* see Hildebrand, *Apul.* i. p. 616.

16. *per partes*] *κατὰ μέρος*, 'in detail.'

adiectionem facit aut minorationem, utrum Iohannes beatus euangelista Ephesiis uideatur ante eius litteras fidem tradidisse, utrum alter aliquis sit, qui Ephesios ad Christi adduxit credulitatem. tantum uero adicere dictis uolo quoniam multam difficultatem ipsa epistola etiam in uerbis habere uideatur, ita ut interpretare eam uolenti, non facile sit manifestum eius facere sensum. hac de causa optimum esse arbitratus sum non solum omnem interpretationem exponere uerborum, sed et ipsa obscura uerba interpretare, ubi id fieri res exigit. sic enim perspicuum erit omni uolenti discutere hanc scripturam, quo possit intellectus apostolici sensus perspicuus haberi; quod et praehonorabilius omnibus esse existimo et opto id euenire, si tamen id contigerit nobis per diuinam gratiam posse proueniri, ut euidenter sensum apostolicum cunctis uolentibus legere publicemus.

Paulus apostolus Iesu Christi per uoluntatem Dei, sanctis omnibus qui sunt Ephesi et fidelibus in Christo Iesu: gratia uobis et pax a Deo patre nostro et domino Iesu Christo.

†in his et quidem secundum consuetudinem suam epistolae praefationem consummasse uidetur, simile aliquid faciens illius consuetudinis quae est apud nos; cum enim nos scribere uolumus, dicimus: 'ille illi salutem'.*

ἐν τούτῳ κατὰ τὸ εἰωθὸς αὐτῷ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς τὴν προγραφὴν συνεπέρανεν· παραπλήσιόν τι τῇ παρ' ἡμῖν συνηθείᾳ ποιῶν· ὡς ὅταν ἐπιστέλλοντες λέγομεν, 'ὁ δεῖνα τῷ δεῖνι χαίρειν.'

3 ad Chr. *om H* 4 adiecere *C** 5 ipsa epst *C* ipse post *H* (*for* ipsa epistola) 6 interpretari *C* 9 interpretari *C* (*corr*) 11 habere *C** 13 contingerit *C** | per *om H* 15 EXPLICIT ARGUMENTUM [+EPHESIORUM EPISTOLAE *C*] INCIPIT EPISTOLA EORUNDEM EPHESIORUM (*aft* publicemus) *add CH* 19 hanc (*for* suam) *C* 23 sq. Coisl. 204, f. 47 b—48 a [Cr. vi. 100].

8. *ipsa obscura uerba*] e.g. εὐλογητός, πνευματικῇ (i. 3): ἐξελέξατο (i. 4): ἐχαρίτωσεν (i. 6): ἀπολύτρωσιν (i. 7.): μυστήριον (i. 9): ἀνακεφαλαιώσασθαι (i. 10), etc.

6, 9. *interpretare*] Cf. O. L. Gen. xli. 15 (Vercellone, *var. lect.* i. 185, cited by De Vit): "qui interpretet illud non est."

17. *qui sunt Ephesi*] The argument (*supra*, p. 112 sq.) leaves no room to doubt that *ἐν* Ἐφέσῳ stood in Th.'s text. All the Antiochene expositors seem to have admitted the words without any suspicion as to their genuineness.

19. *ep. praefationem*] See below on 1 Thess. i. 1 (Gk.).

Christi autem apostolum seipsum iure pronuntiat, utpote illam bonitatem quae ex aduentu Christi accedit docere illos praesentibus adproperans scriptis. †adiecit autem, *per uoluntatem Dei*, simul connectens utrumque, ita ut nihil discretum neque scissum esse uideatur ab illis quae Dei sunt illorum quae per Christum effecta sunt; simul autem et apostolatus sui opus necessarium sibi undique ostendit. uerumtamen quoniam compendiosam praefationem litterarum fecisse uidetur* (et quidem cum in multis epistolis consequentia suorum scriptorum ipso argumento aliqua interiecisse uideatur cum praefatione scripturae, ita ut ex hoc saepe prolongaret praefationem—hoc autem uiderit quis in epistolis quas uel ad Romanos, uel ad Galatas maxime scripsit—sed hoc in loco compendiose prosecutus est) †consequenter et hoc propositione suorum faciens uerborum.* memores enim sumus et in argumento ipso dixisse, quoniam †propositum habet aduentus Christi utilitatem sub specie gratiarum actionis compendiose dicere; non sicut in illa epistola quam ad Romanos scripsit, quam et cum multa edidit cautela, aduersariorum simul retundens obiectiones.* consummans uero

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προσέθηκεν δὲ τὸ Διὰ θελήματος θεοῦ, *ὅμου τε συνδέων αὐτὰ ὡς μηδὲν διακεκρίσθαι μηδὲ ἀπεσπάσθαι δοκεῖν τοῦ θεοῦ τῶν διὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ γενομένων· ὅμου δὲ καὶ τὸ τῆς ἀποστολῆς ἔργον ἀναγκαιότατον ἑαυτῷ πανταχόθεν δεικνύς· πλήν γε δὴ ὅτι σύντομον τὴν προγραφὴν ἐποιήσατο, καταλλήλως καὶ τοῦτο τῇ προθέσει τοῦ λόγου ποιῶν.*

πρόκειται γὰρ αὐτῷ τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ παρουσίας τὸ ὠφέλιμον εἰπεῖν ἐν εὐχαριστίας εἴδει συντόμως, οὐχ ὡς ἐπὶ τῆς πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἐξεργαστικώτερον καὶ μετὰ τοῦ πρὸς τοὺς ἐναντίους λόγου.

2 accidit *H* 3 deproperans *H* 5 illa (*for* illorum) *CH*: *txt g* 6 apostolus *H* 9 consequentem *H* 16 aduentum *H* 23 πλὴν γε δεῖ cod.; so Cr., adding: "sic. *νοεῖν* aut simile uerbum excidit."

10. *interiecisse uideatur*] e. g. in Rom. i. 2—7, Gal. i. 1, 4—5. The Ep. to the Eph., on the other hand (Th. would say) begins with a brief salutation, in which the only words not absolutely necessary to the sense are Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, *διὰ θελήματος θεοῦ*; and even these are not peculiar to the opening of this Ep., being found also in 2 Cor., Col., 2 Tim.

11. *prolongaret*] On *prolongare* = *μακρύνειν*, see Rönsch, *Itala*, p. 197.

17. *non sicut*, &c.] The prologue to the Romans bristles with phrases suggestive of points of controversy, which are afterwards taken up and handled at length in the Epistle (e. g. *εὐαγγέλιον θεοῦ—κατὰ*

praesentis epistolae praescriptionem, in his statim adicit, propositum suum explanare cupiens:

benedictus Deus et Pater domini nostri Iesu Christi.

quoniam gratiarum actionis—ita ut statim et a primordio uideatur illud expedire quod diximus—quoniam sub specie gratiarum actionis illorum bonorum quae nobis praestita sunt a Christo faciat doctrinam. 'benedicere' enim dicitur laudare, extollere, bona narrare. †quod enim dixit: *benedictus*, hoc est, 'laudari et demirari dignus.' nam quod dixit: *Deus et Pater domini nostri Iesu Christi* poterat equidem et separatim dici, ut sit illud quod dixit *Deus* separatim. continuata uox euidens est, et absolute praestat intellectum,* sicut et illud quod scriptum est: *et fecit Deus; et dixit Deus;* et si qua huiusmodi sunt.

τὸ εὐλογητὸς *ἀντὶ τοῦ 'ἐπαινεῖσθαι καὶ θαυμάζεσθαι ἄξιος·' τὸ μέντοι* ὁ θεὸς καὶ πατὴρ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ *δύναται μὲν καὶ διηρημένως λέγεσθαι, ἵν' ᾖ τὸ μὲν* θεὸς *κατὰ διαίρεσιν ἁπολύτως νοούμενον, τὸ δὲ* πατὴρ *καθ' ἑαυτό.*

1 haec (*for* in his) *C* (*corr*) 4 actiones *CH* 6 praestita est *H* 8 Deus (*aft* bened.) *add H* 9 laudare *CH* 13 et dixit D. et fecit D. *H* 14 Coisl. 204, f. 49 b [Cr. vi. 104. Fr. 131] *θεόδωρος δέ φησιν τὸ εὐλογ. κ.τ.λ.* 15 *δύναται το μὲν* (*sic*) cod., *δύναται τὸ μὲν* Cr.; Fr. as in text.

σάρκα, κατὰ πνεῦμα—ἐξ ἀναστάσεως νεκρῶν—δι' οὗ ἐλάβομεν χάριν—εἰς ὑπακοὴν πίστεως ἐν πᾶσιν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν—καὶ ὑμεῖς κλητοί). There the Ap. is writing in the presence of adversaries (see above, p. 113, l. 13, note); here he is free from this constraint, and his heart pours itself forth at once in the natural language of thanksgiving.

4. *quoniam gratiarum*, &c.] See above, p. 113, l. 23, note; and comp. Th.'s comm. on Rom. i. 8: *φαίνεται καὶ ἐν ἑτέραις τῶν ἐπιστολῶν ἀπ' εὐχαριστίας ἀρχόμενος ἐκείνους πρὸς οὓς ποιεῖται τὸ γράμμα διδάσκων παντὸς λόγου καὶ πράγματος ἀπὸ εὐχαριστίας ἀπάρχεσθαι τῷ θεῷ.*

11. *continuata uox*, &c.] Comp. the Gk. The sense seems to be: 'The word *θεός* clearly may be taken by itself and apart from the following *καὶ πατήρ*, *κ.τ.λ.*, so that *εὐλογητὸς ὁ θεός* forms a complete sentence; just as in Gen. i. 1, 3 we have *ἐποίησεν ὁ θεός, εἶπεν ὁ θεός*, when no dependent genitive follows.' This view, which has the support of the Peshito (ܒܪܟ ܐܠܗܐ ܘܐܒܐ ܕܡܪܢ ܝܫܘܥ ܡܫܝܚܐ) is strenuously maintained by Thdt.: *δῆλον ὡς ἡμῶν μέν ἐστιν θεός, τοῦ δὲ κυρίου ἡμῶν πατήρ· τοῦτο δὲ καὶ πρὸς Κορινθίους ἑρμηνεύοντες τὴν δευτέραν ἐπιστολὴν ἐσημηνάμεθα* [*i.e.* on 2 Cor. i. 2, where he says *εὐλογητὸς ὁ θεός· ἐνταῦθα στικτέον.*]. On the other hand Chrys. seems to lean to the opposite construction, for he exclaims, *ἰδού, θεὸς τοῦ σαρκωθέντος·* adding, however: *εἰ δὲ μὴ βούλει, ἀλλὰ τοῦ θεοῦ λόγου πατήρ.*

†nam *Pater* secundum se in Christo accipitur. si quis uero illud connectere fuerit adnisus, ita ut et Deus et Pater erga personam intellegi debeat Christi, neque in hoc litigamus.* alioquin et Deus pater adsumpti aptissime diceretur, utpote et homine illo existente per naturam. quoniam autem de hoc disputat per omnes sermones dogmaticos illos qui in hac sunt epistola, id poterit euidenter ostendi. deinde dicit et pro quibus sit benedictus:

qui benedixit nos in omni benedictione spiritali in caelestibus in Christo.

nostra benedictio quae fit in Deo, confessio sola est illorum bonorum quae nobis praestita sunt ab eo. nam illa benedictio quae a Deo fit, in nobis opere impletur, pro quibus nos suis beneficiis sublimans demirationi exhibet dignos. dignus ergo est ut et demiretur a nobis, et ut gratiarum illi referamus actiones; quoniam sic nos gloriosos, sua in nos conferens bona, efficere est dignatus, omne nobis bonum spiritale donans per illam dispensationem quam per Christum misisse uidetur. hoc enim dicit *in Christo.* nam quod dixit: *in caelestibus;* hoc est, 'quae in

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εἰ δέ τις αὐτὸ ἐπισυμπλέκειν φιλονεικοίη ὡσὰν καὶ τοῦ θεὸς καὶ τοῦ πατὴρ ἐπὶ τοῦ προσώπου νοεῖσθαι ὀφείλοντος τοῦ Χριστοῦ, οὐδὲ πρὸς τοῦτο μαχόμεθα.

4 consumpti *H* | dicere *CH* | hominem illum existentem *CH* 13 opere *om l* 14 exibit dignos *C* exibet d. *H* exhibet dignus *C* (*corr*) 16 nos (*bef* glor.) *om H* 19 qui (*for* quae) *CH* quam *l*

4. *pater adsumpti*] See above, p. 62, l. 21, note. The reading *dicere* (cf. vv. ll.) seems to have originated in a confusion of the last syllable of the abbreviated *diceret*ʳ with the following *ut*.

6. *id poterit euidenter ostendi*] See below, pp. 126, 130, 135, &c.

11. *benedictio quae fit a Deo*, &c.] Cited by Lanfranc, but freely; for "pro quibus &c." he gives simply "dum eius beneficiis implemur."

14. *demirationi dignos*] For the constr., cf. 2 Macc. vi. 24, Vulg. (Rönsch). The change of "exhibet...dignos" into "exhibetur...dignus" adopted by Card. Pitra in his text [but cf. *Spic. Solesm.* i. 568], seems to me unnecessary and even injurious to the sense, which is: "God's gifts in us are wonderful; much more, then, must their Author be worthy of admiration." *Dignus est ut demiretur* = ἀξιός ἐστιν θαυμασθῆναι. For *demirari* pass. see p. 59, l. 21, note.

19. *hoc est, quae, &c....expl. adiecit*] Lanfranc abbreviates thus: "hoc est, 'quam in caelo participabimus'; dicit enim resurrectionem quae per Spiritum nobis aderit. et ne ipsa novitas mentem turbaret quoniam non ante tanta donas-

caelo morantes participabimus.' dixit namque futura illa bona— resurrectionem, inquio, et illam quae tunc erit inmortalitatem; et quod iam ultra peccare non poterimus, sed inuertibiles permanebimus in bonis. in caelo enim conuersantes, ista tunc expectamus adesse nobis per Spiritus gratiam. sicut enim in epistola illa quam scripsit ad Corinthios super resurrectionem disputans dixisse uidetur quoniam corpus nostrum 'seminatur quidem in corruptione et ignobilitate et infirmitate; surget autem in incorruptela et honore et uirtute;' adiecit: *seminatur corpus animale, surget corpus spiritale;* in illum cuncta coadunans, id est, Spiritum ex quo omnia nobis ista aderunt. unde et hoc in loco, *in omni benedictione* dicens, *spiritali* adiecit, ad ostensionem quia omnia nobis bona aderunt tunc per Spiritum.

et quoniam magna erunt tam illa quae promissa sunt quam quae expectantur, uidebatur autem ipsa nouitas rerum mentem turbare, quapropter non ante multum temporis tanta nobis donasset, sed neque dixisset aperte quae sunt illae spiritales benedictiones; simul etiam de nouitate satisfaciens et benedictiones ipsas manifestius explanans, adiecit:

sicut elegit nos in ipso ante constitutionem mundi, esse nos sanctos et immaculatos coram eo.

'olim (inquit) et ante mundi totius fabricam hanc fecerat dispensationem, secundum suam praescientiam, segregans nos in Christo; ut potiti eius bona in sanctitate permaneamus perfecta, nullam maculam peccatorum ultra suscipientes; sed ut simus secundum eius probationem et decretum sine ulla culpa.' hoc enim dicit *coram eo;* ut dicat, 'ualde ab omni culpa securos.' uere enim ille est omni excusationi superior, quemcumque talem esse decreuerit Deus. nam quod dicit, *elegit;* id est, 'ad hoc segregauit.' et quod dicit, *in ipso;* Christo dicit, eo quod

1 participauimus *C* 2 inquo *CH* 8 autem *om H* 10 adunans *H** 17 bened. spir. *H* 23 praesentiam *H* 28 illum (*aft* quemc.) *add C***H* 29 decreuit *H* | adhuc *H*

set, neque aperte dixisset quae sint illae spiritales benedictiones, utrique respondet dicens."

8. *surget*] ἐγείρεται: so Vulg. This citation (from 1 Cor. xv. 42—44) occurs again in the comm. on 1 Thess. iv. 8 (*q. v.*) and on 1 Tim. i. 10.

10. *coadunans*] Rönsch, *Itala*, p. 207.

15. *nouitas rerum*] Thdt.: ἐπειδὴ δέ τινες ὑπελάμβανον πρόσφατον εἶναι τὸ κήρυγμα...ἀναγκαίως καὶ περὶ τούτου διδάσκει.

per eundem occasionem accepimus tantorum bonorum potiri donationem. euidens est quoniam *sancti et immaculati*, quales Paulus dicit, in futuro saeculo per inoperationem Spiritus erimus. dixi namque et in epistola Galatarum, †quoniam de futuris mos est illi ea quae secundum Christum sunt comprobare, eo quod et tunc in ipsis rebus donationes perspicientur; nunc enim in promissione eorum sumus tantum per fidem.*

deinde et quod maius est aditur:

in caritate praeordinans nos in filiorum adoptionem per Iesum Christum in ipsum.

nam quod dicit, *in caritate* praeordinatos nos *in filiorum adoptionem*, †maiorem dictorum ostendit esse affectum duabus ex partibus. nam caritas praeelectione uel praeordinatione maior est.* electio potest etiam liberalitate quadam fieri; caritas uero insitum affectum ostendit, ex quo et magnitudo uidetur liberalitatis. †maius autem horum est et illud quod dixit: *filiorum adoptionem*, ab illo quod dixerat: *sanctos et immaculatos.** simi-

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πρόδηλον ὡς ἀπὸ τῶν μελλόντων ἔθος αὐτῷ τῶν κατὰ Χριστὸν ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἀπόδειξιν, ἅτε δὴ τότε φαινομένων ἐπὶ τοῦ πράγματος. νῦν γὰρ ἐν ἐπαγγελίᾳ μόνον αὐτῶν ἐσμὲν διὰ πίστεως.

τοῦτο ἐπίτασιν ἔχει τοῦ προκειμένου διχόθεν, ἐπείπερ ἡμῖν ἀγάπη τῆς ἐκλογῆς μείζων, καὶ τὸ τῆς υἱοθεσίας τοῦ ἁγίους καὶ ἀμώμους.

2 donatione *C* (*corr*) 3 dixit *CH* 7 promissionem *H* 8 additur *C* (*corr*) 13 electione *C***H* 18 sq. Coisl. 204, f. 50 a [Cr. vi. 105, Fr. 131] *θεόδωρος δέ φησιν· πρόδηλον, κ.τ.λ.* 21 sq. Coisl. 204, f. 50 b [Cr. vi. 106, Fr. 131] *θεόδωρος δέ φησιν· τοῦτο, κ.τ.λ.*

1. *per eundem*] So Chrys.: *τουτέστιν, διὰ Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ*—thus in common with Th. missing the exact import of the crucial *ἐν Χριστῷ*.

4. *dixi namque et in ep. Gal.*] See p. 51, l. 25 sq. *Dixit* is clearly a copyist's blunder.

8. *aditur*] See vv. ll.

9. *in caritate praeordinans*] Thdt.: *καὶ προεῖδεν ἡμᾶς καὶ ἠγάπησεν*. The Peshito led the way to this connection (ܘܒܚܘܒܐ ܩܕܡ ܪܫܡܢ ܠܗ). Origen (Cramer, vi. 107) gives it as an alternative: *ἤτοι τὸ ἐν ἀγάπῃ τῷ προορίσας συναπτέον· ἢ· ἐξελέξατο ἡμᾶς ἐν αὐτῷ ἐν ἀγάπῃ.*

13. *praeelectione uel praeord.*] =*τῆς ἐκλογῆς* simply; see above, p. 5, l. 16, note. For the forms *praeelectio*, *praeordinatio*, cf. Paucker, *spic. add. lex. lat.* p. 278.

15. *ex quo et magn.*, &c.] Lanfranc: "*Ambrosius.* 'In caritate;' ex hoc magnitudo ostenditur liberalitatis."

16. *maius...ab illo*] Rönsch, *Itala*, p. 452. Lanfranc simplifies: "maius est

liter enim et hoc superiori sensui connexum esse uidetur. nam alterum illorum, id est, *sanctos, et ut sint immaculati*, etiam sola potest gratia tribuentis ostendi. †nam filiorum adoptio propinquitatis magnam uindicat ostensionem*, quam et omnium bonorum sequitur copia. quo enim poterit fraudari bono ille qui semel in ordinem filii fuerit factus? hoc enim uoluit dicere, quoniam *elegit nos* non absolute sed *in caritate;* et ostendit *sanctos et immaculatos* faciens nos—tantam nobis ad illum propinquitatem donauit. optime autem memorans *filiorum adoptionem*, coniunxisse illis uisus est *per Iesum Christum;* eo quod per illum nobis regeneratio quoque et Spiritus adoptionis filiorum donatus esse uidetur. nam quod dixit *in ipsum*, de Deo dixit; hoc est, 'ut eius dicatur filius.' quoniam ergo dixit: *praeordinans nos in filiorum adoptionem*, incertum autem erat cuius diceret filios esse adoptiuos; adiecit †*in ipsum*, hoc est, 'in sui ipsius,' ut illius filii et dicamur et nuncupemur.*

et iterum augens, illud dicit:

secundum bonum placitum uoluntatis eius.

†ut dicat quoniam 'ualde placita fuerunt ei, ut ista erga nos ordinaret; et ualde uoluit in his nos participes fieri.' sicut enim sola specie gratiarum actionis illa dicens, omni ex parte auxisse uidetur factorum gratiam magnitudine rerum.* tale est et

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οἰκειότητος γὰρ ἀπόδειξιν ἔχει ταῦτα μεγίστην.

τὸ δὲ εἰς αὐτόν· ἵνα αὐτοῦ υἱοὶ λεγώμεθά τε καὶ χρηματίζωμεν.

ἵνα εἴπῃ ὅτι σφόδρα ἤρεσεν αὐτῷ ταῦτα περὶ ἡμᾶς διαπράξασθαι· ὡς γὰρ ἐν εὐχαριστίας προσχήματι λέγων αὐτά, πανταχόθεν αὔξει τῶν γεγονότων τὴν χάριν τῷ μεγέθει τῶν πραγμάτων.

1 sensu *H* 2 sanctitas *C* scitios (*sic*) *H* 5, 6 enim *om C* 10 illi *H* 15 ipsa (*for* in ipsum) *H* 18 uoluntatem *C** 22 gratia *H* | magnitudinem *C*H* 24 λεγολμεθα cod. and edd. 25 sq. Coisl. 204 f. 51 a [Cr. vi. 108, Fr. 131] *θεόδωροι δέ φησιν ἵνα εἴπῃ, κ.τ.λ.*

quod dicit *filiorum adoptionem* ab eo quod dixerat *sanctos et immaculatos.*"

13. *quoniam ergo...nuncupemur*] Cited by Lanfranc, with a few verbal omissions.

15. *hoc est, in sui ipsius*] Thdt.: *τὸν πατέρα λέγει· ἀντὶ τοῦ· ἵνα αὐτῷ χρηματίζωμεν υἱοί.*

20. *sicut enim sola*, &c.] Condensed by Lanfranc and Robert of B.: "uolens ex omni parte ista extollere quod digna sunt [+multa *R*] gratiarum actione, frequenter dicit praeordinationem [per ordinationem *L* (ed.)] [praedestinationem *R*] et bonum placitum [+et propositum *R*] et uoluntatem [+et consilium *R*]."

illud quod dixit: *benedixit nos in omni benedictione spiritali in caelestibus;* et: *ut simus sancti et immaculati;* et quod dixit: *in filiorum adoptionem praeordinatos.* antiquam fuisse Dei de his probationem ostendit, quale est illud quod dixit: *praeelegit nos.* adhuc autem etiam et affectum de rebus huiusmodi implens ostendit. nam quod dixit: *in caritate,* et, *secundum bonum placitum uoluntatis suae,* haec ostendit. omni autem ex parte augens donationum magnitudinem, consequenter adiecit:

in laude gloriae gratiae eius.

†'itaque dignus est pro his laudari a nobis, et omni demiratione dignus haberi, pro quibus sua gratia tantam nobis communicare dignatus est gloriam.'* deinde dicit iterum gratiae ipsius gloriam:

in qua gratificauit nos in dilecto,

nam quod dixit: *gratificauit,* id signare uoluit quoniam 'omni nos repleuit gratia.' et quod dixit: *in dilecto,* 'in Christo' dixit. omni enim ex parte illa quae de nobis fiunt memorans adicit *per ipsum* et *in ipso,* utpote in ordine primitiarum eodem Christo adsumpto; et illa omnia quae erga illum pro communi salute sunt gesta. sic enim et participare ei resurrectionem et incorruptelam, et commorari cum eo in caelis sperans, et ostendens multitudinem donationum per illud quod dixit *gratificauit nos;* dicit et illud quod omnibus uidetur eminere, et ad quod omnes maxime congregare faciebat:

ὥστε (φησὶν) ὑπὲρ τούτων ἐπαινεῖσθαι καὶ θαυμάζεσθαι δίκαιον αὐτὸν παρ' ἡμῶν, ἀνθ' ὧν οἰκείᾳ χάριτι τοσαύτης ἡμῖν μετέδωκεν δόξης.

1 in *om H* 4—6 quale—ostendit *om* (*per hamoeotel.*) *H** 5 impletis *C* 6 dicit *C* | in car. *om C* 7 siue hoc (*for* suae haec) *C* | agens *H* 17 sunt (*for* fiunt) *C* 18 in *om C* 21 incorruptibilem *H* | commorare *C* 25 sq. Coisl. 204, *l.c.* *Θεόδωρος δὲ ὧδε λέγει· ὥστε, κ.τ.λ.* 26 *αὐτοῦ* Cr.

14—16. *gratificauit...repleuit gr.*] Cf. Luke i. 28 *κεχαριτωμένη*, Vulg., *gratia plena.* Chrys. *ad h. l.*: *οὐκ εἶπεν 'ἧς ἐχαρίσατο,' ἀλλ' 'ἐχαρίτωσεν ἡμᾶς'· τοῦτέστιν, οὐ μόνον ἁμαρτημάτων ἀπήλλαξεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἑτεράστους ἐποίησεν.* Similarly Thdt. and Oec.; cf. Suicer. *s. v.* *χαριτόω.* Th. adopts a modification of this view; 'He bestowed upon us the fulness of His grace, especially the gift of eternal life.'

16. *quod dixit* 'in dilecto,' *in Chr. d.*] See below on Col. i. 13, and cf. the fragments of Th. on Matt. iii. 17, Luke iii. 22 (Migne, 705, 717).

18. *in ordine primitiarum*] Cf. 1 Cor. xv. 20 *ἕκαστος ἐν τῷ ἰδίῳ τάγματι· ἀπαρχὴ Χριστός.*

in quo habemus redemptionem per sanguinem eius, remissionem delictorum, secundum diuitias gratiae eius quam abundare fecit in nobis.

nam quod dicit: *in quo*, iterum 'in Christo' dicit. inde origi-
5 nem omnium et fruitionem habere ostendens, ita ut magis eos in caritate coniungeret Christi; 'in ipso (inquit) Christo, qui pro nobis suscipere mortem dignatus est, hoc est dici, per sanguinem eius peccatorum accepimus remissionem; quam nullo modo adsequi poteramus, si non multa quaedam Dei erga nos fuisset
10 gratia.' *remissionem* enim hoc in loco, non confessionem, sed plenariam dicit peccatorum abolitionem. simile est autem et hoc dictum illi dicto, *ut simus sancti et immaculati;* quod et in superioribus iam dixisse uidetur. quoniam ergo sub sententia eramus mortis; mortales uero cum essemus, sequebatur et ut
15 delinqueremus, eo quod nec fieri potest mortalem aliquando posse uideri sine culpa; moriens ergo pro nobis et exsurgens pro nobis donauit nobis cum participatione Spiritus inmortalem illam uitam, in qua possibile est commorantes nos liberos esse a peccato. unde bene *redemptionem dixit*, eo quod per mortalita-
20 tem tenebamur sub arcta necessitate *peccatorum*; uerum quia quasi quaedam redemptio pro nobis datus est Christus, qui et eripuit nos a mortis potentia, praebuit autem nobis resurrectionis spem, cum qua et expectamus excepto omni uiuere peccato. hoc in loco notandum est quod dicebamus, quoniam per omnia
25 haec quae dicit de Christo, de suscepto homine dicit, inde illa

9 quaedam *om* *C* (*corr*) 10 non *om* *H* 13 id (*for* iam) *H* 14 et *om* *C* (*corr*) 16 uero (*for* ergo) *H* 17 cum *om* *C* (*corr*) 19 peccatore *C** | dixit red. *H* 22 de (*for* a) *H*

2. *quam abundare fecit*] ἧς ἐπερίσσευσεν: Vulg., "quae superabundavit;" Hieron. *ad. h. l.*, "quae abundavit." As Th. does not comment on the words, the translator is responsible for the treatment of περισσεύειν as a transitive verb.

10. *non confessionem*] οὐκ ἐξομολόγησιν (?): 'not simply the present process of penitence crowned by the formal absolution of the Church, but the final destruction of sin at the resurrection.' *Confessio* appears to be here used as virtually equivalent to *absolutio* (συγχώρησις). Or should we read *concessionem*? Cf. *infra* on 1 Tim. iii. 2: "non de concessione peccatorum disputat."

13. *sub sententia eramus mortis*] See above, pp. 24—30; and p. 25, l. 3, note.

21. *quasi quaedam redemptio.*] ὥσπερ ἀπολύτρωσίς τις [cf. 1 Cor. i. 30: ἀντίλυτρον, 1 Tim. ii. 6]. With regard to the nature of the redemption effected by Our Lord, see Th.'s further remarks on Col. i. 14.

25. *de suscepto homine d.*] See pp. 61, l. 21; 62, l. 1.

quae secundum nos sunt firmare cupiens; ex quibus hoc in loco euidenter adposuit *per sanguinem eius.*

deinde dicit et aliud multo praecellentius illis quae praedicta sunt:

in omni sapientia et prudentia notum nobis faciens mysterium uoluntatis suae, secundum bonum placitum quod proposuit in ipso.

†*mysterium uoluntatis* Dei dicit absconditam eius uoluntatem et omnibus incertam; *mysterium* illud uocans, utpote incertum interim omnibus ante Christi extans aduentum. quod ergo dicit, tale est: 'olim illi placitum et praeordinatum erat hoc, quod cum multa sapientia et prudentia notum fecit nobis.' ut dicat, 'ipsis ostendit rebus.'* uult enim dicere quoniam illud quod dudum ei placebat, incertum interim erat; quod rebus ipsis nunc cum multa manifestauit sapientia per eam dispensationem quam secundum Christum fecisse uidetur. †quare autem nunc?*

in dispensatione plenitudinis temporum.

†eo quod secundum ordinem omnia dispensari conueniebant. quando ergo impleta sunt tempora ceterorum, tunc secundum

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ΜΥΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΤΟΥ̃ ΘΕΛΗΜΑΤΟΣ *τοῦ θεοῦ λέγει τὸ ἀποκεκρυμμένον αὐτοῦ θέλημα καὶ ἄδηλον τοῖς πᾶσιν μυστήριον αὐτὸ καλῶν. ὅπερ οὖν (φησὶν) πόρρωθεν αὐτῷ δοκοῦν καὶ προωρισμένον ἦν, τοῦτο μετὰ πολλῆς σοφίας καὶ φρονήσεως ἐγνώρισεν ἡμῖν ἵνα εἴπῃ· ἐπ' αὐτῶν ἔδειξεν τῶν πραγμάτων.*

διὰ τί δὲ νῦν; ΕΙΣ ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΑΝ ΤΟΥ̃ ΠΛΗΡΩΜΑΤΟΣ ΤΩΝ ΚΑΙΡΩΝ· *ἐπειδὴ κατὰ τάξιν πάντα οἰκονομεῖσθαι ἔδει. ὅτε οὖν ἐπληρώθησαν*

1 non (*for* nos) *H* 2 posuit *H* 10 sq. Coisl. 204, f. 54 b [Cr. vi. 114, Fr. 131—2] *καὶ θεόδωρος δέ φησιν· μυστήριον, κ.τ.λ.*

5. *in omni sap. et prud. n. n. f.*] Th. connects *ἐν πάσῃ σοφίᾳ καὶ φρονήσει γνωρίσας.* So also, apparently, Thdt. and Chrys. The latter is doubtful whether to refer *σοφίᾳ καὶ φρον.* to God, or to the elect, and attempts to combine both views: *σοφίας ἦν τοῦτο, καὶ...σοφοὺς ἡμᾶς εἰργάσατο.* Oec. gives the alternative; and so nearly Thpht.

9. *quod ergo dicit tale est.*] Dr Hort (*Journal of Philol.* IV. c. xii. § vii. p. 307) remarks that "*tale est* and *quod* [l. 11] must be arbitrary insertions of the translator who has misunderstood the punctuation." See Gk.

19. *secundum ordinem*, &c.] Thdt. aptly compares Gal. iv. 4. Th. seems to explain to himself the phrase *εἰς οἰκον.*

ordinem qui dudum fuerat dispensatus in suis temporibus etiam illa quae secundum Christum sunt ostendi effecit.* quae sunt autem illa? quae olim quidem illi placuerunt, nunc autem illa in opus perduxisse uidetur secundum proprium tempus consequenter illis quae dudum dispensabantur, et

instaurare (uel potius *recapitulare*) *omnia in Christo, quae in caelis sunt et quae in terra, in ipso.*

'recapitulatio' euidenter dicitur multorum sensuum uelox resumptio. quod autem uult dicere, tale est: 'uniuersitatis Deus fecerat quidem omnem creaturam quasi unum quoddam corpus,

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οἱ καιροὶ τῶν λοιπῶν, τότε κατὰ τὴν ἄνωθεν οἰκονομουμένην τάξιν ἐπὶ τῶν οἰκείων καιρῶν καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν Χριστὸν ἐδείχθη.

1 quae, fuerant, dispensata *CH*: *cf. g and p.* 81, *l.* 7, *note.* 2 ostendi efficit *C** ostendit effici *C* (*corr*) 10 quoddam unum *H*

τοῦ πληρ. τῶν καιρῶν by a mental reference to Luke xxi. 24. He regards τοῦ πληρ. as the gen. of the *object*; see Bp. Ellicott, *ad h. l.*

6. *instaurare* (*uel potius recapitulare*)] See p. 5, l. 16, note. The latter verb occurs in Iren. [int.], where this verse is cited (i. 3, § 4. v. 20, § 2). Tertullian uses it with a sort of apology (*Marc.* v. 17): "ut ita dixerim, sicut uerbum illud in Graeco sonat, *recapitulare*, id est, ad initium redigere, uel ab initio recensere." Jerome prefers it to *instaurare*, but would have wished to transfer the Greek verb bodily into the Latin text [in some such form as *anacephalisare*?]. Our translator appears to have been unwilling to desert the Vulg., supported as it was by the majority of the Latin fathers; but he sees clearly that Th.'s interpretation points to a deeper sense of ἀνακεφαλαιώσασθαι than the Vulg. represents. Cf. *infra* on Col. i. 16, where *instaurare* is dropped altogether. On *recapitulare* see Mayor and Lumby, p. 469.

8. *multorum sensuum uelox resumptio*] ἡ τῶν πολλῶν ἐννοιῶν σύντομος ἀνάληψις [?] *i.e.*, Th. regards the Ap.'s use of the verb as borrowed from the technical language of rhetoric, cf. Origen (Cramer, vi. 114): κεφάλαιον λέγεται πολλάκις καὶ τὸ περιληπτικὸν νόημα. Chrys.: παρὰ γὰρ ἡμῖν καὶ ἐν τῇ συνηθείᾳ ἀνακεφαλαίωσις λέγεται καὶ τὰ διὰ μακρῶν λεγόμενα εἰς βραχὺ συστεῖλαι, καὶ πάντα τὰ διὰ πολλῶν λεγόμενα συντόμως εἰπεῖν. Somewhat similar is Thdt.'s explanation: ἀνακεφαλαίωσιν τοίνυν καλεῖ τὴν σύντομον τῶν πραγμάτων μεταβολήν.

10. *quasi unum quoddam corpus*, &c.] Cf. the Syriac fragment of Th.'s comm. on Genesis printed by Sachau, p. ٩ (5); the comm. (*infra*, on Col. i. 16); and the important and closely parallel Gk. fragment on Rom. viii. 19 (Cr. iv. 135 sq., Fr. 71—2), from which the Gk. of the present passage might almost be restored; comp. the following with lines 10, sq.: ἓν σῶμα τὴν σύμπασαν κτίσιν ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς.....ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν διαφορά τίς ἐστιν ἐν αὐτοῖς τὸ [τῷ?] τὰ μὲν εἶναι ὁρατὰ τὰ δὲ ἀόρατα, βουλόμενος εἰς ἓν τὰ πάντα συνῆφθαι, ποιήσας τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ἐξ ὁρατοῦ μὲν συγκείμενον τοῦ σώματος καὶ συγγενοῖς τῇ φαινομένῃ κτίσει (ἐκ γῆς γὰρ σύγκειται καὶ ἀέρος καὶ ὕδατος καὶ

ex multis compositum membris, tam rationabilium ordinum quam sensibilium. fabricauit autem animal unum, id est, hominem, qui et ad inuisibiles naturas propinquitatem sibi anima uindicaret, et uisibilibus naturis corpore iungeretur. ex quattuor enim integris elementis, terra, inquio, et aere et aqua et igne, corpus composuit nostrum; et quasi quoddam amicitiae pignus totius creaturae fecit esse hominem, utpote omnibus in eum coadunatis. mouentur autem omnia quae sunt sensibilia propter hominis necessitatem. rationabiles uero uirtutes insistunt pro nobis uisibilibus, ut commoueant ea secundum nostram necessitatem. ministrant uero et illis rebus quae pro nostra sunt salute, si tamen uerum sit illud quod a Paulo dictum est: *nonne omnes* (inquit) *sunt ministrationis spiritus, in ministerium missi propter eos qui capiunt hereditare salutem?* sed subintroducta est mors peccantibus nobis; fiebat autem hinc separatio quaedam utrorumque. anima enim a corpore separabatur; et

5 inquit *CH* 9 homines *C** 10 eam *CH*

πυρός), ἀοράτου δὲ τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ οἰκείας τοῖς ἀοράτοις· καὶ δὴ πεποίηκεν αὐτὸν ὥσπερ τι φιλίας ἐνέχυρον τοῖς πᾶσιν.

9. *rationabiles uero uirtutes*, &c.] Cf. Th. on Rom. *l. c.*, ἐφεστᾶσιν αὐτοῖς [i. e. τοῖς φαινομένοις] αἱ νοηταὶ φύσεις, πρὸς τὸ ἡμῖν ὠφέλιμον αὐτὰ κινοῦσαι..... καὶ μὴν καὶ τοῖς πρὸς διδασκαλίαν τῆς εὐσεβείας εἰς ἡμετέραν ὠφέλειαν ὑπηρετεῖσθαι σύνηθες αὐτοῖς, ὡς ὁ ἀπόστολός φησιν· 'οὐχὶ πάντες εἰσὶν λειτ. πν.', κ.τ.λ. See also his comm. on Exod. xxvi. (Migne, 648) and on Zech. vi. (ib., 538), 'τέσσαρα ἅρματα' λέγει, δηλῶν τὰς ἐν τοῖς τέσσαρσιν κλίμασιν τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐφεστώσας ἀοράτους δυνάμεις, κ.τ.λ.

12. *quod a Paulo d. e.*] Th. repeatedly implies or even expressly asserts the Pauline authorship of the Ep. to the Hebrews; see on Gal. iii. 19, Eph. i. 16, Col. i. 16, 18: ii. 18, 1 Tim. iii. 13; and Sachau, p. [illegible] (12), where Heb. i. 14 is again cited as S. Paul's. See also Th.'s prologue to the Ep. (Fr., p. 171).

nonne omnes, &c.] Heb. i. 14. *Ministrationis spiritus* is a singular rendering of λειτουργικὰ πν.; the Latin versions had "ministri" or "administratorii." *Qui capiunt hereditare* looks like an attempt to emend the Vulg. ("qui hereditatem capient"). Or is *capiunt* here = *incipiunt* (cf. p. 51, l. 24, note)? This passage is quoted with the same purpose in a fragment of Th. preserved by Thdt. (*quaest. in Gen.* c. i.); αἵ τε ἀόρατοι δυνάμεις, ὅτι πᾶσαι τοῖς θείοις βουλήμασιν ὑπηρετοῦνται πρὸς τὸ ἡμῖν λυσιτελοῦν, Παῦλος ὁ μακάριος διδάσκει λέγων· οὐχὶ πάντες, κ.τ.λ.

14. *subintroducta est mors*] παρεισήχθη, παρείσακτος ἐγένετο: cf. supra, pp. 16, l. 15; 17, l. 6. There is doubtless a reference to Rom. v. 12, ἡ ἁμαρτία εἰσῆλθεν καὶ διὰ τῆς ἁμαρτίας ὁ θάνατος. Comp. again the comm. on Rom. viii. 19, παραβὰς θνητὸς ἐγένετο διὰ τῆς ἀποφάσεως, ἐχωρίζετό τε ὡς εἰκὸς ἡ ψυχὴ τοῦ σώματος καὶ ὁ μηχανηθεὶς διὰ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου σύνδεσμος τῆς κτίσεως διελύετο. On Th.'s opinion with regard to the mortality of human nature, see p. 25, l. 5, note.

corpus separatum solutionem plenariam sustinebat. dissoluebatur ergo secundum hoc creaturae copulatio. omnia ergo tam illa quae in caelis sunt, quam quae super terram, 'instaurauit,' (uel potius 'recapitulauit') *in Christo*, quasi quandam compendiosam renouationem et redintegrationem totius faciens creaturae per eum. faciens enim incorruptum corpus et inpassibile per resurrectionem, et reddens illud ad inmortale suae animae, ita ut ultra ad illud separari non possit corruptum, uniuersae creaturae uinculum amicitiae uisus est condonasse. quod et multo amplius in ipso factum est, omni creatura ad illud nos inspiciente, propter inhabitantem Deum Verbum, dum diuina in illum natura ab omnibus per hanc existimatur intueri. hanc ergo 'capitulationem omnium' uocauit, eo quod omnia collecta sunt in unum, et ad unum quoddam inspiciunt, concordantes sibi; eo quod hanc intentionem olim Opifex habuit et ad hoc omnia a principio construxit, quod nunc impleuit cum multa facilitate, in illis quae erga Christum extitisse uidentur. hoc autem in futuro saeculo erit, quando homines

8 sperari C^*H 10, 11 omnem creaturam ad illud inspicientem C o. cr. ad illud nos inspicientem H 14 collata H

8. *ad illud*] Read perhaps *ab illo*. Pitra would omit *ad* (*Spic. Solesm.* i. 568).

9. *uniuersae creaturae uinculum*] Cf. Th. on Rom. *l. c.*, *μενεῖ μὲν ὁ καθόλου σύνδεσμος διάλυσιν οὐδεμίαν ἐπιδεχόμενος τοῦ λοιποῦ, μενεῖ δὲ ἄρρηκτος καὶ τῇ κτίσει πρὸς ἑαυτὴν ἡ φιλία*. Also the fragment already referred to in Thdt. (*quaest. in Gen.*): *πρόδηλον τοίνυν ὅτι ἵνα κόσμον ἀποτελέσαι τὸ σύμπαν βουληθεὶς ὁ θεός, καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν κτίσιν ἐκ διαφόρων φύσεων συστᾶσαν...εἰς ἕν τι συναγαγεῖν ἐθελήσας, σύνδεσμον ἁπάντων τὸν ἄνθρωπον κατεσκεύασεν, κ.τ.λ.* Irenaeus has the same idea, but from his point of view the Incarnation is the *vinculum*; cf. iii. 21. 9, 10: "recapitulatur omnia in se et antiquam plasmationem in se recapitulatus est," &c. So Severianus (Cramer, vi. 115): *ἐπειδὴ ἔπεσεν ὁ πλασθεὶς διὰ τῆς παρακοῆς, καὶ ἀσεβησάντων ἀνθρώπων ἀπηλλοτριώθη τὰ ἐπουράνια τῶν ἐπιγείων, ἐλθὼν πάντα ἀνεκεφαλαιώσατο* (citing Col. i. 20).

10. *omni creatura inspiciente*] See vv. ll. and cf. p. 153, l. 15. Pitra: "diceres hic esse quoddam absolutum accusativum. Sed correximus expungentes *m* ubique; eam enim litteram uetustis codicibus temere inspergi et in fine uerborum saepissime abundare multi notarunt."

11. *propter inhabitantem D. V.*] See p. 58, l. 13, note.

12. *intueri*] Passive; unless we should read *diuinam...naturam*. *Intuere* is used by Commodian (31. 1. De Vit.).

13. *capitulatio*] *κεφαλαίωσις* (?).

16. *ad hoc omnia a princ. constr.* Cf. Sachau, p. ۵۰ (10), where Th. when stating this view remarks: ...

cuncti necnon et rationabiles uirtutes ad illum inspiciant, ut fas exigit, et concordiam inter se pacemque firmam obtineant.'

et dicens duo illa quae a Christo sunt facta, unum quidem quod proprium est nobis, alterum uero quod in commune bonum, adicit:

in quo et sorte constituti sumus, praeordinati secundum propositum eius, qui in omnia inoperatur secundum consilium uoluntatis suae; ut simus in laudem gloriae eius nos qui et ante sperauimus in Christo.

praecedentibus illud reddidit, hoc dicens, quoniam 'in omnibus his bonis et nos uocati sumus, olim in hoc a Deo praeordinati.' uolens enim omni ex parte illa extollere, quod multo digna sunt gratiarum actionis, frequenter dicit *praeordinationem*, et *bonum placitum*, et *uoluntatem*, gratiam illam deliberatam docens et liberalitatem; sicut et praeordinauit et uoluit illa quae secundum nos sic facere, nihil nobis conferentibus de proprio nostro. bene autem dixit: *qui et ante sperauimus in Christo;* ut dicat quoniam 'horum maxime bonorum adepti, causa illi demirationis erimus, ob eam quam erga nos exhibuit liberalitatem, qui et ante exitum rei credidimus Christo, et de his spem accepimus.' non enim, sicut quidam existimauerunt, eos qui et ante sperauerunt dicit, hoc est, illos qui tunc crediderunt antequam ceteri in nouissimis crederent temporibus. stultum est enim aestimare erga illos solos fieri illa bona quae expectantur, et ad laudem gloriae Dei solos illos pertinere; cum in commune omnibus qui usque ad consummationem saeculi erunt Christi donatio proposita esse uideatur. nam quod dixit *qui ante sperauimus*, in comparatione incredulorum dicit; ut dicat illos qui ante exitum rei, per illam fidem quae in Christo est,

4 illis (*bef* nobis) *add* H^* 6 praepositum *H* 10 est (*bef* dicens) *add* C^* *H* 13 actiones C^*H actione *C* (*corr*) 15 sic (*for* sicut) *H* 16 sic *om C* (*corr*) 17 benedixit autem dixit H^* 20 Christum *H* 24 enim est *C* 25 cum *om H* 26 et (*for* erunt) *H*

7. *qui in omnia inop.*] τοῦ τὰ πάντα ἐνεργοῦντος. Vulg., "qui omnia op."

12. *uolens...uoluntatem*] Lanfranc, R. of B.

21. *non enim sicut quidam*, &c.] Th. interprets τοὺς προηλικιώτας of 'all believers to the end of time,' rejecting the exposition which understood 'the first generation of Christians.' Cf. Oec., τουτέστιν τοὺς πιστούς: and Thpht., more distinctly, τοὺς πρὶν ἢ ἐπιστῆ ὁ μέλλων αἰὼν ἐλπίζοντας τὰ τότε ἡμῖν ἐσόμενα.

qui etiam et ista se adquirere sperant; optime de his dicens, qui maxime adepti sunt illa bona quae expectantur, qui maiorem Deo gloriam reportare uidebantur. nam quod dicit *nos* non de illis qui tunc erant dicit, sed in communi de omnibus qui quolibet tempore credunt. et quoniam usque ad praesens in communi omnia dixit in persona credentium, adicit:

in quo et uos, audientes uerbum ueritatis, euangelium salutis uestrae—in quo credentes signati estis Spiritu promissionis sancto, arra hereditatis nostrae in redemptionem adquisitionis, in laudem gloriae eius.

'†ipso enim modo et uos uerba euangelii audistis, et ad fidem accessistis, et Spiritus participatione confirmationem accepistis.' hoc enim dicit, *signati estis.* adquirebatur autem eis firmitas per gratiam Spiritus, per illa miracula quae tunc a credentibus fiebant, quae erga fidem maiori eos nexu stringebant. bene autem illud Spiritum *promissionis* uocauit, quoniam

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'τῷ γὰρ αὐτῷ δὴ τρόπῳ (φησὶν) τῶν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου ῥημάτων ἀκούσαντες, τῇ τε πίστει προσεληλύθατε καὶ τῇ τοῦ πνεύματος μετουσίᾳ τὴν βεβαίωσιν ἐδέξασθε' τοῦτο γὰρ λέγει τὸ ἐσφραγίσθητε. προσεγίνετο δὲ αὐτοῖς διὰ τῆς τοῦ πνεύματος χάριτος ἡ βεβαίωσις τῶν ἀκολουθούντων ὡς εἰκὸς θαυμάτων, μειζόνως εἰς τὴν πίστιν ἐπισφίγγον αὐτούς. καλῶς δὲ αὐτὸ πνεῦμα τῆς ἐπαγγελίας ἐκάλεσεν,

4 erat *H* 6 in commune *H* 9 adquisitionem *C* 12 participationem $C^{*}H$: *see g.* 13 estis *om H* | adquerebatur C^{*} adquirebat *H* 15 quia *C* (*corr*) 17 sq. Coisl. 204, f. 56 a [Cr. vi. 117, Fr. 132] *θεόδωρός φησιν· τῷ αὐτῷ δὴ τρόπῳ, κ.τ.λ.*

3. *nam quod dicit* nos, &c.] Comp. the comm. on 1 Thess. iv. 15, infra.

11. *ipso enim modo*, &c.] From the following passage Lanfranc cites four detached fragments: (1) "in ipso [=in Christo—a correction of *ipso modo* (= eodem modo—see Gk.), which he failed to understand] et uos uerba euangelii audistis, et ad fidem accessistis et Spiritus participatione conf. acc.; hoc enim dicit *sign. estis.*" (2) "bene autem *Sp. promissionis* uocauit, quoniam bona quae expectant [sic. *ed.*] in futuro, S. Spiritus participatione [—m, *ed.*] expectant [sic]." (3) "*hereditatem* [redemptionem, *ed.*] illam fruitionem quae tunc erit uocat, quod formae illius [sic: *leg.* firme illis] dabitur." (4) "*redemptionem* uocat immortalitatem quae erit per resurrectionem; *acquisitionem* uero familiaritatem quae ad Deum erit."

14. *per illa miracula*, &c.] Cf. p. 1, l. 4, note.

16. *Spiritum promissionis*] Th. regards ἐπαγγελίας as epexegetical—'the Spirit Whose Presence is the promise of all future blessings.' Thpht. offers this view as an alternative: ἢ ὅτι τὴν τῶν μελλόντων ἀγαθῶν ἐπαγγελίαν τὸ πνεῦμα βεβαιοῖ.

omnia bona quae expectantur in futuro saeculo adesse credentibus Spiritus sancti participatione expectantur.* sicut enim et in superioribus diximus, quoniam de his quae potituri sunt promissionem accipiebant, in qua ordine primitiarum particulam quandam gratiae in praesenti uita ad confirmationem futurorum percipiebant, sicut et apostolus Romanis scribit dicens: *non solum autem, sed et ipsi primitias Spiritus habentes, et ipsi in nobis ipsis ingemiscimus filiorum adoptionem expectantes, redemptionem corporis nostri.* unde illud et manifestius explanans adiecit: *qui est arra hereditatis nostrae;* '†heredi- tatem' quidem illam fruitionem quae tunc erit uocans, eo quod et firme illis dabitur; 'arram' uero hereditatis, donum quod hic praebetur dicit Spiritus, eo quod de futuris promissiones accipientes, et perfectam Spiritus expectantes participationem, exiguas quasdam, sicut dixi, primitias in praesenti accipere uidebantur,* quod et ordinem arrae obtinere uidebatur; necessarie per illud quod dabatur eis iam hinc expectantibus et illud quod perfectum est tempore sibi tribui competenti. 'audientes ergo uos et credentes, de futuris promissionem percepistis,

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ἐπειδὴ πάντα τὰ προσδοκώμενα αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος αἰῶνος πρόσεσται ἀγαθὰ τῇ τοῦ πνεύματος μετουσίᾳ.

κληρονομίαν τῶν τότε καλεῖ τὴν ἀπόλαυσιν ἅτε δὴ βεβαίως αὐτοῖς διδομένων· ἀρραβῶνα δὲ τῆς κληρονομίας, τὴν ἐνταῦθα δόσιν τοῦ πνεύματος, ἐπειδὴ τὰς περὶ τῶν μελλόντων ἐπαγγελίας δεχόμενοι καὶ τὴν τελείαν τοῦ πνεύματος προσδοκῶντες μετάδοσιν, βραχεῖάν τινα, ὥσπερ οὖν εἶπον, ἀπαρχὴν τοῦ παρόντος ἐλάμβανον.

1, 2 expectamus *H* (*bis*) creduntur (2°) *C* (*corr*) 4 ordinem *C*H* 13 praebet Sp. d. *H* | promissionis *C** promissionibus *C* (*corr*) 14 accipientis *C** | ex (*for* et) *C*H* 19 et (*aft* ergo) *add C* 21 προσέσθαι Cr.

6. *sicut et ap. Rom. scribit*] Rom. viii. 23; cited also above, pp. 38, 56, where see notes.

10. *qui est arra*] ὅς ἐστιν ἀρραβών. So Chrys., Thdt., Oec.; "qui est pignus," Vulg. In the text (*supra*, p. 132) the relative is omitted, perhaps by accident. On the translation of ἀρραβών, see S. Jerome's remarks *ad h. l.* Card. Pitra, after citing Jerome, observes that Vigilius Taps. stands alone among the Latin fathers in the use of *arra* in this text. Cf. Sabatier, *ad h. l.*; and see p. 43, l. 12, note.

16. *ordinem arrae obtinere uid.*] ἀρραβῶνος τάξιν ἐπέχει (Thdt.). As to the sense, cf. Chrys.: τεκμήριον ποιεῖται τῆς τῶν μελλόντων ἐπαγγελίας τὰ ἤδη δεδομένα. διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἀρραβῶνα καλεῖ. ὁ γὰρ ἀρραβὼν μέρος ἐστὶν τοῦ παντός.

et quasi quandam arram futurorum Spiritus gratiam accepistis. tunc uero ab omnibus istis liberabimini tristitiis, et familiariter ei eritis adiuncti, et eius gloriae participabitis; ita ut et multa laus ei pro uobis hinc possit adnasci.' 'adquisitionem' enim dicit illam familiaritatem quae ad Deum est; †*redemptionem* autem, id est, *adquisitionis*, quae per resurrectionem et inmortalitatem tunc aderit illis, liberantem eos a peccato, et familiaritatem illam quae apud eum est hisdem tribuentem; ex quibus eius gloriae participabunt. qua ergo ratione demiratione dignum illum ostendebamus, qui tantorum bonorum nobis causa extitit. hoc enim dicit: *in laudem gloriae eius.** deinde et ampliores eos laudibus faciens, libera est enim humana natura, et ad id quod expetit laudibus magis solet accendi:

ἀπολύτρωσιν περιποιήσεως τὸ διὰ τῆς ἀναστάσεως καὶ τῆς ἀθανασίας τῶν ἐντεῦθεν ἀπαλλαττομένους κακῶν τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν οἰκείωσιν λαμβάνειν· ἀφ' ὧν τῆς παρ' αὐτοῦ μετασχόντες δόξης εἰκότως θαυμαστὸν ἐκεῖνον ἐνδείκνυμεν τὸν τοσούτων αἴτιον ἡμῖν τῶν ἀγαθῶν γεγονότα· τοῦτο γὰρ λέγει τὸ εἰς ἔπαινον τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ.

2 liberamini *H** 4 eius (*for* ei) *H* | pro uobis *om H* 7 aderunt, liberantes *CH* 8 isdem *C* (*corr*) 9 ea (*after* part.) *add CH* 10 ostendemus *C* (*corr*) [ostendimus *g*] 12 enim est *C* | aliud (*for* ad id) *CH* 14 sq. Coisl. 204, f. 58 b [Cr. vi. 122, Fr. 132] θεόδωρός φησιν· ἀπολύτρωσιν, κ.τ.λ. 15 αὐτὸν cod., Cr.

4. '*adquisitionem*' *enim dicit*, &c.] περιποίησιν γὰρ λέγει τὴν πρὸς τὸν θεὸν οἰκείωσιν [cf. Gk. infra]. Similarly Thdt.: οὗτος (φησὶν) ὁ ἀρραβὼν ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος ἡμῖν ἐδόθη ὥστε ἡμᾶς ἐλευθερῶσαι μὲν τῆς τοῦ δυσμενοῦς τυραννίδος, προσοικειῶσαι δὲ τῷ θεῷ. And Severianus (Cramer, vi. 127): ἡ ἀπολύτρωσις τῆς περιποιήσεώς ἐστιν· ἵνα γὰρ περιποιηθῶμεν καὶ οἰκειωθῶμεν τῷ θεῷ, ἀπολυτρούμεθα. Thus the whole phrase εἰς ἀπολ. τῆς. π. will mean, "with a view to the full recovery of our privileges as the sons of God."

9. *gloriae participabunt*] For the genitive, cf. the Gk. l. 16. So in l. 3: "gloriae participabitis." *Ea* after *participabunt* (see vv. ll.), is clearly wrong; perhaps we should read "ex qua ergo ratione." It will be observed that the translator has departed from the construction of the Greek, to the detriment of the sense; unless it should be thought that the catena presents in this place an abbreviated and somewhat distorted form of the original.

12. *libera est enim humana natura*, &c.] Cf. p. 89, l. 15, note; and see Sachau, p. ܝܚ (11): ܘܬܪܬܝܗ[ܢ] ܗܠܝܢ ܟܠܢ] ܩܢܝܢ ܚܢܢ: ܗܝ ܕܐܢ ܢܨܒܐ ܣܥܪܝܢ ܚܢܢ: ܘܐܠܐ ܢܒܥܐ ܠܐ [ܣܥܪܝܢ ܚܢܢ].

ad id q. e.] Card. Pitra retains the reading of the Corbie MS. It is con-

propter hoc et ego audiens illam quae est secundum uos fidem in domino Iesu et caritatem quam habetis in omnibus sanctis, non cesso gratias agens pro uobis, memoriam uestri faciens in orationibus meis.

†hoc autem necessarie adiecit; non solum propter eos, sed ut ne existimaretur quod incusans illam quam acceperant doctrinam, suam uellet abuti. etiamsi non Iohannes illis, sed alter aliquis praedicator pietatis fuisset, qui ueritatis dogmata illis tradiderat, necessaria erat adiectio.* et quoniam dixit non solum gratias se agere, sed et orare pro eis, adicit ipsam orationem quae continet doctrinam conuenientium illis, quam et ipsius orationis explanans narrationem publicare uidetur:

ut Deus domini nostri Iesu Christi, Pater gloriae.

hic ostendit quoniam Christi Deum dicit, susceptum indicans hominem. 'Deum' enim dicens 'Christi,' 'Patrem' uero 'gloriae,' eo quod et consuetudo est ei gloriae nomen erga diuinam ponere

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τοῦτο ἀναγκαίως προστέθεικεν οὐκ αὐτῶν μόνον ἕνεκεν, ἀλλ' ὥστε καὶ μὴ δοκεῖν, ἐπιμεμφόμενον οἷς ἤδη παρέλαβον, κεχρῆσθαι τῇ πρὸς αὐτοὺς διδασκαλίᾳ. εἰ γὰρ καὶ μὴ Ἰωάννης ἀλλ' ἕτερός τις τῶν εὐσέβειαν κηρυττόντων ἦν ὁ τὰ τῆς ἀληθείας δόγματα αὐτοῖς παραδούς, ἀναγκαία ἡ προσθήκη.

7 sua *C* (*corr*) 8 dogma *H* 14 Domini (*for* Deum) *C* 16 divina *CH* 17 προτέθεικεν cod., Fr.

firmed by *H*; but the correction I have made seems to be required by the sense.

1. *quae est secundum uos f.*] τὴν καθ' ὑμᾶς π. The Latin authorities less accurately render, "fidem uestram," "fide uestra." So just below, where the versions have merely "caritatem" or "dilectionem," our translator is careful to bring out the sense of the second article (τὴν ἀγάπην τὴν εἰς, κ.τ.λ., "caritatem quam habetis," &c.). On the other hand he betrays his indifference as to the use of the Latin cases, rendering εἰς ἁγίους, "in sanctis."

7. *etiamsi non Iohannes*] Comp. p. 115, l. 1, note.

14. *Christi Deum*, &c.] Comp. p. 120, l. 11, note.

16. *consuetudo est ei*, &c.] Cf. Thdt.: τὸν γὰρ αὐτὸν τοῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ θεὸν ἐκάλεσεν καὶ πατέρα. θεὸν μὲν ὡς ἀνθρώπου, πατέρα δὲ ὡς θεοῦ· δόξαν γὰρ τὴν θείαν φύσιν ὠνόμασεν [citing, like Th., Heb. i. 3]. And to the same effect Severianus (Cr. vi. p. 127—8): δόξαν δὲ πολλάκις ἡ γραφὴ λέγει αὐτὴν τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν οὐσίαν... λέγει δὲ Παῦλος· ὃς ὢν ἀπαύγασμα τῆς δόξης· ποίας δόξης; καὶ, χαρακτὴρ τῆς ὑποστάσεως αὐτοῦ. κἀνταῦθα τοίνυν τὸ μὲν θεὸς τοῦ κ. Ἰ. Χ., κατὰ τὴν σάρκα λέγει· τὸ δὲ πατὴρ τῆς δόξης, κατὰ τὴν φύσιν. This interpretation had been anticipated by Athan. and Greg. Naz.; see Suicer, i. 944. Chrys. on the other

naturam; et quod et gloriosa sit et demirabilis, sicut et ad Hebraeos dicit, *qui est splendor gloriae;* pro quibus debuit dicere 'Dei' siue 'diuinae naturae.'

det uobis Spiritum sapientiae et reuelationis in cognitione ipsius, inluminatos habere oculos cordis uestri.

†'hoc (inquit) postulo, ut praestetur uobis a Deo Spiritus sancti gratia; ut repleat uos sapientia et cognitione Dei, suscipientes inenarrabilium reuelationem; ita ut sensus uestri ad instar luminis per cognitionem Spiritus claritate emicantes habeantur.' quapropter?

ut sciatis quae est spes uocationis uestrae.

hoc est, 'in qua spe estis uocati ab eo.' uocati autem sumus in spe utique futurorum; unde adicit:

et quae sunt diuitiae gloriae hereditatis eius in sanctis.

τοῦτο αἰτῶ (φησὶν) ὡς ἂν παρασχεθείη ὑμῖν παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ πνεύματος χάρις εἰς τὸ σοφίας τε ὑμᾶς πληρωθῆναι καὶ ἐπιγνώσεως τοῦ θεοῦ, δεξαμένους τῶν ἀπορρήτων τὴν ἀποκάλυψιν, ὥστε τὴν διάνοιαν ὑμῶν φωτὸς δίκην τῇ ἀπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος καταλάμπεσθαι γνώσει. τίνος ἕνεκεν; ΕΙΣ ΤΟ ΕΙΔΕΝΑΙ ΥΜΑΣ ΤΙΣ ΕΣΤΙΝ Η ΕΛΠΙΣ ΤΗΣ ΚΛΗΣΕΩΣ ΑΥΤΟΥ· ἀντὶ τοῦ· ἐπὶ ποίαις ἐλπίσιν κεκλήμεθα παρ' αὐτοῦ. ΚΑΙ ΤΙΣ Ο ΠΛΟΥΤΟΣ ΤΗΣ ΔΟΞΗΣ ΤΗΣ ΚΛΗΡΟΝΟΜΙΑΣ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΕΝ ΤΟΙΣ ΑΓΙΟΙΣ·

3 diuina *C* 5 cordis *om H* 7 sapientiae *C** 8 ad *om C (corr)* 9 claritatem *CH* 15 sq. Coisl. 204, f. 61 a, b [Cr. vi. 128, Fr. 132] *θεόδωρος δέ φησιν εἰς τὸ δώῃ ὑμῖν πνεῦμα σοφίας καὶ ἀποκαλύψεως καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς· τοῦτο αἰτῶ, κ.τ.λ.*

hand explains ὁ πατὴρ τῆς δ. as = ὁ μεγάλα ἡμῖν δεδωκὼς ἀγαθά, comparing ὁ πατὴρ τῶν οἰκτιρμῶν (2 Cor. i. 3).

Lanfranc abridges this passage: "dicens *Christi* susceptum indicat hominem. *Pater gloriae;* gloriosa est enim divina natura."

4. *in cognitione*] ἐν ἐπιγνώσει. The O. L. and Vulg. less exactly, "in agnitione;" and the same difference of rendering occurs at Eph. iv. 13, Col. i. 10, 11 (*C*) and 1 Tim. ii. 4 (*C*), Tit. i. 1, Philem. 6., *agnitio* being retained by our translator only in Col. i. 9 and iii. 10.

5. *inluminatos habere oculos*] So Ambrstr. It is impossible to say whether *cordis* is a reminiscence of the Vulg., or an independent rendering of Th.'s text. In Thdt. *ad h. l.* the MSS. waver between καρδίας and διανοίας.

11. *uestrae*] The mistake is apparently due to the translator; the comm. (l. 12) presupposes αὐτοῦ, and cf. Gk. (l. 20).

'et quanta aderit fruitio bonorum sanctis Dei in futuro saeculo.' bene autem *gloriam hereditatis* uocauit, eo quod et gloriosi efficiemur tunc per magnitudinem donationis. *diuitias* autem *gloriae* dixit, ut dicat donationum eminentiam.* etenim multa quaedam est erga nos Dei liberalitas, siquidem soluta morte in incorruptibilitate constituti, ultra peccare non poterimus; sed in multa quadam commorabimur claritate, perpetuam erga Deum habentes coniunctionem.

et quae sit supereminens magnitudo uirtutis eius in nos qui credidimus.

'et qualia uel quam magna erga nos, qui in eum credidimus, ab eo efficientur.'

considera autem et hoc in loco quemadmodum modis omnibus extollit uerbum sub gratiarum actione, prout conueniens erat; non dicens *gloriam hereditatis* absolute, sed *diuitias gloriae;* neque *uirtutem eius quae in nobis est,* sed neque *magnitudinem uirtutis* solum, sed uehementius secundum id quod esse uidetur, dixit: *supereminens magnitudo uirtutis.*

secundum operationem potentiae fortitudinis eius.

et hoc in loco non dixit *fortitudinis* absolute, sed *secundum potentiam fortitudinis;* ut dicat: illius magnae et potentis

quam operatus est in Christo, suscitans eum ex mortuis.

καὶ ὅση τις περίεσται κτῆσις ἀγαθῶν τοῖς τοῦ θεοῦ ἁγίοις ἐπὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος αἰῶνος· καλῶς δὲ δόξαν μὲν κληρονομίας ἐκάλεσεν ὡς ἂν ἐπιδίξων τότε γινομένων ἡμῶν· πλοῦτον δὲ δόξης, ἵνα εἴπῃ τῶν δωρεῶν τὴν ὑπερβολήν.

6 incorruptibilitatem *H* 23 τῆς (for τοῖς) Cr.

4. *ut d. donationum eminentiam*] Thdt.: *μὴ δυνάμενος...τῶν δωρεῶν ὑποδεῖξαι τὸ μέγεθος, πολλὰ κατὰ ταὐτὸν ὀνόματα συναθροίζει, δεῖξαι ταῦτα φιλονεικῶν κατὰ δύναμιν. διὰ τοῦτο ἐλπίδα κλήσεως, καὶ πλοῦτον δόξης κληρονομίας,... καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὅσα τοιαῦτα συναγείρει.*

11. *et qualia*, &c.] Lanfranc: "id est qualia et quam magna erga nos qui in eum credimus ab eo efficientur. [Here he adds (from Th., see p. 138, l. 2) "et hoc explanat memoranda quae in Christo facta sunt," and then resumes] et considera quia non dicit *gl. hered.* absolute sed *diuit. gl.;* neque *uirtutem eius*, sed neque *magn. uirt. eius*, sed vehementius, *quae sit supereminens*, &c.

20. *fortitudinis.*] *τῆς ἰσχύος.* So Hil. Ambrstr. and the fragments published by Ziegler, p. 117, B.

22. *ex mortuis*] *ἐκ νεκρῶν.* All the Latin authorities give *a mort.*

bene explanans magnitudinem illorum quae erga nos facta sunt, illa memoratus est quae secundum Christum sunt; a quo omnis erga nos liberalitas principium sumpsisse uidetur. hoc ergo dicit, quoniam 'oro ut cognoscatis illa quae erga nos facta sunt; quam magnam habent ostensionem uirtutis, et quemadmodum suscitauit Christum ex mortuis.' deinde adicit quod maius est:

et sedere fecit in dexteram suam in caelestibus, super omnem principatum et potestatem et uirtutem et dominationem et omne nomen quod nominatur non solum in saeculo hoc, sed et in futuro.

nam quod dicit, *sedere fecit in dexteram suam,* hoc est, 'participem illum honoris accepit,' de suscepto homine id dicens; eo quod propter inhabitantem in eum naturam Dei Verbi ab omnibus habet adorari. unde adicit: *super omnes.* quod etiam et maius ostendere uolens, adicit: *et omne nomen quod nominatur* [*non solum*] *in saeculo hoc sed et in futuro;* hoc est, 'siue aliquid secundum praesentem uitam nominatur et cognoscitur esse magnum apud nos, siue in futuro cognoscere poterimus quod nunc forsitan nescimus, omnium illorum superiorem illum fecit.' unde illud et confirmans adicit:

3 omnes *C** 4 quin (*for* quoniam) *H* 5 eo (*for* et) *H* 13 eo (*for* eum) *C* (*corr*) 14 hominibus (*for* omnibus) *H* 16 non solum *om C H* | sed *om H*

11. *nam quod dicit,* &c.] Lanfranc: "Ambros. *Constituens,* hoc est, participem illum honoris accepit; de suscepto homine id dicens, propter inhabitantem mecum ["*f.* secum," *ed.*; better, as in our text, *in eum*] naturam Verbi Dei." Robert of B., who on this occasion seems to have had access to the comm. itself, or at least has not drawn only from Lanfranc as edited: "Am. *Sederę eum fecit* ad dexteram suam; hoc est, participem illum honoris accepit; de suscepto homine id dicit, eo quod propter inhabitantem in eo naturam Verbi Dei ab omnibus habet adorari." On the adoration of the *homo susc.*, see p. 57, l. 12, note: and cf. the Theodorean ecthesis (Migne, 1018), where Eph. i. 21 is cited and similarly applied.

17. *siue aliquid...illum fecit*] Cited by Lanfranc and Robert of B.; but in the printed text of the former *quod* stands for *apud* and *siue* (2^0) is omitted. Cf. Thdt.: καὶ εἴ τινας τούτων [sc. τῶν ὁρᾶτων] ἀγνοοῦμεν μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα γνωσόμεθα ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι βίῳ, καὶ οὗτα πάντες ὑπόκειν-ται. To the same effect Severianus [?] (Cramer, vi. 128): ἐπειδὴ δέ ἐστιν μυρία τάγματα ὁρᾶτων δυνάμεων ἡμῖν ἄγνωστα καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἀκατονόμαστα, μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἀνάστασιν ἔσται γνωστὰ καὶ λήψεται μετὰ τῆς γνώσεως καὶ τὴν παρ' ἡμῶν προση-γορίαν, διὰ τοῦτο εἶπεν καὶ ἐν τῷ μέλ-λοντι.

et omnia subiecit sub pedibus eius.

compendiose dicere uoluit, 'omnium illum dominum constituit.' et quidem apud nos

ipsum dedit caput super omni ecclesia quae est corpus eius, plenitudo eius qui omnia in omnibus adimpletur.

'commune (inquit) est hoc bonum omnibus nobis, qui credidimus.' quare? 'quoniam corpus eius sumus omnes nos qui credimus, similitudine naturae participationem suscipientes gratiae Spiritus illius qui in eo factus est. quod enim erga illum factum est in chrismatis ordine susceptum—*Spiritus* (inquit) *Domini super me, propter quod unxit me*—huic Spiritui et nos participantes per regenerationem illam, participationem percepimus quae apud eum est; ueram quidem copulationem in futuro saeculo percipientes, quando et resurrectionis eius participes efficiemur. nam primitias quasdam Spiritus ex eo accepimus in baptismate secundum praesens saeculum, quod baptisma formam habere mortis et resurrectionis existimatur; in quorum et formam constitui iam amodo credimus, corpus quidem eius omnes esse eos qui credunt existimantes. 'ecclesiam' enim fidelium nuncupat congregationem; 'caput' autem

1 sub *om H* 5 quia *CH*: *see note* 10 susceptus *C*H* suscepistis *C* (*corr*)
13 uerum *H* 16 praesentem *C*H* 17 existimamur *CH*

4. *super omni ecclesia*] Cf. p. 142, l. 14, "super omnem ecclesiam." And so the verse is cited below, on Col. i. 19. *Super omnem ecclesiam* is the rendering of Ambrstr., Aug., and Ziegler's fragm. *Super omni ecclesia* is cited (by Ziegler, p. 117, c, note) from a MS. of cent. x.

5. *qui*] Though our MSS. agree here in giving *quia*, yet below, p. 140, l. 28, *qui* is the reading of *C*; whilst in p. 142, l. 4, it is read also by the Harley MS. I have therefore ventured to treat *quia* in this place as a clerical error.

10. *in chrismatis ordine*] Tert. *adv. Iud.* 13, "unctionem chrismatis regalis."

10, 11. *Spiritus* (*inquit*) *Domini*, &c.] Isai. lxi. 1. (S. Luke iv. 18).

12. *participationem percepimus*] Comp. Th.'s treatise on the Incarnation (Migne, 980): ἠξιώθη γοῦν καὶ τῆς τοῦ πνεύματος ἐνοικήσεως πρῶτος παρὰ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἀνθρώπους..... ὅλην τὴν χάριν τοῦ πνεύματος ἐν ἑαυτῷ ἐδέξατο, ἑτέροις δὲ μερικὴν παρεῖχεν τοῦ παντὸς πνεύματος τὴν μετουσίαν. Also the Latin fragm. on Heb. i. 9 (ἔχρισέν σε...παρὰ τοὺς μετόχους σου): "participes enim eius uidelicet uocat qui et ipsi uncti sunt," &c.

15. *primitias quasdam Sp.*, &c.] Comp. p. 56, l. 4, sq.

16. *praesens*] See vv. ll., and cf. p. 81, l. 7, note.

19. *ecclesiam enim*, &c.] ἐκκλησίαν καλεῖ τὸν σύλλογον τῶν πιστῶν (Thdt. *ad h. l.*). Comp. Th. on 1 Tim. iii. 15, *infra*.

nostrum, illum esse designat. sic et Corinthiis scribens dicit: *etenim in uno Spiritu nos omnes in unum corpus baptizati sumus.* et multis in locis in apostolica interpretatione hunc sensum latius dixisse uidemur, non ex nobis absolute interiectionem eius facientes; sed beatus Paulus frequenter illud adorsus est, quod et aliorum dictorum probatio in hoc consistere uidetur. sicut ergo in uno corpore eligantiorem partem caput esse existimamus, a quo omnis uirtus uiuacitatis ad ceterum deducitur corpus; sic secundum praesentem uitam *unum corpus omnes sumus* homines, eo quod et unius sumus naturae; caput nobis adscribentes Adam, a quo omnis causa ut essemus deriuasse uidetur in nobis. secundum futurum uero factum, secundum quod exsurgentes erimus inmortales, corpus quidem unum erimus omnes; eo quod communem suscepimus resurrectionem, et illam inmortalitatem quae per resurrectionem erit. in ordine uero caput nobis Christus erit, ex quo omnis causa secundae regenerationis in nos deriuasse uidetur. unde et hoc in loco dicens: *supereminens magnitudo uirtutis eius in nos qui credidimus,* illa quae secundum Christum sunt memoratus est primum, a quo omnis aptata esse uidetur liberalitas. et dicens illa quae erga eum sunt magnifice sicut se ueritas habebat, adicit illa quae nostra esse uidentur; quoniam hoc commune nostrum est bonum. in corporis enim ordine ei consistimus; in ultimo quidem ipsis rebus, in forma uero et promissionibus secundum praesentem uitam. caput illum nostrum esse existimamus; ergo communicamus ei in omni honore, et commune bonum omnium est nostrum quodcumque fuerit erga illum. corpus est ecclesia *et plenitudo eius, qui omnia in omnibus*

3 interpretationem *H* 5 faciens *CH* 11, 17 diriuasse *CH* 12 in nobis *om H* | uero futurum *H* 23 ordinem *H* | ei *om H* 25 et (*bef* caput) *add H* 28 ecclesiae *CH* | quia *H*

1. *Corinthiis scribens*] 1 Cor. xii. 13: cf. p. 34, l. 15 sq.; p. 57, l. 5 sq. and notes.

11. *deriuasse uidetur*] Lanfranc thus abridges this passage: "corpus eius sumus, similitudine naturae et partic[ipation]em Spiritus suscipientes; et corpus unum erimus omnes, quia communem suscepimus resurrectionem et immortalitatem. in ordine uero caput nobis Christus erit, ex quo omnis causa sec. reg. in nos deriu. uidetur." Robert of B. cites from Lanfranc "corpus unum... deriu. uidetur," reading, however, *suscipiemus* for the perfect.

adimpletur. †non dixit 'omnia implet,' sed quia ipse *in omnibus adimpletur;* hoc est, 'in omnibus plenus est.' totus enim in unumquemque est propter naturae incircumscriptionem, non secundum partes diuisus. necessaria autem est et illa adiectio qua dixit, *omnia in omnibus;* ostendens quando in omnibus est, totus existens in unumquemque prout quis cogitare uoluerit, siue essentia siue inoperatione siue uirtute siue potestate siue et alio quolibet modo, eo quod per omnia sit incircumscriptus. et ideo in unumquemque totus per omnia esse uidetur, eo

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οὐκ εἶπεν ὅτι τὰ πάντα πληροῖ, ἀλλ' ὅτι αὐτὸς ἐν πᾶσι πληροῦται, τουτέστιν, ἐν πᾶσιν πλήρης ἐστιν· ὅλος ὢν ἐν ἑκάστῳ διὰ τὸ τῆς φύσεως ἀπερίγραφον, οὐ κατὰ μέρη διαιρούμενος. ἀναγκαία δὲ καὶ ἡ τοῦ 'τὰ πάντα' προσθήκη, δεικνύντος ὅτι ἐν πᾶσίν ἐστιν ὅλος ὢν ἐν ἑκάστῳ καθότι ἄν τις ἐννοήσειεν, εἴτε οὐσίᾳ εἴτε ἐνεργείᾳ εἴτε δυνάμει εἴτε ἐξουσίᾳ εἴτε ὅτῳ δήποτε ἑτέρῳ, διὰ τὸ κατὰ πάντα εἶναι αὐτὸν ἀπερίγραφον· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐν ἑκάστῳ ὅλον κατὰ πάντα

3 incircumscriptionem *C*H* 10 sq. Coisl. 204, f. 61 b [Cr. vi. 129].

2. *hoc est, 'in omnibus plenus est'*] Th. (1) takes the clause τοῦ...πληρουμένου to refer either to God the Word or perhaps rather (cf. the comm. on Col. i. 19) to the Father; the latter is certainly the view of Thdt. (ταύτην [*sc.* τὴν ἐκκλησίαν] προσηγόρευσεν τοῦ μὲν Χριστοῦ σῶμα, τὸ δὲ πατρὸς πλήρωμα) and Severianus (? ap. Cramer, vi. 128): πλήρωμα τοῦ θεοῦ λέγει τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ...ἐπειδὴ πεπλήρωται θεοῦ. (2) He regards πληροῦσθαι as = πλήρης εἶναι, and τὰ πάντα as nearly equivalent to ὅλος, so that the clause will mean: 'who by virtue of His omnipresence is in all things with the fulness of His indivisible Deity.' Thdt. agrees with this interpretation of πληρουμένου, but would limit the reference of τὰ πάντα to the life to come: κατὰ τὸν παρόντα βίον ἐν πᾶσιν μέν ἐστιν ὁ θεός· ἀπερίγραπτον γὰρ ἔχει τὴν φύσιν· οὐ πάντα δὲ ἐν πᾶσιν, ἐπειδὴ οἱ μὲν δυσσεβοῦσιν οἱ δὲ παρανομοῦσιν.....ἐν δέ γε τῷ μέλλοντι βίῳ τῆς θνητότητος παυομένης καὶ τῆς ἀθανασίας χορηγουμένης καὶ τῆς ἁμαρτίας οὐκ ἔτι χώραν ἐχούσης, πάντα ἐν πᾶσιν ἔσται [referring to 1 Cor. xv. 28, and his own comm. there]. (3) Both Th. and Thdt. regard πλήρωμα as passive (= τὸ πεπληρωμένον), thus widely differing from Chrys., who explains: τουτέστιν, οἷον κεφαλὴ πληροῦται παρὰ τοῦ σώματος.—Lanfranc cites this passage thus: "hoc est, 'in omnibus plenus est.' necessario autem adiecit *omnia*, ostendens totus existere in omnibus prout quis cogitare uoluerit, siue essentia siue inoperatione siue [siue in *ed.*] uirtute." It will be observed that L. concurs with the Gk. of the catena in omitting *in omnibus* after *omnia:* and this is a distinct gain to the sense.

5. *quando*] = quoniam; see Gk.

quod omnia in omnibus sic esse eum et posse, sicut possibile est eum esse, qui in unumquemque totus est.* sufficienter ergo illum honorem qui erga nos est ostendit, corpus nos dicens esse Christi, et plenitudinem eius *qui omnia in omnibus adimpletur*. hoc dicens: 'quoniam nos fideles corpus quidem sumus Christi. habemus autem prae ceteris in nobis illum qui est incircumscriptus (ut totus sit omnia in omnibus), eligantem quandam ad eum accipientes familiaritatem; siquidem corpus sumus nos Christi, maiorem prae ceteris copulationem ad eum habere digni existimati. caput autem nostrum ille est, in quo diuina natura affectu inhabitat eliganti.' bene et ualde scrupulose quod non dixerit absolute de Christo qui secundum carnem est, de quo omnis illi sermo hactenus fuit, quoniam dedit eum caput ecclesiae, quando *super omnem ecclesiam caput eum dedit*. caput quidem omnium est secundum quod et omnes aliquam

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θεωρεῖσθαι, τῷ πάντα ἐν πᾶσιν εἶναί τε αὐτὸν καὶ δύνασθαι, ὡς εἰκὸς τὸν ἑκάστῳ ὅλον ὄντα.

1, 2 sic esse eum qui unumq. totus est *H* 3 quae *C*H* 9 ceteros *H* 10 haberi *CH* | est ille *H* 12 dixit *H*

6. *prae ceteris*] See vv. ll. For *prae ceteros* = *παρὰ τοὺς λοιποὺς*, cf. Rönsch, *Itala*, p. 422.

10. *in quo diu. nat. aff. inhabitat eliganti*] In a fragment of his treatise on the Incarnation (Migne, 971, sq.), Th. enters at length into the nature of the Divine inhabitation in the *homo susceptus*. (1) He distinguishes the *ἐνοίκησις* of God from His omnipresence; the latter is *οὐσίᾳ καὶ ἐνεργείᾳ*, the former, *εὐδοκίᾳ* (*οὔτε οὐσίᾳ λέγειν οὔτε μὴν ἐνεργείᾳ οἷόν τε ποιεῖσθαι τὸν θεὸν τὴν ἐνοίκησιν. τί οὖν ἄρα ὑπολείπεται;... δῆλον οὖν ὡς εὐδοκίᾳ λέγειν γίνεσθαι τὴν ἐνοίκησιν προσήκει*). God being uncircumscribed in essence and operation pervades the universe; His complacency, however, is not universal (*ἄπειρος μὲν γὰρ ὢν καὶ ἀπερίγραφος τὴν φύσιν πάρεστιν τοῖς πᾶσιν· τῇ δὲ εὐδοκίᾳ, τῶν μὲν ἔστιν μακράν, τῶν δὲ ἐγγύς*). (2) He further distinguishes between the *ἐνοίκησις* in the Man Christ Jesus, and in the Church. In both cases the indwelling is *εὐδοκίᾳ*; in Jesus alone God dwelt *ὡς ἐν υἱῷ*, i.e., *ὥστε ἐνοικήσας ὅλον μὲν ἑαυτῷ τὸν λαμβανόμενον ἤνωσεν, παρεσκεύασεν δὲ αὐτὸν συμμετασχεῖν αὐτῷ πάσης τῆς τιμῆς ἧς αὐτὸς ὁ ἐνοικῶν υἱὸς ὢν φύσει μετέχει*. In the members of Christ the Divine *ἐνοίκησις* is effected through their union with the *homo susceptus*. On the Christology of this important passage, see Dorner, II. i. p. 39 sq. (E. T.).

14. *super omnem ecclesiam*] See above p. 139, l. 4, note. Just below (p. 143, l. 2) the translator is compelled to give up this erroneous version. Th. interprets *ὑπὲρ πάντα* as = *μάλιστα πάντων*, a view in which, I believe, he stands alone. Oec. summarizes: *ἢ ὑπὲρ ἀγγέλους...τὸν υἱὸν ἔδωκεν κεφαλήν. ἢ τὸν ὄντα ὑπὲρ πάντα· ἢ ὑπὲρ πάντα τὰ ἀγαθὰ τοῦτο πεποίηκεν.*

ad eum cognationem habere uidentur; unde et recapitulari omnia in Christo in superioribus dixit. *super omnia* autem nostrum esse caput uidetur, quantum et maior nobis ad eum ex similitudine consistere uidetur familiaritas. et quoniam ostendit magna quidem illa quae secundum Christum sunt usque ad nos uero exinde extendi, gratiam auget datam ex arbitrio suscipientium:

et uos cum essetis mortui in delictis et peccatis uestris, in quibus aliquando ambulastis secundum saeculum mundi huius.

ut dicat, 'in hac praesente uita'; adiciens enim hoc ostendit quoniam saeculum non creaturam dicit, sed temporalem huius saeculi conuersationem qua uiuimus nos in homines.

secundum principem potestatis aeris spiritus, qui nunc operatur in filios diffidentiae.

dicit quidem diabolum. uocat autem eum *principem potestatis aeris spiritus;* eo quod omnes inuisibiles uirtutes imminent uisibilibus ut commoueant ea, secundum communem omnium necessitatem. sunt autem ex illis qui et aeris imminent motui, inter quos diabolus erat. unde illum et *principem potestatis aeris spiritus* uocauit. hoc est, acceperat mandatum ut principaretur aeri, et potestatem haberet commouere eum. hoc

1 cognitionem *H* 3 quanto *C*: *cf. Bensly*, M. F., p. 87 4 similitudinem *H* 12 quae *C* | in *om C H* (*corr*) 17 eas *CH* 21 habere *H*

1. *recapitulari omnia in Chr.*] Comp. p. 128, l. 6, sq. and notes.

8. *in delictis et in peccatis*] Gk. simply, τοῖς παραπτώμασιν. O. L. and Vulg., *peccatis;* Aug. (in one place), *delictis.* Both nouns are given by Or. int. ("delictis et peccatis nostris"), whilst S. Basil cites the Gk. as ταῖς ἁμαρτίαις καὶ τοῖς παραπτώμασιν. In these cases as in our transl., the error is probably due to a confusion of v. 5 with v. 1. See below p. 144, l. 24.

11. *saeculum non creaturam*] Comp. p. 5, l. 18 (Gk.) and see the comm. (Origen's ?) in Cramer vi. pp. 135—6. Lanfranc cites "saeculum.....conversationem."

17. *ut commoueant ea*] See above, on c. i. 10; and below, on c. vi. 13.

20. *acceperat mandatum*] Cf. Th.'s comm. on Rom. viii. 19, where after quoting Eph. ii. 2 he says: ὡς εἶναι δῆλον ἡμῖν ὅτι πρὸ τῆς παραβάσεως εἰς τοὺς ἐφεστῶτας τῇ τοῦ ἀέρος κινήσει ὁ διάβολος συνετέλει. So Thdt. *ad h. l.*: σαφῶς ἡμᾶς ἐδίδαξεν ὡς πάλαι μὲν ὁ διάβολος τοῦ ἀέρος ἐνεπιστεύθη τὴν ἐξουσίαν. ἐκπεσὼν δὲ ταύτης διὰ τὴν πονηρίαν, κ.τ.λ. Lanfranc has misrepresented Th.'s view by a change of tense: "d. mandatum accepit ut principetur ... et ... habeat, &c." Comp. Thpht.'s protest: ἄρχοντά φησιν οὐχ ὡς τοῦ ἀέρος δεσπόζοντα ὥστε οἰκονομεῖν αὐτόν. ἄπαγε· ἀλλ' ὡς αὐτῷ ἐμφιλοχωροῦντα.

21. *hoc enim dicit* 'spiritus'] Th. ap-

enim dicit *spiritus*, eo quod et motum aeris flatum nuncupare consueuimus. bene autem dixit: *qui nunc inoperatur in filios diffidentiae;* eo quod et ab illa sit reiectus potestate, et hoc ultro operatur propter arbitrii sui mutabilitatem. 'haec igitur agebatis dudum, eo quod et diabolicum sequebamini intellectum, et cum praesenti hac uita omnia uestra definiri censebatis'. et quoniam dixit, *uos*, ut ne subtrahere se existimaretur ab illis qui necessariam habere uidebantur gratiam, adicit:

in quibus et nos omnes conuersati sumus aliquando in desideriis carnis nostrae, facientes uoluntatem carnis et cogitationum; et eramus natura filii irae, sicut et ceteri.

omni ex parte propositum habet diuinam augere gratiam, sicut et in illam narrationem quam de illis expediit quae a Deo facta sunt, nominibus abusus talibus quibus illa cum augmento commendaret. sic et ab arbitrio eorum qui susceperant, uolens augere Dei liberalitatem; quoniam cum ualde essent mali et indigni donationes frui illas quae a Deo sunt, tamen et multa et magna adepti sunt bona. quorum et cum maxima accusatione exaggerare nititur malitiam. ideo *uoluntates carnis et cogitationum* dicit; et, *eramus natura filii irae* et cetera; quibus uehementer antiquam eorum incusat malitiam. cum ergo tales essemus, quid accidit?

Deus autem diues cum esset in misericordia, propter multam caritatem suam qua dilexit nos, et cum essemus mortui in delictis et in peccatis.

nam *cum essemus* hoc in loco dicens, signat quod fuimus;

2 operatur *H* 4 ultra *C*H* 6 definire *H** 10 uestrae (*for* nostrae) *H* | uestrae (*aft* carnis) *add H** 12 diuinum *H* 13 in *om H** | illa narratione *C* (*corr*) | expetiit *C*H* 14 in omnibus (*for* nom.) *H* 15 ab *om H* 17 illas frui *H* 19—21 ideo...malitiam *om H*

pears to understand τοῦ πνεύματος as = τῆς πνοῆς, punctuating: κατὰ τὸν ἄρχ. τῆς ἐξ. τοῦ ἀέρος τοῦ πνεύματος· τοῦ νῦν, κ.τ.λ. The last genitive (τοῦ νῦν, κ.τ.λ.) he seems to connect with τὸν ἄρχοντα by *hypallage:* cf. Winer, (*ed.* Moulton) pp. 790—1.

7. *ne subtrahere se exist.*] Thdt.: συντάττει καὶ ἑαυτόν, κοινὴν τὴν νόσον δεικνύς. Cf. p. 145, l. 5. *Et quoniam dixit.....adicit* is cited by Lanfranc.

19. *uoluntates*] τὰ θελήματα. The pl. is found in Lucifer Calar. and Aug. In the text (l. 10, *supra*) the translator has been led by the influence of the Vulg. to adopt the sing.

26. *nam* cum essemus, &c.] τὸ γὰρ ὄντας ἐνταῦθα εἰπὼν σημαίνει ὅτι ἡμεν,

retulit autem illud ad principium uerbi. sic enim coepit: *et uos cum essetis mortui delictis et peccatis uestris.* unde et interiecit cetera, quae malitiam eorum uehementem poterant ostendere. resumpsit iterum illud in illa narratione donationis Dei, ultra non dicens *uos*, sed *nos;* ut ostendat quoniam et malitiam aestimat esse communem et gratiam similiter. eos autem qui huiusmodi erant quid fecit?

conuiuificauit Christo.

totum reddidit praecedentibus illis quae de Christo dixerat, ostendens quoniam communionem ad eum habemus tam ex similitudine naturae quam ex copulatione resurrectionis.

deinde adicit resurrectionis lucrum:

gratia estis saluati.

uult dicere quoniam 'suscitat uos, ut ultra salutem per gratiam adquiratis.' 'salutem' nominat hanc, id est, 'ut ne ultra pro delictis poenam aliquam expectetis;' eo quod et 'perditionem' diuina scriptura poenam nominare consueuit. sicut Dominus in euangeliis dicit: *timete magis illum qui potest et animam et corpus perdere in gehennam.* sed nunc illud euidentius dixit, eo quod et inperfectum hoc in loco sensum reliquit; adicit illa quae sequuntur illud dictum quod dixit *conuiuificauit Christo.* quid dicens?

et conresuscitauit et consedere fecit in caelestibus in Christo Iesu.

uides quoniam illa quae dixit de Christo, illis nos ait communicasse per illam quae apud eum est coniunctionem; ostendens

1 cepit *C* H* 3 et (*bef* cet.) *add H* 4 donationes *C H* 6 aestimant *C H* 11 similitudinem *H* 15 idem (*for* id est) *C H* 19 gehenna *C* (*corr*) | euidentius illud *H* 21 inquid (*sc.* inquit) *C* (*corr*) quod *H*

εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ λόγου ἀναγαγὼν τοῦτο· i. e., v. 5 takes up the thread of v. 1, vv. 2—4 being parenthetic. So Thpht.: ἐνταῦθα ἡ ἀπόδοσις τοῦ ἄνωθεν ἀρξαμένου νοήματος, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα παρεμβέβλητο. And Oec.: ἡ ἀνταπόδοσις, μετὰ πολλὴν σύμφρασιν. Lanfranc abbreviates: "sic coeperat: 'et uos cum essetis mortui'. cetera interiecit, donec iterum illud resumpsit, ultra non dicens *vos* sed *nos.*"

18. *in euangeliis*] Matt. x. 28 (Vulg., nearly). See above, p. 6, l. 6, note.

25. *illis nos ait.....coniunctionem*] Cited by Lanfranc.

quoniam non incassum memoratus est illa, scilicet non solum ea quae de Christo sunt manifestat; sed ut ex illis liberalitatem erga nos Christi ostendat. deinde adicit:

ut ostendat in saeculis superuenientibus superabundantes diuitias gratiae suae in bonitate super nos in Christo Iesu.

bene *in saeculis superuenientibus* dixit, quando ipsa rerum demonstratio manifestam erga nos ostendit Dei bonitatem, et gratiam illam quam perficere dignatus est per illa quae secundum Christum sunt. eo quod omni in loco illa magna quae per Christum praestita sunt nobis, de futuris probare est adnisus. necessarie ergo et hoc adiecit, ita ut non in praesenti uita dictorum exigerent documenta; perfectam uero de nobis et plenariam reddidit rationem. resumit uero illud quod dixerat:

gratia enim estis saluati [*per fidem*].

regenerationis lucrum quod erit docens nos et dicit:

et hoc non ex uobis, Dei donum; non ex operibus, ut ne quis glorietur. ipsius enim sumus factura, creati in Christo Iesu in operibus bonis, quae praeparauit Deus ut in illis ambulemus.

nam quod dixit: *ipsius enim sumus factura,* †hoc in loco non secundum primam dicit opificationem, sed secundam; secundum quam et recreamur, per resurrectionem iterum effecti.*

ἐνταῦθα οὐ κατὰ τὴν πρώτην λέγει δημιουργίαν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὴν δευτέραν, καθ' ἣν ἀνακτιζόμεθα διὰ τῆς ἀναστάσεως.

2 manifesta *C H* 14 per fidem *om C H* 16 non ex. op. *om H* 21 creamur per res. eff. iterum *H* 22 sq. Coisl. 204, f. 68 a [Cr. vi. 142, Fr. 133] *θεόδωρος δέ φησιν εἰς τὸ 'αὐτοῦ γάρ ἐσμεν ποίημα, κτισθέντες ἐπ' ἔργοις ἀγαθοῖς'· ἐνταῦθα, κ.τ.λ.*

6. *bene* in saeculis.....*sec. Chr. sunt*] Cited by Lanfranc.

10. *de futuris*] See p. 123, l. 4, note. Cf. Thdt.: *νῦν γὰρ τῶν ἐλπιζομένων ἀγαθῶν τὸ μέγεθος τοῖς μὲν ἀπίστοις ἄδηλον παντελῶς....τότε καὶ οἱ πιστοὶ καὶ οἱ ἄπιστοι τὴν ἐξ ἡμῶν ληφθεῖσαν φύσιν θεάσονται παρὰ πάσης προσκυνουμένην τῆς κτίσεως, καὶ τοὺς ἁγίους συμβασιλεύοντας.*

13. *resumit uero illud*] i.e. v. 8 (*τῇ γὰρ χάριτί ἐστε σεσωσμένοι*) takes up v. 5 (*χάριτί ἐ. σ.*).

21. *per resurrect. iterum eff.*] S. Greg. Naz., according to Thpht., interpreted *κτισθέντες, κ.τ.λ.* in reference to the original creation; and Oec. gives this as an alternative view: *ἔνεστιν δὲ ταῦτα καὶ περὶ τῆς πρώτης δημιουργίας νοεῖν.* Tertullian (*adv. Marc.* v. 17), followed by S. Jerome (*ad h. l.*), had endeavoured to combine both interpretations, referring *ποίημα* to the first creation, *κτισθ.* to the second. The Gk. expositors (exc. Oec.[2] *l. c.*) are at one with Th. in maintaining

unde adiecit: *creati in Christo Iesu;* sicut et ad Corinthios dicit: *si qua in Christo noua creatura.* quod autem dicere uult indiget latitudinem, ita ut legentibus manifestum fieri posset. mortales cum simus secundum praesentem uitam, sequitur quodammodo mortalitatem facilitas peccandi. est enim quando quidem a uoluptate, quando uero a cupiditate pecuniaria, frequenter et ob praesentem gloriam quam et adpetere properamus, in delictum incurrimus. hinc contingit in multitudinem nos peccatorum et profunditatem impietatis praecipites duci; nihil iuuati neque ex illis legibus quae a Deo datae sunt nobis, nisi solum hoc, quoniam lex ostendebat illa nos agere quae non conueniebant. quid ergo fecit Dominus, cum nos minime possemus propter infirmitatem illam quae nobis aderat per mortalitatem, et cum non sufficeremus ad perfectam uirtutem proficere directionem? iterum nos secundo creauit, secundam illam uitam inmortalem donans nobis; in qua effecti, et naturalem abicientes infirmitatem, utpote erepti a mortalitate et ab omni passione liberi effecti, inmortali habebimur natura ut nec peccare ultra possimus. quoniam ergo dixit quia eramus *mortui delictis, facientes uoluntates carnis et cogitationum, et eramus natura filii irae,* sed cum tales essemus, conresuscitauit nos Christo, ut ultra per gratiam salutem adsequi possemus; haec adiecit, latius comprobare illam salutem uolens, quae nobis effecta est per gratiam. quid enim? quando hoc nobis praestitit, id est, resurrectionem. eo quod non ex nobis neque ex nostris operibus salutem adsequi poteramus, sicut et praeteritum ostendit tempus, sufficienter arguens in his nostram infirmitatem. et ideo denuo creauit nos in Christo, secundam illam uitam condonans nobis in qua effecti peccare quidem

3 latitudine *C* (*corr*) 10 iuuat *H* | sunt *om H* 11 non *om C* 12 possimus *C* 14 non *om H** 15 secundum (*for* secundam) *C*H* 19 possemus *C*H* 22 nos, salutem *om H* | possumus *H** possimus *H* (*corr*) 26 poterimus *C*H* 28 secundum *C*H*

the allusion to the ἀναγέννησις throughout; but their view is limited to Baptism and the baptismal life. Th., as his wont is, lays greater stress on the hope of the life to come; cf. his comm. on Gal. vi. 15.

2. *si qua in Christo n. cr.*] 2 Cor. v. 16. Our transl. follows the great majority of the Latin authorities in punctuating *εἴ τις ἐν Χρ. καινὴ κτίσις, τὰ ἀρχ. παρ.*

4. *sequitur mortalitatem*, &c.] See above, p. 25 sq. and notes.

10. *iuuati*] Cf. p. 92, l. 12, note.

nullomodo poterimus. omne uero quodcumque bonum est, permanebimus facientes illud. hoc enim dicit: *creati in Christo Iesu in operibus bonis;* †ut illa quae per nostrum propositum agere nullomodo ualuimus (eo quod naturalis infirmitas repugnabat nobis), haec sine labore aliquo cum multa facilitate per gratiam eius, qui nos ad hoc iterum creauit, perficere potuerimus.* dicens uero in hisce resurrectionis bonum, quod commune erat omnibus, siue illis qui ex gentibus crediderunt, siue illis qui ex Iudaeis; in subsequentibus illud adicit quod lucrum illorum tantum erat qui ex gentibus erant, eo quod Ephesii ex gentibus ad fidem Christi accesserunt. et uehementius Deo gratias agere deproperat, eo quod non solum pro communibus, sed pro suis propriis debitores erant id facere:

propter quod memores estote quoniam uos qui dudum eratis gentes, in carne qui dicebamini praeputium.

quod dicit, *in carne*, adici illi debet *qui dicimini*, non in illo dicto quo *gentes* dixit; ut sensus hic esse uideatur: *qui in carne dicimini praeputium.* adicit enim:

ab illa quae dicitur circumcisio in carne manu facta.

ἵν' ἅπερ ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκείας προαιρέσεως κατορθῶσαι οὐδαμῶς οἷοί τε ἐγενόμεθα τῷ τὴν φυσικὴν ἀντιπράττειν ἡμῖν ἀσθένειαν, ταῦτα δίχα πόνου παντὸς σὺν εὐμαρείᾳ πολλῇ χάριτι τοῦ πρὸς τοῦτο ἡμᾶς ἀνακτίζοντος ἐπιτελέσαι ἡμῖν ἐγγένηται.

5 multa *om H* 6 poterimus *C* poteramus *H* 8 erant (*for* erat) *C** 16 dicebamini *C* (*corr*) | illi (*for* in illo) *C* (*corr*) 18 abicit *C H* 20 sq. Coisl. 204 *l. c.*

13. *debitores erant id facere*] ὀφειλέται ἦσαν ποιῆσαι τοῦτο: cf. Gal. v. 3, ὀφειλέτης ἐστὶν ὅλον τὸν νόμον ποιῆσαι ("debitor est totam legem implere").

15, 16. *qui dicebamini* .....*dicimini*] οἱ λεγόμενοι: cf. p. 16, l. 2, note. The same fluctuation is found in the Latin authorities *ad h. l.* Lanfranc cites *quod dicit...debere dici;* but through an error of his copyist or editor the words *qui in carne...manu facta* have fallen out [per *homoeoteleuton*].

16, 17. *non in illo dicto*, &c.] i.e. ἐν σαρκὶ (1⁰) is to be connected with οἱ λεγ. ἀκροβυστία, so as to balance ἐν σαρκὶ (2⁰), which attaches itself to τῆς λεγ. περιτομῆς. Thdt. adopts this punctuation for the same reason: ὅτι ὑμεῖς ποτε τὰ ἔθνη. ἐνταῦθα δεῖ στίξαι...καὶ ἡ περιτομὴ τῆς σαρκός, καὶ ἡ ἀκροβυστία τῆς σαρκός.

in carne praeputiatos debere dici adserens, eo quod et circumcisio erga carnem uideri potest.

quoniam eratis tempore illo sine Christo.

'necdum enim credideratis in eum.' non debet autem quisquam sermonum obscuritatem inhaerere; sed examinare debet apostolicorum uerborum intellectum.

abalienati a conuersatione Israel, et peregrini testamentorum promissionis, spem non habentes, et sine Deo in hoc mundo.

'reputamini (inquit) uos qui ex gentibus credidistis, quia ab illis qui in circumcisione sunt *praeputium dicimini.* et quasi naturalem quandam discretionem ad Iudaeos in carne habere uidemini; quando secundum tempus illud, priusquam credidissetis Christo, nulla erat uobis ad Deum communio, neque habebatis bonas aliquas spes, alieni ab Israel extantes, et a promissionibus et testamentis quae ad illos fuerant factae, quorum summum bonum erat is qui expectabatur Christus.' quid ergo?

nunc autem in Christo Iesu uos qui aliquando eratis longe, prope facti estis in sanguine Christi.

'sed †nunc Christi mors resurrectionem donans et alteram uitam pro praesente inducens, coniunxit uos qui eratis multum separati.' qualiter aut quomodo? *

'*νῦν ὁ τοῦ Χριστοῦ θάνατος τὴν ἀνάστασιν χαρισάμενος καὶ ἕτερον ἀντὶ τοῦ παρόντος ἐπεισαγαγὼν βίον, συνῆψεν ὑμᾶς τοὺς ἀφεστῶτας πολύ.*' *πῶς καὶ τίνα τρόπον;*

4 crederatis *C** 5 obscuritati *C* (*corr*) 6 apostolicum *C* 7, 14 Israhel *C* 12 quandam *H* | credissetis *C** 13 erit *C** 23 sq. Coisl. 204, f. 69 a [Cr. vi. 145, Fr. 133] *θεόδωρος δέ φησιν· νῦν ὁ τοῦ Χριστοῦ θ., κ. τ.λ.*

1. *praeputiatos*] = *ἀκροβύστους s. ἀπεριτμήτους*: Tert. *adv. Marc.* v. 9.

5. *obsc. inhaerere*] For exx. of *inh.* with the acc. see lexx.

7. *abalienati*] *ἀπηλλοτριωμένοι*: so Victorin. Afr., the other Latin authorities being content with *alienati*, although the Vulg. uses *abalienare* elsewhere (e.g. Isa. i. 4).

8. *in hoc mundo*] *ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ* [*F, G, ἐν τούτῳ τῷ κ.*]. So O. L. (but not Tert., *adv. Marc.* v. 17), Vulg.; cf. Rönsch, *Itala*, p. 421.

9. *reputamini*] = reputate (*λογίζεσθε*). Cf. p. 116, l. 14.

15. *testamentis quae...f. factae*] Cf. p. 81, l. 7, note.

20. *mors resurrectionem donans*] See Th.'s remarks on c. i. 9.

21. *coniunxit uos*] Thdt.: *οἰκείους ἀπέφηνεν...τοῦτο εἶπεν 'ἐγγὺς ἐγενήθητε.'*

ipse est enim pax nostra, qui fecit utraque unum, et medium parietem maceriae soluit inimicitiam in carne sua; legem mandatorum in edictis destituens, ut duos condat in se in unum hominem nouum, faciens pacem; et reconciliet utrosque in uno corpore Deo per crucem, interficiens inimicitiam in ipso.

lex per circumcisionem suos ab alienis discreuit; unde nec aliqua communio gentibus cum Iudaeis poterat esse. circumcisione et quidem habebant potestatem. sed dominus †Christus per resurrectionem inmortalitatem nobis praestans, destruxit hanc diuisionem; in inmortali etenim natura circumcisio nequaquam poterit celebrari. circumcisione uero non extante, nulla uidebitur praeputii et circumcisionis esse discretio; sed et ipsorum praeceptorum legem hinc cessare fecit, superflua enim tunc omnis est definitio legis,* eo quod iam ultra nec peccare poterimus. hoc ergo uult dicere, quoniam 'ipse pacis nobis extitit auctor, qui illam inimicitiam et separationem quae inerat ex circumcisione carnis dissoluit per resurrectionis gratiam, inmortales nos ultra exhibens, apud quos circumcisio locum non habet ulterius; quid enim et conferre poterit inmortalibus circumcisio, ubi praeputii discretio ultra non poterit inueniri? †hanc autem inimicitiam abstulit, non circum-

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ὁ Χριστὸς τὴν διὰ τῆς ἀναστάσεως ἀθανασίαν ἡμῖν παρασχών, κατέλυσεν τὴν διαίρεσιν ταύτην· ἐν γὰρ ἀθανάτῳ φύσει περιτομὴ μὲν οὐκ ἂν γένοιτο· τούτου δὲ οὐκ ὄντος, οὐδεμία φανήσεται ἀκροβύστου καὶ περιτετμημένου διάκρισις. ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν ἐντολῶν τὸν νόμον ἐντεῦθεν ἔπαυσεν· περιττὴ γὰρ τότε πᾶσα τοῦ νόμου διάταξις.

[ταύτην δὲ τὴν ἔχθραν ἀφεῖλεν, οὐ μόνον ἀφελὼν τὴν περι-

7 circumcisionem *Ç H* 10 iussionem (*for* divis.) *C H*: txt *g* | in *om H* | enim *H** 13 et *om H** 14 edefinitio (*for* est def.) *C** 20 praeputio *C** 22 Coisl. 204 *l. c.* 28 Coisl. 204, f. 71 a [Cr. vi. 149, Fr. 133] *θεόδωρος δέ φησιν· ἵνα εἴπῃ διὰ τῶν ἰδίων δογμάτων, κ.τ.λ.*

7. *circumcisione*, &c.] See vv. ll. Pitra corrects *circumcisionis*. The sense is much the same; the Gentile might be circumcised, and thus (but thus only) acquire the right of communion with the Jew.

10. *hanc diuisionem*] The Gk. seems to necessitate this correction. The error must be due to a copyist, unless the translator mistook *διαίρεσιν* for *διάταξιν*. Lanfranc found a difficulty in his MS. at this point, for he avoids the word altogether, reading *destruxit haec*.

cisionem solum auferens, sed et ipsam legem cessare faciens per sua decreta.' quae autem sunt decreta? resurrectio, incorruptela, inmortalitas. haec enim 'decreta' uocauit, quasi quia et in re sint, ex quibus efficitur, ut iam ultra peccare non possimus, opere id diuina gratia in nobis expediente; ita ut neque praecepta ulterius indigeamus, neque ulla mandata quae alia quidem nos facere uolunt, alia prohibent.*

illam ergo inimicitiam et separationem quae ex circumcisione fiebat cum omni lege fecit cessare; duos nos, id est, illum qui ex gentibus erat et qui ex Iudaeis, unum quendam nouum hominem per resurrectionem faciens inmortalem, apud quem nulla circumcisionis et praeputii habetur discretio. sic enim nos in unum corpus illud inmortale habere effecit, in pace nos constituens, familiaritatem utriusque nobis illam quae ad Deum est hinc donans. quae cuncta efficit *per* propriam *crucem*, ut dicat 'per passionem et mortem,' omnem inimicitiam quae inesse nobis uidebatur adimens, utpote et ipsam mortem

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τομὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν νόμον παύσας] διὰ τῶν ἰδίων δογμάτων· ἵνα εἴπῃ, τῆς ἀναστάσεως, τῆς ἀφθαρσίας, τῆς ἀθανασίας· δόγματα καλέσας ταῦτα ὡς ἐν πράγμασιν ὄντα, τῆς θείας χάριτος ἐν ἡμῖν καταπραττομένης, ὡς μηδὲ προσταγμάτων ἡμᾶς δεῖσθαι καὶ ἐντολῆς τῆς τόδε τι ποιεῖν ἢ μὴ ποιεῖν βουλομένης ἡμᾶς.

1 solam *H* 13 efficit *C* 14 illa *C*H* 22 *τι* om edd.

2. *per sua decreta*] i.e., *ἐν δόγμασιν* (cf. p. 150, l. 3, "in edictis:" where Iren.$^{int.}$, Aug., Ambrstr., Vulg., exhibit [in] decretis). Th. agrees with the rest of the Gk. expositors in connecting *ἐν δ.* with *καταργήσας*, but takes his own course in the matter of interpretation. Comp. Chrys.: *ἢ τὴν πίστιν οὖν φησιν, ἢ τὴν παραγγελίαν*: Thdt., *δόγματα δὲ τὴν εὐαγγελικὴν διδασκαλίαν ἐκάλεσεν*: Severianus, *ἐν δόγμασιν τοῖς ἰδίοις* [explaining these to be the principles of Christian morality]. Th. on the other hand understands by *δόγματα* (both here and on Col. ii. 14, *q. v.*) the facts and hopes of the Gospel, which will eventually supersede the ordinances of the law.

7. *alia quidem*, &c.] See below, on Phil. iii. 19, Col. ii. 21.

8. *illam ergo inimicitiam*, &c.] Th. refers *τὴν ἔχθραν* almost exclusively to the jealousy created between Jew and Gentile by the rite of circumcision and the Mosaic law. Thpht. on the other hand explains: *ἡ ἔχθρα ἡ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν τῶν ἐθνικῶν τε καὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων.* Photius [? ap. Oec.] after alluding to a third interpretation [*καὶ πρὸς ἀγγέλους ἐξεπολέμωτο τὸ ἀνθρώπινον*: cf. Orig. *ap.* Cramer, vi. 150], seeks to combine these two views in one: *νῦν δὲ τέως περὶ τῶν δύο* [*ἐχθρῶν*] *διαλαμβάνει, ἣν εἶχον οἱ ἐξ ἐθνῶν πρὸς τοὺς ἐξ Ἰουδαίων, καὶ ἣν ἄμφω πρὸς τὸν θεὸν τῶν ὅλων.*

per resurrectionem destruens. optime autem illam separationem quae ex circumcisione fiebat *medium parietem maceriae* uocauit; ostendens nullomodo posse nos inuicem propinquare, ad similitudinem eorum, qui, maceria quadam mediante, propinquare sibi prohibentur; eo quod nec erat possibile secundum legis praeceptum eos qui in praeputio erant aliquam ad circumcisos habere communionem, praeterquam si circumcisionem suscipere uoluissent, quod erat illius partis semel fieri. prudentia uero apostolica est demiranda, eo quod memorans resurrectionem et illa quae exinde adquisita sunt gentibus, simul adtraxit et Iudaeos, eo quod reconciliationem similiter et isti sicut et illi per illam potiti sunt; ut ne uideantur magna sapere Iudaei, quasi qui nil minus habuerint. unde iterum dicit:

et ueniens euangelizauit pacem uobis qui longe estis et qui prope.

prope dicens, Iudaeos designauit, propter legis disciplinam. adicit illud quod praecedentibus consequenter iungi poterat:

quoniam [*per eum*] *habemus accessum utrique in uno Spiritu ad Patrem.*

'utrique (inquit) similiter eandem Spiritus participati gratiam potuimus accedere per eum ad Deum, ita ut et patrem illum adscribamus proprium. quod numquam neque Iudaei ex lege huiusmodi familiaritatem adquirere potuerant; e contrario uero

4 maceriae *C H* 6 praeputium *C** 7 propter quam *H* 9 est *om H* 10 ex (*for* et) *C* ea *H* | qui ita (*for* adquisita) *H* 13 nihil *H* 22 neque *om H** 23 assequi (*for* adquirere) *H*

4. *maceria*] See vv. ll. The reading of the MSS. may represent the alternative form *macerie;* more probably it is a mere repetition by the scribe of *maceriae* in l. 2. For *mediare*=μεσοῦν, cf. Rönsch, *Itala*, p. 167.

13. *Iudaei quasi qui nil m. h.*] 'The privileges of Gentile Christians are not exclusive, it is true. But the Jew now partakes on the same footing as the Gentile; his superiority is at an end.'

14. *qui longe estis*] The Vulg. supplies *fuistis*. The second εἰρήνην, which is represented in all the versions excepting the Syriac, appears to have been wanting in Th.'s text. It is omitted also by Chrys. and Thdt., followed by the later Greek expositors.

16. 'prope' *dicens Iud. design.*, &c.] Thdt.: μακρὰν τὰ ἔθνη λέγει, ἐγγὺς δὲ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους.

18. *per eum*] The omission in the MSS. is probably due to accident; see the comm. just below.

et poenae eos lex subiciebat, minime ab illis scrupulose seruata.' et quoniam ostendit quia et Iudaeis Christi aduentus maximum contulit lucrum, licet gentibus uideretur alienis extantibus eligantem quandam illam praebuisse familiaritatem quae nullomodo illis pertinere poterat; resumit iterum illud, quasi ad illos proloquens qui ex gentibus crediderunt:

itaque iam ultra non estis peregrini et aduenae, sed conciues sanctorum et domestici Dei, aedificati supra fundamentum apostolorum et prophetarum.

id ipsud dicens quod et in superioribus dixerat, quoniam 'ultra *non estis alieni* a pietate; *domestici* enim *Dei* estis effecti, illam quae ad apostolos et prophetas est communionem suscipientes per illam fidem quae est in Christo.' et quoniam dixit *superaedificati*, seruans exempli ipsius sequentiam adicit:

existente angulari lapide ipso Iesu Christo, in quo omne tactum coaptatum crescit in templo sancto in Domino, in quo et uos coaedificamini in habitaculum Dei in Spiritu.

'angularis lapidis ordinem nobis Christus tenere uidetur, super quem et illi qui ex gentibus et nos qui ex Iudaeis credidimus utrique coniungimur, discretione nulla ultra in nobis intercedente; †eo quod in templum Dei coaptamur similiter utrique eadem uirtute Spiritus per regenerationem, ita ut adsequi mereamur

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ἐπειδὴ εἰς ναὸν τοῦ θεοῦ τελοῦμεν ἀμφότεροι, τῇ αὐτῇ δυνάμει τοῦ πνεύματος διὰ τῆς ἀναγεννήσεως τὸ συντελεῖν εἰς μίαν οἰκο-

2 aduentum *C* H* 7 cines *H* 10 id ipsum *C (corr) H* 15 existente [existens *H*] angulare [-i *C (corr)*] lapide ipsum Iesum Christum *C H* | tactu *C* 18 lapis, Christi *H* 21 eandem uirtutem *C H* 22 adepti (*aft* reg.) *add C (corr)* 23 sq. Coisl. 204, f. 73 a. [Cr. vi. 152, Fr. 133] *θεόδωρος δέ φησιν· ἐπειδή, κ.τ.λ.* 24 *τοῦ συντελεῖν* cod., edd.; txt conj. Fr.

3. *eligantem.... familiaritatem*] Cf. p. 22, l. 16, note.

8. *aedificati supra f.*] *ἐποικοδομηθέντες ἐπὶ τῷ θεμελίῳ*. Vulg. *superaed. super f.*; cf. infr. l. 13, "dixit *superaedificati*," and Col. ii. 7.

15. *existente*, &c.] The translator possibly wrote "existentem angularem lapidem ipsum Iesum Christum." For a similar use of the acc. cf. p. 3, l. 23 (vv. ll.), and p. 130, l. 10. *Existente=ὄντος*: Vulg. "ipso summo ang. lap."

in uno consistere aedificio.' nam quod dixit: *in quo omne tactum coaptatum*, ut dicat 'omnis lapis qui sub tactu cadit;' a quadam proprietate ita dicens, in ordine uidelicet hominis lapidem dicens.*

et quoniam omni ex parte retulit Dei gratiam quae in nos est et resurrectionis lucrum et illorum quae expectamus magnitudinem, adicit:

huius rei gratia ego Paulus, uinctus Christi Iesu pro uobis gentibus.

et non dixit illa quae huius rei gratia dici uoluerat, sed relinquens in ultimo eius supplementum ad illud cucurrit quod dixit; *uinctus pro uobis gentibus.* illa quae subsequebantur adicit, ostendens quemadmodum illi pertinere uidetur gentium euangelium, pro quo etiam uinctum se esse dicit:

si tamen audistis dispensationem gratiae Dei quae data est mihi in uobis, quoniam [*secundum reuelationem notum*] *factum est mihi mysterium, sicut praescripsi in paucibus, prout potestis legentes intellegere prudentiam meam in mysterium Christi.*

δομὴν δεξάμενοι. τὸ δὲ ἐν ᾧ πᾶσα ἁφὴ συναρμολογουμένη, ἵνα εἴπῃ· πᾶς λίθος ὑπὸ ἁφὴν πίπτων· ἀπό τινος ἰδιώματος οὕτως εἰπών, ἐν τάξει δηλονότι ἀνθρώπου τὸν λίθον λέγων.

3 ista (*for* ita) *C* (*corr*) 5 gratia *C** | nobis *C* (*corr*) 16 sec. reuel. notum *om C H* 17 scripsi *H* | paucis *C* (*corr*) 20 πίστεως (*for* πίπτων) edd.

1. *omne tactum*] πᾶσα ἁφή: cf. p. 153, l. 15. I can only account for this singular error by supposing that Th. wrote his commentary on this verse without reference to his codex, and that he has blended c. ii. 21 ἐν ᾧ πᾶσα οἰκοδομὴ συναρμολογουμένη with iv. 16 ἐξ οὗ πᾶν τὸ σῶμα συναρμολογούμενον...διὰ πάσης ἁφῆς. For instances of inaccuracy in his quotation of Scripture see above p. 54, l. 6, note; p. 81, l. 4, note. In the present passage Th. has felt the awkwardness of his own error, and has sought to lessen it by assigning to ἁφή a passive sense, λίθος ὑπὸ ἁφὴν πίπτων. On the form *tactum* see p. 170, l. 1, note.

3. *a quadam proprietate*] Cf. p. 98, ll. 21, 27.

10. *relinquens in ultimo*] Th. regards the thread of the argument as taken up again in verse 14 (p. 158, l. 11, note). In this view he is followed by Thdt.; Chrys. would supply ἐγενόμην before ὁ δέσμιος: διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἐγὼ δέδεμαι, φησίν. Oec. sees the 'antapodosis' in v. 8. Of Th.'s readiness to find parenthetic constructions in S. Paul's writings see exx. above, pp. 17, 19, 36.

16. *secundum reuelat. notum*] Omitted by the error of a scribe, perhaps in the archetype of our two MSS. That Th. read κατὰ ἀποκάλυψιν ἐγωρίσθη appears from the comm. (p. 155, l. 9).

17. *praescripsi*] Vulg., *supra scripsi*. Cf. Paucker, *melet. lexist. spec.*, p. 5.

in paucibus] For exx. of similar

multam habent obscuritatem ob sermonum compendiosam expressionem uniuersa etenim illa quae dogmatica sunt in praesenti epistola; maxime autem ista pars epistolae quae a nobis nunc interpretari est proposita. intendendum est ergo ad intellectum sermonum, cuius doctrinam praehonorabilem omnibus existimare debemus.

statim uero [*quae*] *data est*, pro *datam* dicit; †uult enim dicere quoniam 'necessarie aliqua ex parte audistis datam mihi in uobis gratiae dispensationem, et quoniam secundum reuelationem suscepi mysterii istius cognitionem. de quibus et scripsi uobis ut fas admittebat de paucis, ut cognoscatis et uos illam quam suscepi prudentiam de hoc mysterio.'* sicuti ad Corinthios scribit; *sic nos existimet homo, sicut ministros Christi et dispensatores mysteriorum Dei*; hoc est, 'ordinatos ut de inenarrabilibus omnibus distribuamus uobis doctrinam.' et quod sit ipsum mysterium, dicens *secundum reuelationem notum est.*

quod aliis generationibus non innotuit filiis hominum, sicut

βούλεται εἰπεῖν ὅτι 'πάντως που ἠκούσατε τὴν παρασχεθεῖσάν μοι τῆς εἰς ὑμᾶς χάριτος οἰκονομίαν· καὶ ὅτι κατὰ ἀποκάλυψιν ἐδεξάμην τοῦ μυστηρίου τούτου τὴν γνῶσιν· περὶ οὗ δὴ καὶ γέγραφηκα ὑμῖν ὡς ἐνῆν διὰ βραχέων, ἐπὶ τῷ γνῶναι καὶ ὑμᾶς τοῦ μυστηρίου τὴν σύνεσιν.'

1 multum *C H* | ob *om H* 4 interpretare *C** | posita *H* 12 misterium *C** | sicuti et *H* 13 ut (*for* sicut) *H* | dispensatorum *H* 14 ministeriorum (*for* myst.) *C** 18 sq. Coisl. 204, *l. c.* [Cr. vi. 153] 19 *κοινωνίαν* (for *οἰκ.*) Cr. 21 *ἐπὶ τὸ γνῶναι* Cr.

anomalies see Rönsch, *Itala*, p. 262. Th., with Chrys., explains *ἐν ὀλίγῳ* as = *διὰ βραχέων*. Thdt. interprets *περὶ οὗ νῦν ἐγραψα*. Oec. gives the alternative: *ἢ πρὸ ὀλίγου, ἢ διὰ βραχέων*.

4. *interpretari*] Passive; cf. Hildebrand, *Apul.* ii. p. 507. *Interpretare* occurs in both our MSS. (*C* H*) above, p. 118, l. 9.

7. '[quae] data est' *pro* 'datam' *dicit*] *τῆς δοθείσης ἀντὶ τοῦ τὴν δοθεῖσαν λέγει.* I.e., S. Paul intends to say, 'the dispensation...which was given me;' he writes the gen. by *hypallage*. Cf. Col. i. 25, *τὴν οἰκονομίαν τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν δοθεῖσάν μοι.*

12. *ad Corinthios*] 1 Cor. iv. 1. *Ut*, which *H* reads for *sicut*, is from the Vulg. Th. understands *οἰκονομία* here, as well as in Col. i. 27, in the sense of 'stewardship,' the office of an *οἰκονόμος*. See Dr Lightfoot, Col. *l. c.*

15. *et quod sit*, &c.] i.e., S. Paul himself defines what he means by a *μυστήριον*. It is *τὸ κατ' ἀποκάλυψιν γνωρισθέν*. Cf. *supr.* on c. i. 9; and comm. on 1 Tim. iii. 10, 16.

17. *non innotuit*] The Latin versions

nunc reuelatum est sanctis apostolis eius et prophetis, in Spiritu; esse gentes coheredes et concorporales et conparticipes promissionis eius in Christo.

hoc quod ab antiquis quidem ignorabatur, nunc autem manifestum est *et apostolis et prophetis;* 'prophetas' dicens illos qui eo in tempore prophetiae gratia digni habiti esse ostendebantur. quoniam placuit Deo ut gentes communionem habeant omnis promissionis quae est in Christo, quae et expectatur ut suum exitum sumat. ideo optime dixit *sicut praescripsi.* dixerat enim in superioribus de hoc, quoniam magna sunt illa quae in nos sunt a Deo conlata; quorum participationem etiam gentes dignae habitae sunt. deinde dicens mysterium, resumit dictum *si tamen audistis dispensationem gratiae Dei quae data est mihi in uobis:*

per euangelium, cuius factus sum ego minister secundum dationem gratiae Dei quae data est mihi secundum inoperationem uirtutis ejus. mihi minimo omnium sanctorum data est gratia ista, in gentibus euangelizare inuestigabiles diuitias Christi, et inluminare omnes quae esset dispensatio mysterii quod absconditum fuit a saeculis in Deo qui omnia creauit.

9 scripsi *H* 12 habiti *C* H* | resumet *C** 17 ista *om H*

have *notum, agnitum,* or *cognitum est* (*fuit*). But in v. 10 they agree with our translation in rendering ἵνα γνωρισθῇ, *ut innotescat.*

5. *prophetas dicens eos,* &c.] Thdt.: πολλοὶ γὰρ κατὰ τὸν τῶν ἀποστόλων καιρὸν προφητικῆς ἀπέλαυσαν χάριτος. So Thpht: τοῖς ἐν τῇ καινῇ προφήταις. In c. ii. 20, where Th. is silent, Thdt. denies the reference to the prophets of the apostolic age.

9. *dixerat enim in sup.*] Thdt.: οὐχ ὥς τινες ὑπέλαβον (e.g. Chrys.) ὅτι ἑτέραν ἐπιστολὴν γέγραφεν...καὶ γὰρ περὶ τούτου [sc., τοῦ μυστηρίου] διεξελήλυθεν ἀπὸ τοῦ προοιμίου μέχρι τοῦδε τοῦ χωρίου. Oec., taking the same view of προέγραψα, confines the reference to c. ii. 13, sq.

11. *participationem.....dignae*] Cf. Rönsch, *Itala*, p. 412.

12. *resumit dictum*] i. e., the true sequence is: εἴγε ἠκούσατε τὴν οἰκονομίαν τῆς χάριτος τοῦ θεοῦ τῆς δοθείσης μοι εἰς ὑμᾶς...διὰ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου, κ.τ.λ.: the words ὅτι κατὰ ἀποκάλυψιν...ἐν τῷ Χρ. being explanatory and parenthetic. In this view Th. stands, I believe, alone among the Gk. commentators.

15. *dationem*] O. L., and Vulg., *donum.*

20. *qui omnia creauit*] The omission of *per Iesum Chr.* is remarkable, since the words διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ occurred in the text as known to Chrys. and Thdt., for they are expounded by both. It may be due to the influence of the Vulg. upon the mind of the translator. Th.'s comment, however, points rather to the absence of the clause from the original.

idipsum dicit et hoc in loco, quoniam 'datum est mihi mysterium euangelii, ita ut omnibus gentibus praedicem uoluntatem Dei, illam quae erga illos extitit; et ut ostendam illis doctrinam huius mysterii quod absconditum fuerat et omnibus erat occultum, soli uero Deo erat cognitum, ei qui omnia fecit.' et ostendens quemadmodum omnibus erat occultum, adicit:

ut innotescat nunc principatibus et potestatibus in caelestibus per ecclesiam multiformis sapientia Dei, secundum propositum saeculorum quod fecit in Christo Iesu domino nostro; in quo habemus fiduciam et accessum in confidentia per fidem eius.

sic enim omnibus hoc occultum erat quod erat dispensandum

1 mihi *om H* 5 et (*for* ei) *H* | facit *C* 7 ostendat (*for* innot.) *H* | principibus *H* 8 multiformi *H* 9 quam *C H* 11 hoc *om H*

7. *ut innotescat nunc*] The adverb is wanting in the Vulg. and Peshito. On the other hand it is represented in the Syriac translation of a fragment of Th.'s comm. on Genesis, where Eph. iii. 10 is quoted. The following extract from this fragment (Sachau, pp. 13,) throws light upon Th.'s interpretation of the *νῦν*:

[viz. of] the Holy Trinity]

Comp. Greg. Nyss. *in Cant. cantic.* viii. (Migne 44, 948) cited by Card. Pitra: *μόνην γὰρ ἐν τοῖς πρὸ τούτου χρόνοις τὴν ἀπλῆν τε καὶ μονοειδῆ τοῦ θεοῦ σοφίαν αἱ ὑπερκόσμιοι δυνάμεις ἐγίνωσκον....τὸ δὲ ποικίλον τοῦτο τῆς σοφίας εἶδος...νῦν διὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας σαφῶς ἐδείχθησαν.* The passage—a truly grand and suggestive one—is summarized by Oec. and Thpht. *ad h. l.*

9. *quod fecit*] See vv. ll. *Quam* corresponds to the Greek (*ἥν*, sc. *πρόθεσιν*); cf. p. 81, l. 7, note.

11. *sic enim...facta sunt*] Abbreviated by Lanfranc.

per Christum, ita ut nec principatus nec potestates (ut dicat 'inuisibiles uirtutes') potuissent primitus scire illa quae erant futura; quae uere recognouissent nouam et gloriosam Dei sapientiam de his quae dudum illi et ante saecula fuerant placita, nunc uero manifestata per illa quae erga ecclesiam facta sunt—ut dicat 'erga fideles,' qui per fidem nouati, et futurorum spem suscipientes perfectam, offerimus cum multa confidentia Deo, utpote qui et magna quadam fiducia constituemur. et qualis est illa? talis quae iam ultra peccare nos non patitur, neque ab illis quae nos decent excedere nos ultra sinat.

haec omnia interiecit ad illud quod dixit: *Paulus uinctus pro uobis gentibus.* et quasi confirmans illud adicit:

propter quod postulo non deficere in tribulationibus meis pro uobis, quae est gloria uestra.

'pro his ergo non solum gauisus sum quoniam uinctus sum, sed et oro ut non cedam illis quae pro uobis sunt tribulationibus; sciens quoniam uestrum est lucrum, si ergo passiones sustinens tolerauero, non discedens ab illis quae conueniunt.' et quoniam omnia ista ad illud retulit quod dixerat, *Paulus uinctus pro uobis*

3 cognouissent *H* 5 facta est [ἐγένετο?] *C H* 6 renouati *C* (*corr*) 7 perfectum *H* 8 fiducia quadam H^{*}. 10 sinant *C H* 14 mea (*for* uestra) *H* 15 gravis (*for* gauisus) C^{*} | sum (1°) *om C H* (*corr*) 16 ero (*for* oro) *H* 18 non discedetis ab illis quae uobis conu. *C* (*corr*)

1. *ita ut nec principatus*, &c.] Thdt.: οὐδὲ γὰρ αἱ ἀόρατοι δυνάμεις ἤδεσαν τὸ μυστήριον, ἀλλὰ διὰ τῆς περὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν οἰκονομίας τὴν ἄρρητον τοῦ θεοῦ σοφίαν κατέμαθον.

3. *recognouissent*] is apparently a slip on the part of the translator for *recognouerant*.

7. *offerimus*]=προσφέρομεν. Th. understands ἔχομεν τὴν...προσαγωγήν as having special reference to the access of Christians to God in the Holy Mysteries. Pitra prints *offerimur*, which accords with Thdt.'s προσήχθημεν, but is without MS. authority.

8. *constituemur*] So the MSS.—an error, possibly, for the present.

11. *haec omnia interiecit*] See note on v. 1. The parenthesis actually expires, acc. to Th., with τούτου χάριν (v. 14); but v. 13 refers back to ὁ δέσμιος of v. 1, and so prepares for the resumption. Lanfranc cites this clause in the form; "omnia interiecit ab eo, *Paulus uinctus*, usque ad hoc, *propter quod peto.*"

13. *non deficere*] Pitra: "Vulg.: *peto ne deficiatis.* Unde Hieronymus *ad h. l.*: 'id quod nunc latinus translator expressit, *ne deficiatis*, potest juxta graeci sermonis ambiguitatem et ita legi: *ne deficiam*'...hunc sensum Hieron., quem potiorem habuit praeclare exponit; eumdemque et Hilario [i. e. Theodoro] praeplacuisse liquet ex his quae mox sequuntur: *sed et oro ut non cedam* &c." Thdt. follows Th.: δεόμαι τοίνυν τῆς θείας ἀπολαῦσαι ῥοπῆς ἵνα γενναίως φέρω τὰ προσπίπτοντα. The Peshito perhaps had led the way to this interpretation.

gentibus; resumit iterum quod dixerat, *huius rei gratia.* et quod ibi dicere supra proposuerat, hoc in isto loco adicit:

huius rei gratia, flecto genua mea ad patrem domini nostri Iesu Christi, ex quo omnis congregatio in caelis et super terram nominatur.

†quidam *paternitas* legerunt, non intellegentes quod positum erat ab apostolo; est autem *congregatio.* nam *patria* uel *paternitas,* cognatio dicitur; *congregatio* autem collectio esse insinuatur. in caelis namque cognatio quidem est nulla; congregationes autem sunt plurimae. nam quod dixit: *huius rei gratia,* sursum quidem reddidit ad illa quae praedicta fuerant ei, quae narrati-

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τινὲς πατριὰ ἀνέγνωσαν, οὐ συνιέντες τὸ κείμενον· ἔστιν δὲ φρατρία. πατριὰ μὲν γὰρ ἡ συγγένεια λέγεται, φρατρία δὲ τὸ σύστημα· ἐν δὲ τοῖς οὐρανοῖς συγγένεια μὲν οὐδεμία, συστήματα δὲ καὶ πολλά. τὸ τοίνυν τοῦτον χάριν ἄνωθεν μὲν ἀποδεδωκὼς πρὸς

2 super (*for* supra) C^* *H* 4 terra *H* 6 legunt *C* (*corr*) 8 esse *om H g* 10 rursum (*for* sursum) *C* 11 praedicata *C* | eisque (*for* ei quae) *C* 12 sq. Coisl. 204, f. 76 a [Cr. vi. 159, Fr. 134] θεόδωρος δέ φησιν· τινές, κ. τ. λ. 12 πατριὰν cod. 13 φατρία cod. 14 μὲν om edd.

6. *quidam* paternitas *legerunt*] *Quidam* are in fact all extant commentators with the exception of Theodore, and all known MSS. and versions. Chrys. indeed felt the awkwardness of predicating the existence of πατριαί among the heavenly hosts: ἐνταῦθα μὲν γὰρ πατριαὶ εἰσιν τὰ γένη, ἐν δὲ οὐρανῷ πῶς, ἔνθα οὐδεὶς ἐξ οὐδενὸς γέγονεν; ἢ ἐκεῖ τὰ συστήματά φησιν πατριάς, καθάπερ καὶ ἐν τῇ γραφῇ ἔστιν εὑρεῖν κείμενον πατριὰ Δματαρεί [Μεραρεί? Numb. iv. 33]; ἀφ' οὗ καὶ πατέρες καλοῦνται. Severianus mentions the conjectural reading so positively adopted by Th., but only to reject it (Cramer, vi. 159: ἐπισημαντέον δὲ ὅτι πατριὰν εἶπεν ὡς ἐπὶ συγγενείας, οὐ φρατρίαν. Thdt. passes it over in silence, but justifies the text: λέγει δὲ ἐπὶ γῆς πατέρας τοὺς φύσει πατέρας· οὐρανίους δὲ πατέρας, τοὺς πνευματικοὺς καλεῖ.

The margin of Cramer's catena has the scholion: ὁ Χρυσόστομος· πατριαί, οἱονεὶ φυλαί. Ὠριγένης ὁμοίως. Σευηριανός· πατριάν, ὡς ἐπὶ συγγενείας. Θεόδωρος· φρατρίαι, τὰ συστήματα. Origen's comment is followed by the remark (added in the body of the catena): πατριὰς δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐξέδωκεν, οὐ φρατρίας κατὰ Θεόδωρον.

7. patria *uel* paternitas] Cf. p. 5, l. 16. Patria=*paternitas* occurs in the Vulg. of Ps. xcv. 7 ("patriae gentium") and is used in the present passage by the author of the poem ag. Marcion ascribed to Tertullian (iv. 35): "Ex quo omnis patria in caelo terraque uocatur." Pitra cites also Hier. *adv. Helv.* 14 "cognatione fratres uocantur qui sunt de una familia id est *patria,* quas Latini *paternitates* interpretantur, quum ex una radice multa generis turba diffunditur."

onem explicabant magnitudinis gratiae Dei illius quae erga nos facta esse uidebatur. hoc uero in loco illud post interiectionem resumens, hoc dicit, quoniam 'pro his omnibus quae nobis praestitit, sicut praedixi, quia sic sunt magna et demiratione digna et nimium praeclara, per singula momenta genua flecto patri Christi, quem omnis congregatio *siue ea quae in caelis est siue ea quae super terram est*, proprium uocat et aestimat esse dominum.'*

quid depostulans ab eo?

ut det uobis secundum diuitias gloriae suae uirtutem confortari per Spiritum eius in interiorem hominem; habitare Christum per fidem in cordibus vestris; in caritate radicati et fundati.

'postulo (inquit) ab eo, ut secundum suam bonitatem praebeat uobis Spiritus gratiam, ut confirmet uos in ea quae secundum Christum est fide; ita ut aestimetur idem inhabitare in uestris animis, uobis erga eum habentibus caritatem, quasi quandam radicem et fundamentum firmissimum.' et aliud adicit:

ut possitis comprehendere cum omnibus sanctis, quae sit latitudo et longitudo et profundum et altitudo; cognoscere etiam supereminentem scientiae caritatem Christi.

τὰ προκείμενα, διήγησιν ἔχοντα τοῦ μεγέθους τῆς περὶ ἡμᾶς χάριτος τοῦ θεοῦ, ἐνταῦθα δὲ αὐτὸ μετὰ τὰ παρεντεθέντα ἀναλαβών, τοῦτο λέγει, ὅτι 'ὑπὲρ τούτων ἁπάντων ὧν ἡμῖν παρέσχεν, καὶ ὡς προεῖπον οὕτως ὄντων μεγάλων καὶ θαυμαστῶν, ἑκάστοτε προσπίπτω τῷ πατρὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὃν ἅπαν σύστημα εἴτε ἐν οὐρανοῖς εἴτε ἐπὶ γῆς οἰκεῖον καλεῖ τε καὶ ἡγεῖται δεσπότην.'

1 explicabat *C H* 5 flecti *C H* 6 Christo *C* H* | et (*for* ea 2°) *C* 9 confortare *CH* 11 fidem *H* 21 αὐτῷ cod., Cr. 22 παρεῖχε edd. | προειπὼν Cr. 25 καλεῖται cod., edd.

5. *patri Christi*] See vv. ll., and cf. the Gk., which disposes of Pitra's conjecture that the author's text omitted τοῦ κ. ἡμῶν Ἰ. Χ., and that he intended to identify τὸν πατέρα with Our Lord.

6. *quem omnis congregatio*, &c.] If this clause is intended as a paraphrase of ἐξ οὗ...ὀνομάζεται, Th. either understands the verb to mean 'derives its name from, as property from its owner,' and so, 'does homage, owns fealty to;' or he regards ἐξ οὗ...ὀνομάζεται as = ἐξ οὗ ἐστὶν..... ὀνομαζομένη (cf. i. 21). In either case he has been led into an unsatisfactory interpretation by the exigencies of his conjecture. See above, on c. ii. 21. The translator has used *congregatio* to represent both φρατρία and σύστημα, for the latter of which he had employed *collectio* in p. 159, l. 8.

18. *profundum et altitudo*] The same order is observed in the comm. below.

†nam quod dicit, *cognoscere*, frui dicit; ipsis rebus dicens cognitionem, sicut et in psalmo: *notas mihi fecisti uias uitae; adimplebis me laetitia cum uultu tuo*, hoc est, 'in fruitione uitae me constituisti.' similiter autem et quod dixit, *ut possitis comprehendere;* 'ut in fruitione (inquit) rerum consistatis.' et hoc ostendit ex illo quod [ait], *cum sanctis.* nam 'latitudinem et longitudinem et profundum et altitudinem,' ut dicat gratiae magnitudinem ex illis nominibus quae apud nos esse magna uidentur. 'oro (inquit) ut fruamini cum sanctis illa tam magna et demiratione digna donatione Dei quam praestitit nobis caritas Christi, multa erga nos existens.'* et quod lucrum ex hoc erit nobis?

ut adimpleamini in omnem plenitudinem Dei.

'ita ut et ipsi in portione communis corporis uideamini, in

τὸ ΓΝΩΝΑΙ ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀπολαῦσαι λέγει· ἐπὶ πραγμάτων εἰπὼν τὴν γνῶσιν, ὡς ἐν τῷ ψαλμῷ τὸ ΕΓΝΩΡΙCΑC ΜΟΙ ὁΔΟΥC ΖΩΗC· [ΠΛΗΡΩCΕΙC ΜΕ ΕΥΦΡΟCΥΝΗC ΜΕΤΑ ΤΟΥ ΠΡΟCΩΠΟΥ COΥ]· ἀντὶ τοῦ· 'ἐν ἀπολαύσει με τῆς ζωῆς κατέστησας.' ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὸ ΕΞΙCΧΥCΗΤΕ ΚΑΤΑΛΑΒΕCΘΑΙ τὸ ἐν ἀπολαύσει καταστῆναι τοῦ πράγματος λέγει. καὶ τοῦτο δείκνυσιν διὰ τοῦ CΥΝ ΤΟΙC ΑΓΙΟΙC. τὸ δὲ ΠΛΑΤΟC ΚΑΙ ΜΗΚΟC ΚΑΙ ΒΑΘΟC ΚΑΙ ΥΨΟC, ἵνα εἴπῃ τῆς χάριτος τὸ μέγεθος ἀπὸ τῶν παρ' ἡμῶν ὀνομάτων. 'εὔχομαι τοίνυν ὥστε ὑμᾶς συναπολαῦσαι τοῖς ἁγίοις τῆς οὕτως μεγάλης καὶ θαυμαστῆς δωρεᾶς τοῦ θεοῦ, ἣν πολλὴ τοῦ Χριστοῦ περὶ ἡμᾶς ἀγάπη παρέσχεν ἡμῖν.'

5 fruitionem *H* 6 ex illud quod cum s. *C*H* illud quod ait c. s. *C* (*corr*) 13 et ipsi et *C* 14 sq. Coisl. 204, f. 78 a [Cr. vi. 163, Fr. 134] *θεόδωρός φησω τὸ γνῶναι, κ. τ. λ.*

So Chrys., Thdt. The Latin versions follow the reading *ὕψος καὶ βάθος*.

2. *notas mihi fecisti*] Ps. xv. 11, Vulg. Thdt. interprets *γνῶναι* similarly: *δυνατὸν ἡμᾶς διὰ τῆς πίστεως καὶ ἀγάπης τῆς πνευματικῆς χάριτος ἀπολαῦσαι καὶ διὰ ταύτης καταμαθεῖν τῆς γεγενημένης οἰκονομίας τὸ μέγεθος.*

5. *ut in fruitione...caritas Christi*] Cited, with verbal alterations, by Lanfranc and Robert of B. The latter for *quae apud nos esse magna uid.* substitutes *quibus aliquas res mensuramus;* and for *donatione* reads *dignatione.*

7. *ut dicat gratiae magn.*] Chrys.: *τουτέστιν, τὸ μέγεθος τῆς ἀγάπης τοῦ θεοῦ γνῶναι, πῶς πανταχοῦ ἐκτέταται.* Thdt.: *τὸ μέγεθος παρεδήλωσεν· ἐπειδὴ ταῦτα μεγέθους δηλωτικά.*

13. *ita ut et ipsi...inhabitat Deus*] Lanfranc, R. of B. In Lanfranc's text, as edited, *in proportione* stands for *in port.* The mistake is not repeated by the Prior of Bridlington.

quod uel maxime inhabitat Deus.' et orat taliter pro illis. post propositam gratiae narrationem concludit dogmaticos sermones sub specie gratiarum actionis, eo quod et sub tali specie expositionem eorum fecisse uidetur. quibus adicit:

ei autem qui potens est super omnia facere superabundanter quae petimus aut intellegimus, secundum uirtutem quam inoperatus est in nobis; ipsi gloria in ecclesia in Christo Iesu, in omnes progenies saeculi saeculorum. amen.

'praestabit enim ista Deus qui potens est et ista et ampliora facere ab illis quae petimus et intellegimus, qui in illis quae per Christum erga ecclesiam facta sunt per singulas generationes et per omne saeculum gloriosus esse et uidetur et uidebitur.' nam quod dixit, *ei autem qui potens est super omnia facere*, dictum est *autem* κατ' ἔλλειψιν. quod enim uult dicere, iam in praecedentibus a nobis dictum est manifestius.

1 post *om H* 2 dogmatico sermone *H* 9 et ista *om C* | et ampliora *om H* 12 omnem *C** | uideretur (*for* uidetur) *C** 13, 14 dictum est autem catelipsin *C** (catalipsin *C* (*corr*)) dictum est catelipsin *H* | tam (*for* iam) *H*

1. *post propositam*, &c.] Lanfranc: "post gratiae narrationem orat pro illis, et sub speciem [spem: *f.* specie *ed.*] gratiarum concludens dogmaticos sermones incipit ethicos." Card. Pitra edits "et erat (*sic*) taliter pro illis. Post [cf. *spic. Solesm.* i. 568] positam," &c. Comp. p. 114. Theodore means to say: 'The *gratiae narratio* which formed the substance of the *dogmatici sermones* ends (iii. 20) as it began (i. 3) with a *gratiarum actio*.' Chrys. further remarks that the prayer of i. 17 is virtually repeated in iii. 18 (ὅπερ ἀρχόμενος ηὔξατο, τοῦτο καὶ νῦν).

5. *super omnia*] *Super* is wanting in the Latin versions. Thdt., as edited, omits ὑπὲρ πάντα *ad h. l.*, but reads the words elsewhere. Thdt. and Oec. comment upon them, the former remarking: δύο ὑπερβολὰς τίθησιν· τὸ ὑπὲρ πάντα καὶ τὸ ὑπερεκπερισσοῦ.

6. *quam inop. est*] The Latin versions correctly render *quae* [but Amiat. (corr.) *quam*] *operatur*. The double error as to voice and tense into which our translator has fallen is perhaps due partly to Th.'s comm. ("quae per Christum erga ecclesiam facta sunt"), partly to a reminiscence of c. i. 20 (ἣν ἐνήργηκεν ἐν Χριστῷ) which, with the Vulg., he renders *quam operatus est in Chr.* It is remarkable that none of the Greek commentators bring out the force of the pres. part. Cf. e. g. Thpht.: ἐνήργησεν ἐν ἡμῖν μεγάλα καὶ ἐξαίσια, υἱοθετήσας τοὺς ἐχθροὺς αὐτοῦ ἐθνικούς.

7. *in ecclesia in Chr. I.*] In common with the rest of the Gk. commentators Th. omits καὶ before ἐν X. 'I.

progenies] Vulg., *generationes*. Cf. however Luke i. 50, Vulg. (εἰς γενεὰς καὶ γενεάς = *in progenies et prog.*).

13. *dictum est* autem κατ' ἐλλ.] I. e. 'The δέ is elliptical; it glances back at the various reasons for thanksgiving upon which the Ap. has enlarged in the preceding chapters.' The correction in the Corbie MS. seems to point to κατὰ λῆψιν,

obsecro ergo uos ego uinctus in Domino.

dogmaticos sermones hucusque consummans, incipit hic ethicos. et primum quidem illis disputat de caritate et concordia quam erga se debent in inuicem exercere; quam et maxime omnibus illis plus esse necessariam existimat, omni in loco de illa disputans. optimum equidem principium ab exhortatione et obsecratione sumpsisse uidetur. scit enim magis ad reuerentiam inuitare tali exhortatione, maxime quia et adiecit, *uinctus in Domino;* siquidem et ipsa uincula propter praedicationem habere uidetur. cum quibus et obsecratur eos dicens:

ut digne ambuletis uocatione qua uocati estis.

et hoc dicens ad uerecundiam eos inuitat; si tamen propriae uocationi digna illos agere deprecatur. quid autem est quod postulat?

cum omni humilitate et mansuetudine, cum patientia, sustinentes in inuicem in caritate.

quoniam hoc dicebat, quia Christus equidem diuinam habens in se naturam, tamen multa humilitate abusus omnia uoluit pro nostra pati salute. hoc ergo dicit conueniens esse uocatione, ita ut Christi imitantes humilitatem sustineant se inuicem, etiam etsi delinquere aliquem aliquando extiterit. bene autem in ultimo posuit *in caritate*, eo quod si hanc habeant inter se, et humilitatem et mansuetudinem et patientiam et omnia in opere ostendere poterint.

adcelerantes seruare unitatem Spiritus, in uinculo pacis.

1 autem (*for* ergo) *H* 2 hic *om H* 4, 16 in (*bef* inuicem) *om H* 6 illud *H* 12 proprie uocatione *C* 19 uocationi *C* (*corr*) uocationem *H* 25 uirtutem (*for* unit.) *C H*

or perhaps rather to [*per*] *catalepsin* (see De Vit, *s.v.*); so Pitra.

7. *scit enim magis...uidetur*] Lanfranc: "ad reuerentiam mutat (*leg.* inuitat) quia adiecit *ego uinctus in D.*, siquidem ipsa u. propter praed. h. uidetur." With Th.'s remark cf. Oec.: ὁ ἀπόστολος ταύτην [sc. τὴν ἄλυσιν] προβάλλεται ὡς διὰ ταύτης δυσωπήσων αὐτούς.

15. *sustinentes*] So Cypr., Aug. (Vulg., *supportantes;* Hier., Ambrstr., Sedul. Scot., *sufferentes*).

24. *poterint*] See p. 2, l. 2; and cf. Bensly, *M. F.*, pp. 72 (note), 88.

25. *adcelerantes*] Cf. 1 Thess. ii. 17, *infra*. Elsewhere in the text of this comm. σπουδάζειν is rendered by *festinare*.

unitatem] See vv. ll. The reading of the MSS. is retained by Pitra, but the comm. shews that it is simply due to the error of a scribe.

omni ex parte illis necessariam esse ostendit concordiam et caritatem. 'ab Spiritu enim regenerati, unum quod facti estis. hanc igitur unitatem inlibatam custodite; conligate uobis inuicem per pacem et caritatem.' unde et multis modis ostendere nititur quoniam necessarius sit illis consensus:

unum corpus, et unus Spiritus.

†'Spiritus, qui uos regenerauit; corpus uero, in quod per regenerationem consistere uidemini.'*

sicut et uocati estis in una spe uocationis uestrae.

†'una enim proposita est spes nobis illorum quae expectamus.'*

unus Dominus, una fides, unum baptisma.

'sic nulla ex parte estis diuisi, sed omnia uobis sunt communia.'

unus Deus et Pater omnium.

euidens est quoniam †neque *unus Dominus* dicens, ad interceptionem Patris dicit; neque *unus Deus* dicens, ad interceptio-

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πνεῦμα, τὸ ἀναγεννῆσαν· σῶμα, εἰς ὅπερ διὰ τῆς ἀναγεννήσεως κατέστητε.

μία [γὰρ] πρόκειται ἡ τῶν προσδοκωμένων ἐλπίς.

μήτε τὸ εἷς κύριος ἐπ' ἀναιρέσει τοῦ πατρὸς νοητέον, μήτε τὸ εἷς θεὸς ἐπ' ἀναιρέσει τοῦ υἱοῦ. ἀλλ' ἵνα εἴπῃ· 'οὐ διαφόρους

2 quod *om H* 7 inquit (*for* in quod) *C H* | unum (*aft* in quod) *add H*: *txt g* 10 illorumque *C** 17 dicit (1°) *om H* 18 Coisl. 204, f. 79 a [Cr. vi. 165, Fr. 134] θεόδωρος δέ φησιν· πνεῦμα, κ.τ.λ. The edd. punctuate (but ag. cod.), πν. τὸ ἀναγεννῆσαν σῶμα, εἰς, κ.τ.λ. 21 Coisl. 204, f. 80 b [Cr. vi. 168, Fr. 134—5] θεόδωρος δέ φησιν· μήτε, κ.τ.λ.

2. *unum quod*] ἓν τι.

3. *hanc igitur...uidemini*] Cited (in part abbreviated) by Lanfranc, who agrees with *C* in omitting *unum*; see vv. ll.

16. *ad interceptionem Patris*] 'to the exclusion of the Father [from the title of Lord].' Pitra remarks that *interceptio* is a Hilarian word. It is also used by the translator of Irenaeus (v. 6. 1) and in Cassiodorus (v. Paucker, *melet. lexist.* p. 12); and *supra*, p. 93, l. 1. With Th.'s remarks on εἷς θ., εἷς κ., cf. Chrys. on 1 Cor. viii. 6: καθάπερ οὐκ ἐξωθεῖ τὸν πατέρα τοῦ κύριον εἶναι, οὕτος ὁ υἱὸς ἐστιν κύριος, διὰ τὸ ἕνα αὐτὸν λέγεσθαι κύριον τὸν υἱὸν· οὕτως οὐδὲ τὸν υἱὸν ἐκβάλλει τοῦ εἶναι θεόν, οὗτος ἐστιν θεὸς ὁ πατήρ, διὰ τὸ ἕνα θεὸν λέγεσθαι τὸν πατέρα. See also Th.'s comm. on 1 Thess. i. 9, *infra*.

nem Filii dicit. sed tamquam si ut dicat: 'non diuersos dominos, neque diuersos deos esse existimamus. inseparabilis enim apud nos est et deitatis et dominationis confessio. nec enim essentias diuidimus secundum numerum personarum, sed similiter scimus adorare.'*

qui super omnes et per omnia et in omnibus nobis.

†qui omnibus supereminet: hoc enim dicit *super omnes.* quia *et per omnia* nobis suam ostendit prouidentiam, *in omnibus* quoque *nobis* et esse et habitare creditur. et quoniam per omnia ista ostendit illis necessariam esse concordiam, uidebatur autem quaedam eis inesse differentia ob gratiarum uarietatem:

unicuique autem nostrum data est gratia secundum mensuram donationis Christi.

'si autem propriam quandam gratiam spiritalem unusquisque nostrum habet, differentia uero facta est, prout suum donum unicuique nostrum dominus dimittere dignatus est Christus.

κυρίους οὐδὲ διαφόρους νομίζομεν θεούς· ἀδιάσπαστος γὰρ ἡμῖν τῆς θεότητος καὶ τῆς κυριότητος ἡ ὁμολογία, οὐ διαιρουμένων τῶν γνωμῶν ἡμῶν κατὰ τὸν τῶν προσώπων ἀριθμόν, ἀλλὰ τὴν ὁμοίαν ἀποδιδόντων προσκύνησιν.'

ὁ ἐπὶ ΠΑΝΤΩΝ *δέ, ἵνα εἴπῃ 'ὁ πάντων ὑπερέχων καὶ* ΔΙΑ ΠΑΝΤΩΝ *ἡμῶν τὴν οἰκείαν ἐπιδεικνύμενος πρόνοιαν,* ΕΝ ΠΑΣΙΝ *τε ἡμῖν εἶναι καὶ οἰκεῖν πιστευόμενος.' καὶ ἐπειδὴ διὰ πάντων ἔδειξεν αὐτοῖς τὴν ὁμόνοιαν, ἐδόκει δέ τις αὐτοῖς εἶναι διαφορὰ ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν χαρισμάτων ποικιλίας, ἐπιφέρει·* ΕΝΙ ΔΕ ΕΚΑΣΤΩ ΗΜΩΝ ΕΔΟΘΗ Η ΧΑΡΙΣ ΚΑΤΑ ΤΟ ΜΕΤΡΟΝ ΤΗΣ ΔΩΡΕΑΣ ΤΟΥ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ. *εἰ δὲ ἴδιόν τι χάρισμα ἕκαστος ἡμῶν ἔχει, ἡ διαφορὰ γέγονεν καθὼς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ*

1 sed uel quasi [+ut *corr*] dicat nec diu. *H* 4 uidemur (*for* diuid.) *C** diuidemus *C* (*corr*) *H* 9 super *H* 11 inesse eis *H* 16 Chr. dign. est *H*

3. *nec enim essentias*, &c.] Cf. the Theodorean ecthesis: *ὁμολογοῦμεν δὲ πατέρα τέλειον προσώπῳ....σωζομένου τοῦ λόγου τῆς εὐσεβείας ἡμῖν τῷ πατέρα καὶ υἱόν, ὁμοίως καὶ πνεῦμα ἅγιον, μὴ τρεῖς τινας διαφόρους οὐσίας νομίζειν, ἀλλὰ μίαν τῇ ταυτότητι τῆς θεότητος γνωριζομένην.*

7. *qui omnibus...uarietatem*] Cited by Lanfranc. Cf. Thdt.: *τὸ μέντοι 'ἐπὶ π.' τὴν δεσποτείαν σημαίνει. τὸ δὲ 'διὰ π.', τὴν πρόνοιαν· τὸ δέ γε 'ἐν π.', τὴν ἐνοίκησιν.* And similarly Chrys., Oec., Thpht. Dam. on the other hand sees in these words *τὰ τῆς τριάδος ἰδιώματα*; and so S. Jerome and Sedul. Scot. On Th.'s doctrine of the Divine *ἐνοίκησις* see above, p. 142, l. 10, note.

nam is qui dedit nobis unus est; et qui datus est nobis Spiritus unus.'*

deinde profert uerbum, docens etiam qualiter dedit, aut si habuit dandi potestatem; de illo dicens qui secundum carnem est Christus, sicuti et ipsa sequentia ostendit:

propter quod dicit: 'ascendens in altum captiuam duxit captiuitatem, dedit dona hominibus.'

hoc quidem iacet in psalmo; utitur autem hoc testimonium non quasi prophetice dictum, sed sicut nos in ecclesiastica allocutione scripturalibus frequenter solemus uti testimoniis. †denique et commutans illud quod in psalmo positum fuerat: *accepisti dona, dedisti dona* dixit, demutatione uerbi ob firmitatem suae est usus prosecutionis. illic enim ad explanandum negotium aptum erat *accepisti.* hic uero praecedentibus consequens erat dicere *dedisti.* uult enim dicere quoniam 'certamen pro nobis

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δωρεὰν ἑκάστῳ ἡμῶν ὁ δεσπότης ἐπεμέτρησεν Χριστός. ὅ τε γὰρ δεδωκὼς ἡμῖν, εἷς· καὶ τὸ δοθὲν ἡμῖν πνεῦμα, ἕν.

ὑπαλλάξας δὲ τὸ ἔλαβεν ΔΟΜΑΤΑ, οὕτως ἐν τῷ ψαλμῷ κείμενον, ἔδωκεν ΔΟΜΑΤΑ εἶπεν, τῇ ὑπαλλαγῇ πρὸς τὴν οἰκείαν χρησάμενος ἀκολουθίαν· ἐκεῖ μὲν γὰρ πρὸς τὴν ὑπόθεσιν τὸ ἔλαβεν ἥρμοττεν, ἐνταῦθα δὲ τῷ προκειμένῳ τὸ ἔδωκεν ἀκόλουθον ἦν. βούλεται δὲ εἰπεῖν ὅτι ἀγῶνα ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἐνστησάμενος πρὸς τὸν διάβολον καὶ

5 Christum *C H* 8 ita et (*for* iacet) *H* 9 prophetiae *C* 10 solumus *C** 15 uobis *C** 19 περὶ (*for* πρὸς) edd. 22 ἐνστησόμενος Cr. ὁ Χριστὸς add. Fr.

4. *qui sec. carnem est Chr.*] i.e., the *homo assumptus.* See p. 168, l. 3, note.

8. *iacet in psalmo*] Ps. lxviii. (lxvii.) 19: ἀναβὰς εἰς ὕψος ᾐχμαλώτευσας αἰχμαλωσίαν, ἔλαβες δόματα ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ (לָקַחְתָּ מַתָּנוֹת בָּאָדָם).

9. *non quasi prophetice*] See above p. 84, l. 4, note.

11. *commutans...ded. dona dixit*] Cf. Th.'s remarks in his comm. on the Psalms *ad h. l.* (Migne, 688): ἐπειδὴ τὸ ἔλαβες δόματα οὐχ ἥρμοττεν, κατὰ τὸ παρ' ἡμῖν ἔθος, ὥσπερ ἐν ταῖς διαλέξεσιν ταῖς ἐκκλησιαστικαῖς κεχρήμεθα, ὑπαλλάξας τὸ ἔλαβες εἶπεν τὸ ἔδωκας. τοῦτο γὰρ ἁρμοδιώτερον ἐπὶ Χριστοῦ, οὐ λαβόντος, ἀλλὰ μετὰ τὴν ἄνοδον τὴν ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς δεδωκότος τοῦ πνεύματος τὰ χαρίσματα. Thdt. endenvours to tone down the harshness of his master's view: ἀμφότερα δὲ γεγένηται· λαμβάνων γὰρ τὴν πίστιν ἀντιδίδωσιν τὴν χάριν. Chrys. contents himself with saying that the two statements are practically the same (τοῦτο ταὐτόν ἐστιν ἐκείνῳ); Dam. explains that Our Lord 'received' as Man, and 'gave' as God: (ἔλαβεν, τὸ ἀνθρωπίνως λεγόμενον ... ἔδωκεν, τὸ θεϊκῶς). *Accepisti, dedisti*; cf. Gk., where the Ps. is conformed to the Ep. by the compiler of the catena.

aduersus diabolum arripiens, et tamquam lege belli uincens cum (eo quod et subtraxit se a morte, primus ex mortuis resurgens), communem nobis omnibus mortis expediit solutionem; quasi captiuos quosdam nos homines et sub diaboli tyrannide retentatos, ab eius eripuit impressione. sicque pro hominibus omnibus aduersus diabolum decertans, uictoriam obtinuit; et ascendens in caelum* et accipiens Spiritus gratiam dedit omnibus nobis, unicuique suam gratiam secundum quod sibi placitum fuit demetiens.' et quia incredibile erat hoc de homine dictum:

quod autem ascendit, quid est, nisi quia et descendit primum in inferiores partes terrae?

nam quod dicit, *in inferiores partes terrae,* non sub terram dicit. nam illa quae sub terra sunt, iam ultra terram esse non poterunt. *in inferiores* autem *partes,* ipsam terram nominat in comparatione caeli. uult autem dicere quoniam non ascenderat, nisi primum in illum diuina aliqua extitisset natura, quae etiam et super caelos erat; cui et complacuit in illum habitare, qui super terram erat, et super terram morabatur. deinde adicit:

ὥσπερ πολέμου νόμῳ νικήσας αὐτόν, ἐπειδὴ ἀφεῖλεν ἑαυτὸν τοῦ θανάτου πρότερος ἀναστάς, κοινὴν ἐπὶ πάντων ἡμῶν τοῦ θανάτου τὴν λύσιν ἐποιήσατο· ὥσπερ αἰχμαλώτους τινὰς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ ὑπὸ τὴν τοῦ διαβόλου τυραννίδα κατεχομένους, τῆς ἐκείνου καταδυναστείας αὐτοὺς ἀφελὼν ἀνῆλθεν εἰς τοὺς οὐρανούς.

2 subtraxisse *C** 8 bonis (*for* nobis) *H* 9 demitiens *C* H* 11 quod est *C* 15, 16 incomparabile *H* 22 καὶ ὥσπερ Fr. 24 ἀνῆγεν Fr.

4. *captiuos quosdam nos*] Cf. again Th.'s comm. on Psalm lxviii: *αἰχμαλώτους ἡμᾶς ὄντας ὑπὸ τοῦ διαβόλου, μάχῃ τῇ πρὸς αὐτὸν αὐτὸν νικήσας, ἀφεῖλετο.* Similarly Thdt.: *ὑπὸ τοῦ διαβόλου γεγενημένους ἀντηχμαλώτευσεν, καὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἡμῖν ἐδωρήσατο.* Chrys., on the other hand, followed by Photius (*ap.* Oec.), understands *αἰχμαλωσίαν* as referring to the powers of evil: *καὶ ποίαν αἰχμαλωσίαν φησίν; τὴν τοῦ διαβόλου· αἰχμάλωτον γὰρ τὸν τύραννον ἔλαβεν, τὸν διάβολον λέγω καὶ τὸν θάνατον καὶ τὴν ἁρὰν καὶ τὴν ἁμαρτίαν. ὁρᾷς σκῦλα καὶ λάφυρα*; Cf. Suicer, *s.v. αἰχμαλωσία.*

14. *inferiores autem...super terram erat*] Cited by Lanfranc.

ipsam terram nominat] Chrys., followed by the rest of the Greek expositors, understands 'the state or region of the dead'; and this was the prevalent view from Irenaeus downwards: Pearson, *art.* v. p. 269, note *y*. Th.'s view, however, has found favour with the majority of recent interpreters; cf. Ellicott, *ad h. l.*

qui descendit, ipse est et qui ascendit super omnes caelos, ut impleret omnia.

non qui descendit ipse est et qui ascendit; quemadmodum enim fieri poterat, ut ille qui adsumptus est homo ipse sit et qui de caelo descendit? simile est autem hoc dictum illi dicto: *nemo ascendit in caelum, nisi qui de caelo descendit*; uult enim dicere quoniam is in quem diuina descendit natura super omnes effectus est caelos, illo ascendens; ita ut et in omnibus idem esse uideatur, omnibus ad eum intuentibus propter inhabitantem naturam. et quoniam in hoc sermonem adtraxit, uolens dicere unde et quomodo illi qui secundum carnem est Christo id extitit ut ista adsequeretur ita ut et aliis possit tribuere spiritales donationes, recurrit iterum ad suam illam sequentiam, dicens quomodo demetita est gratia unicuique a Christo:

et ipse dedit quosdam quidem apostolos, quosdam uero prophetas, quosdam euangelistas, quosdam uero pastores et doctores, ad consummationem sanctorum, in opus ministerii, in aedificium corporis Christi.

'haec donationum (inquit) est differentia, ita ut alii quidem ista, alii uero illa percipient ad commune incrementum dominici corporis, expedientes et illis qui per singula credunt momenta.'

donec occurramus omnes in unitatem fidei et cognitionem Filii Dei in uirum perfectum, in mensuram aetatis plenitudinis Christi.

factum praesentem paruulum se dicit esse, ad comparationem

8 in *om* C^* 9 hominibus (*for* omn.) *C* (*corr*) 10 sermone C^* *H* 12 istam C^* *H* 13 diuitias (*for* donat.) *H* 20 communem C^* | domini C^* 21 quae *H*

3. *non qui descendit*, &c.] i.e., the Apostle's statement is not to be pressed; strictly speaking, the man who ascended is not identical with the Word Who descended, although the identification is natural and innocent, in consequence of the *συνάφεια*. Thdt. (cf. p. 62, l. 21, note) holds off from this language; *ἄλλως κατελήλυθεν*, he is content to say, *ἄλλως ἀνελήλυθεν*. Thpht. and Oec. regard the Apostle's words as a distinct witness against Nestorianism: *τοῦτο τὴν Νεστορίου καταβάλλει βλασφημίαν*, writes the latter; *ὁ αὐτός, φησίν, ἐστὶν ὁ καταβὰς καὶ ὁ ἀναβάς.*

6. *nemo*, &c.] S. John iii. 13. *Vult enim dicere...sequentiam;* abbreviated by Lanfranc. *Sententiam* is his reading of the last word.

17. *aedificium*] i. e. aedificationem. So v. 16, *infra;* but v. 29, *ad aedificationem.*

21. *illis qui...credunt*] Thdt.: *εἰς... ὠφέλειαν τῶν πιστευόντων. τούτους γὰρ τοῦ Χριστοῦ προσηγόρευσεν σῶμα.*

24. *factum praesentem*] So both our

futurorum. sic et ad Galatas scribens dicit: *quando eramus paruuli, sub elementa mundi eramus seruientes.* hoc ergo dicit, quoniam 'ipsa gratiarum differentia propter aliorum fit necessitatem, ita ut ecclesia augmentum adsequatur, usquedum per fidem et cognitionem Filii Dei congregemur ad illud perfectum quod expectamus, quando nulla in parte minus aliquid apud nos esse reperietur; omnes uero corpus extiterimus Christi, in ipso repleti et ipsum habentes in nobis perspicuum.'

cum ergo tali ex causa differentia gratiarum fiat, quid nobis faciendum est?

ut ultra non simus paruuli fluctuantes, et circumferamur omni uento doctrinae in astutia hominum, in uersutia, ad remedium erroris.

'itaque illis quae expectamus aequa utique et sapere debemus, ita ut ultra non more paruulorum abstrahamur a qualibet uentosa doctrina illorum, qui nos huc atque illuc circumducere uolunt per suam astutiam, quam et utuntur uarie, illa quae erroris sunt perficientes.'

ueritatem autem facientes in caritate, crescere faciamus in ipsum omnia qui est caput, Christus.

'ueram autem erga Christum caritatem ostendentes contineamus nos in eius affectum, sicut conuenit capiti corpus esse coniunctum.' et quoniam caput illum uocauit, ostendit quod adsint ei illa quae sunt capitis; ita ut rebus ipsis ostendat necessariam nobis esse huiusmodi copulationem ad eum:

1 ad *om H* 2 Christi (*for* mundi) *C H* 3 quando (*for* quoniam) *H* 5 fili *C** 7 reperitur *C** reperiatur *H* 12 in uersutia *om C (corr)* 17 qua (*for* quam) *C (corr)* | errore *C**

MSS. Perhaps the translator wrote *factum in praesente. In* having fallen out after *factum*, the change of *praesente* into *praesentem* was inevitable.

1. *sic et ad Galatas*] C. iv. 3. See Th.'s comm. there, p. 60, l. 27, sq.

2. *mundi*] See vv. ll.

12. *in astutia hom. in uers.*] The O. L. and Vulg. keep *astutia* to represent πανουργία, using *nequitia* for κυβεία. *Remedium* is the O. L. rendering of μεθοδεία (in the sense of a *nostrum*, 'quack-medicine': Mill, *prolegg.* § 568). Lucif. Cal. uses it also in c. vi. 11, where our translator employs *uersutia*.

19. *ueritatem...facientes*] So O. L. and Vulg. Th.'s comm., however, bears out this interpretation. See below on iv. 25.

crescere faciamus] The translator appears to regard αὐξάνειν in this place as transitive. O. L. and Vulg., *crescamus, augeamur.*

23. *et quoniam caput*, &c.] Thdt.: καὶ ἐπειδὴ κεφαλὴν πάλιν αὐτὸν ὠνόμασεν, δείκνυσιν πόσα ἀπὸ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἀγαθὰ χορηγεῖται.

ex quo omne corpus coaptatum et productum per omne tactum subministrationis, secundum inoperationem in mensuram uniuscuiusque partis incrementum corporis facit ad aedificium sui in caritate.

quoniam sicut de nostro capite in residuum corpus omnis uiuacitatis fertur uirtus, ex quo unumquodque membrorum et uiuit et mouetur et reliquo corpori est coaptatum; sic et spiritalis gratia in nobis quasi de capite Christo aduenit, per quam gratiam regenerationis in uno corpore sic ad eum communionem suscepimus. membrorum differentiam in gratiarum differentia ostendens. hoc enim dicit, quia 'ex ipso Christo quasi de capite copulatur et continetur nouum ecclesiae corpus, secundum ut in unoquoque nostrum spiritalis efficitur inoperatio, quam unusquisque nostrum inenarrabili quadam ratione suscipiens in communi suum praestat ministerium.' nam quod dixit: *in aedificium sui in caritate,* de Christo dicit; ut dicat quoniam 'ita facit Christus propter proprii corporis aedificium ob illam caritatem quam erga nos habere uidetur;' ostendat uero per ista quoniam differentiam gratiarum, non necessitatem diuisionis imponit; non solum quia unus est Christus, et unus nobis ista tribuit, sed et unum quoddam corpus suum omnes spiritali effecti regeneratione.

et quoniam communis est omnium necessitas, unoquoque

2 operationem *C** (?) 5 sicut *om H* 10 differentiam (*for* differentia) *C** 12 continet *H* 13, 14 qua in uniuscuiusque n. inenarrabile [– i *C* (*corr*)] quadam [quaedam *H*] rat. susc. *C H* 16 ista (*for* ita) *C* (*corr*) 18 quam (*for* quoniam) *C* 22 unumquemque *C H*

1. *coaptatum et productum*] Vulg., *compactum et connexum.* So above, ii. 22, our translator renders *συναρμολογεῖσθαι* by *coaptari.* In Col. ii. 19, he employs the same Latin verb for *συνβιβάζεσθαι.*

per omne tactum] So in Col. ii. 19, *διὰ τῶν ἁφῶν* is translated *per tactus.* Cf. *supra* on Eph. ii. 21. Tichonius (*reg.* 1) uses *tactus* both in Eph. iv. and in Col. ii. For the form *tactum* (=tactus) see Bensly, *M. F.*, p. 16, Rönsch, *Itala*, p. 269.

8. *quasi de capite Christo*] Thdt.: *καθάπερ (φησὶν) ἡ κεφαλὴ πᾶσιν τοῖς μορίοις τοῦ σώματος χορηγεῖ τῆς αἰσθήσεως τὴν ἐνέργειαν...οὕτως ὁ δεσπότης Χριστὸς κεφαλῆς τάξιν ἐπέχων τὰ τοῦ πνεύματος διανέμει χαρίσματα, εἰς μίαν ἁρμονίαν συνάπτων τὰ μέλη τοῦ σώματος.*

11. *ex ipso Christo...efficitur inoperatio*] Lanfranc.

15. *quod dixit...habere uidetur*] Lanfranc, Robert of B.

16. *de Christo dicit*] Th. regards *ἑαυτοῦ* as having reference to *ὁ Χριστός* (v. 15). So Photius (*? ap.* Oec.): *αὔξων γὰρ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ὁ Χ. πνευματικῶς καὶ αἰσθητῶς ἑαυτὸν οἰκοδομεῖ, ἐπειδὴ τὸ ἴδιον αὔξει σῶμα.*

20. *sed et unum quoddam*, &c.] Cf. p. 164, l. 2, note. *Suum;* for. leg. *sumus.*

hoc quod potest in communi conferente, ita ut nec ille qui infirmam uidetur habere gratiam, minus esse ad communem existimetur perfectionem, siquidem et in corpore membrorum unam constat esse naturam; insuper etiam et communem de omnibus membris habemus sollicitudinem, omnia similiter ad stabilitatem communis corporis perficere existimantes; et propter hoc nullum nostrae prouidentiae indignum esse arbitramur, utpote minimum ab illis.

et quoniam ob gratiarum differentiam quae uidebantur esse illa quae conueniebant edixit, adicit:

hoc ergo dico et testificor in Domino.

necessarie posuit *testificor*, post praecedentium probationem, in quibus omni ex parte ostendit necessarium illis esse consensum.

ita ut ultra non ambuletis, sicut et ceterae gentes ambulant in uanitate mentis suae, excaecati intellectu, abalienati a uita Dei propter ignorantiam quae est in illis, propter caecitatem cordis eorum.

†hoc dicit compendiose, quoniam 'non est iustum uos ad similitudinem gentium agere, qui nihil sciunt de illis quae sibi conueniunt, sed tamquam in tenebris ambulantes et a pietate elongaue-

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τοῦτο λέγει συντόμως· 'οὐ δίκαιον ὑμᾶς ἀκόλουθα πράττειν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν, οἳ μηδὲν ἐπιστάμενοι τῶν δεόντων ὥσπερ ἐν σκότει διάγουσιν, τῆς εὐσεβείας μακρὰν τυγχάνοντες καὶ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ

1 hi firmam C^* infirma H 2 gratia H | minimus (*for* minus) C 3, 4 una, natura C 13 quo H 22 sq. Coisl. 204, f. 85 a [Cr. vi. 177, Fr. 135] θεόδωρος δέ φησιν· τοῦτο, κ.τ.λ.

2. *minus esse*] Cf. p. 56, l. 18, note.

15. *sicut et cet. gentes*] Th. (with Chrys., Thdt., Dam.) reads τὰ λοιπὰ ἔθνη. *Ceterae* is omitted by the Latin versions.

16. *excaecati intellectu*] ἐσκοτισμένοι [—τωμένοι?] τῇ διανοίᾳ. O. L., *obscurati intellectu, intellegentia;* Vulg., *tenebris obscuratum habentes intellectum*. Had ὄντας found place in Th.'s text, our translator would probably have added *existentes*, or *qui existunt:* cf. c. ii. 20. For *abalienati*, see above, p. 149, l. 7, note.

21. *elongauerunt*] ἐμακρύναντο(?). See Rönsch, *Itala*, p. 173. Cf. *prolongaret*, p. 119, l. 11.

runt, et a Dei uita alieni sunt effecti;' ut dicat, 'a resurrectione illa quae fieri expectatur.'* quid uero illi?

qui desperantes semetipsos tradiderunt impudicitiae, in operationem omnis immunditiae et auaritiae.

bene †dixit *desperantes*, ex illa ratione illud sumens qua solent saepe aliqua membra passione corporis mortificari; quibus exinde non solum dolor nullus adnascitur, sed neque membri ipsius excisio sensum aliquod illis praestare uidetur.* 'illi (inquit) neque malorum illorum quae agunt sensum suscipere uolunt, in omnem actum prauum semel seipsos ingurgitantes.' et cum multa expressione illa quae illorum fuerant edicens, contrasistit sua:

uos autem non ita didicistis Christum, si tamen illum audistis, et in illo docti estis, sicut est ueritas in Iesu.

nam quod dixit *si tamen illum audistis*, hoc est, 'necessarie eum audistis;' sicut et in superioribus, *si audistis dispensationem gratiae Dei quae data est mihi in uobis.* †hoc enim dicit, quoniam

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ζωῆς ἀλλότριοι καθεστῶτες·' ἵνα εἴπῃ, τῆς προσδοκωμένης ἀναστάσεως.

τὸ δὲ ἀπηλγηκότες ὥσπερ τῶν ἀπὸ πάθους τινὸς μέρη πολλάκις τοῦ σώματος νενεκρωμένων, οἷς οὐ μόνον ἄλγος οὐδὲν ἐκεῖθεν ἐγγίνεται, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἡ τοῦ μέρους ἀφαίρεσις αἴσθησιν ἐμποιεῖ.

τοῦτο λέγει, ὅτι 'πάντως ποῦ καὶ ἠκούσατε καὶ ἐδιδάχθητε

7 ullus *C H* | membris *C*H* 10 paruum *C**

1. *ut dicat 'a resurrectione'*] Cited by Lanfranc. A characteristic interpretation. Thdt. rightly sets it aside and expounds: ζωὴν τὴν θεοῦ τὴν ἐν ἀρετῇ ζωὴν προσηγόρευσεν.

5. *bene dixit* desperantes] It is strange that Th.'s exposition has not compelled the translator to abandon at least in the comm. this inadequate rendering of ἀπηλγηκότες. Thdt. adds a remark which seems to have escaped Th., that πώρωσις (v. 5) belongs to the same metaphor as ἀπηλγ.: πώρωσιν δὲ καρδίας τὴν ἰσχάτην ἀναλγησίαν ἐκάλεσεν.

8. *sensum aliquod*] Cf. p. 170, l. 1, note.

11. *contrasistit*] Cf. p. 108, p. 15, note.

13. *si tamen...hoc est necessarie*] So Chrys. (comparing 2 Thess. i. 6): τὸ εἴγε οὐκ ἀμφιβάλλοντός ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ σφόδρα διαβεβαιουμένου. Oec., after quoting his opinion, remarks: δύναται δέ τις καὶ ἐν ἀμφιβολίᾳ αὐτὸ δέξασθαι, ἵνα καὶ μᾶλλον αὐτοὺς πλήξῃ. Above, c. iii. 2, Th. consistently paraphrases "necessarie audistis"; but on Gal. iii. 4 (εἴγε καὶ εἰκῇ) he departs from his own rule. Cf. Ellicott and Lightfoot on Gal. *l. c.*

'omni ex parte *audistis et docti estis* de Christo ista, quae et uera consistunt et sic se habent.'*

deponere uos secundum pristinam conuersationem ueterem hominem, qui corrumpitur secundum concupiscentiam erroris; renouamini autem spiritu mentis uestrae, et induite uos nouum hominem, qui secundum Deum creatus est in iustitia et sanctitate et ueritate.

†et quod mortales sequitur ut peccent, inmortales uero effecti in futuro saeculo peccare ultra non poterimus; forma autem illius est spiritalis regeneratio quam in baptismate implere uidemur, quasi hinc iam recreati et secundum formam regenerati spe illorum quae et fieri expectamus; hoc dicit quoniam 'non ignoratis solutum quidem esse ueterem illum hominem mortalem. nouus uero quidam pro illo indutus est incorruptus, in cuius formam illam quae in baptismate est [renouationem] per-

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περὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ταῦτα· ἅπερ δὴ καὶ ἀληθῆ καθέστηκεν καὶ οὕτως ἔχει.'

ἐπειδὴ τοῖς θνητοῖς ἕπεται τὸ ἁμαρτάνειν, ἀθάνατοι δὲ γενόμενοι ἐπὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος αἰῶνος ἁμαρτεῖν οὐκ ἐπιδεχόμεθα· σύμβολον δὲ ἐκείνου ἡ τοῦ πνεύματος ἀναγέννησις ἣν ἐν τῷ βαπτίσματι πληροῦμεν, ὥσπερ ἀνακτιζόμενοι ἐντεῦθεν ἤδη καὶ ἀναγεννώμενοι κατὰ τύπον ἐλπίδι τῶν προσδοκωμένων· τοῦτο λέγει, ὅτι 'πάντως οὐκ ἀγνοεῖτε ὅτι λέλυται μὲν ὁ παλαιὸς ἄνθρωπος ὁ θνητὸς ἐκεῖνος, καινὸς δέ τις ἀντεπεισῆκται ἄφθαρτος, οὗπερ εἰς τύπον ἐπὶ τοῦ βαπτίσματος ἀνακαινισμὸν ἐδέξασθε, τὴν τοῦ πνεύματος

5 autem *om C** 12 solum tum (*for* solutum) *H* 14 illa *C H* | renouationem *om C H*

1. *de Christo*] Chrys. more adequately: ἆρα καὶ τοῦτό ἐστιν 'μ. τὸν Χ.', τὸ ὀρθῶς βιοῦν· ὁ γὰρ πανηρῶς βιῶν ἀγνοεῖ τὸν θεὸν καὶ ἀγνοεῖται παρ' αὐτοῦ. Cf. S. Jerome: "Christus enim de se docet quid sit, et quantus credendus sit, et quae spes in eo sit, et quales debeant esse credentes."

6. *in iust. et sanct. et ueritate*] Since the reading καὶ ἀληθείᾳ is confined to the uncials DFG and ἀληθείας is found in the text of the other Gk. commentators (one MS. of Thpht. gives καὶ ἀλ., but the comm. shews that the text is incorrect), we may perhaps conclude that *et ueritate* is merely a reminiscence of the O. L. on the part of the translator.

7. *mortales sequitur ut peccent*] Cf. pp. 25, l. 5, note; 126, l. 14, &c.

12. *ueterem illum h. mortalem*] Thdt. as usual is disposed to stop short at the ethical signification: παλαιὸν ἄνθρωπον οὐ τὴν φύσιν ἐκάλεσεν, ἀλλὰ τὴν τῆς ἁμαρτίας ἐνέργειαν.

13. *in cuius formam*, &c.] Cf. p. 30, l. 12, sq.

cepistis, simul et primitias Spiritus accipientes. itaque iustum est uos consentanee illis et sapere et conuersari,* qui maxime cum Spiritus regeneratione etiam sensus renouationem estis adsecuti, et ueterem conuersationem deponentes cum omni ueteri actu secundum omnem iustitiam conuersamini.' haec enim omnia secundum interiectionem magis ab illo sunt dicta. de consensu enim disputans illis interiecit, id est, illa quae [de] differentia erant gratiarum. iterum regressus est ad propositum suum ut de caritate disputaret. unde et adicit:

propter quod deponentes mendacium, loquimini ueritatem unusquisque cum proximo suo.

mendacium et *ueritatem* hoc in loco non uerborum dicit; sed ut dicat, 'omnem simulationem et hypocrisin deponite; perfecta mente uobis in inuicem narrate.' et magis magisque suadens eis, adiecit:

quoniam sumus alterutrum membra,

prudenter simul omnem contradictionem exclusit, et ex ipsa differentia dictorum suorum probationem fecisse uidetur. ideo non dixit: 'corpus sumus,' sed *membra;* eo quod et membrorum illorum quae ad nos pertinere uidentur multam sollicitudinem habemus, partes communes corporis similiter omnia illa esse existimantes.

deinde condescendens docet eos modeste; eo quod uidebat etiam tristitias inter eos commoveri, utpote inter homines:

irascimini (inquit) *et nolite peccare.*

ἀπαρχὴν κομισάμενοι. ὥστε δίκαιον ὑμᾶς ἀκόλουθα τούτοις καὶ φρονεῖν καὶ πολιτεύεσθαι.'

2 conuersare *C* 7 de *om C H* 9 disputet *H* 15 adicit *C* 19 sum *C** 23 ueniebat *C** eueniebat *C (corr)*

2. *consentanee*] See the exx. of this rare adverb given by the lexx. It is used by Lactantius and Jerome.

3. *sensus renouationem*] *τὴν τοῦ νοὸς ἀνανέωσιν.* Cf. v. 17, Vulg., *in vanitate sensus* (*νοὸς*) *sui.*

5. *haec enim o. sec. interiect.*] I. e., verses 7—24 (?)

12. *non uerborum dicit*] Cf. p. 169, l. 19, note.

16. *alterutrum*] = alterutrorum. So Tert. *res. carn.*, 45; Hieron. *ad h. l.* On this use of *alteruter*, cf. p. 99, l. 12, note; and see Rönsch, *N. T. Tertullians*, pp. 705—6.

23. *condescendens*] = *συγκαταβαίνων.*

'sed etsi ad iram commoveris, non tamen ad peccatum exire debes et prorumpere, iniustum aliquid aduersus proximum tuum faciens.' et ut ne uideatur concedere iram sine iniustitia exerceri, terminum irae statuit, dicens:

sol non occidat super iracundiam uestram.

bene cum diei et operum termino etiam finem illorum quae ex ira adnasci solent fecisse uidetur. et rei ipsius utilitatem ostendens adicit:

et nolite locum dare diabolo.

'si (inquit) in longum tetenderis iram, accipit locum diabolus, ut et ad iniustitiam te propellat.'

et quoniam perfectum de concordia et caritate sermonem reddit, profert iterum et de illis exhortationem, de plurimis et necessariis illis disceptans:

qui furabatur iam non furetur; magis autem laboret operando quod bonum est manibus suis, ut habeat retribuere ei qui necessitatem sustinet.

bene a persona furis retulit dicens, *magis autem laboret operando quod bonum est manibus suis.* si enim non potest operari necessaria, nec furtum facere poterit; si autem potest, melius est laborare illum operantem, ut et aliis tribuere possit. non enim in commune posuit legem operandi aduersus omnes, uel maxime illos qui non possunt operari. ubi et de se propter

2 contra prox. (*om* tuum) *H* iustitia *H* 4 sterminum [*sic*] *H* 20 operare *C** 21 posset *C**

3 sine iniustitiam *C** siue in. *C* (*corr*) sine 10 accepit *C** 11 ad iustitiam *H*

1. *sed etsi ad iram*, &c.] Cf. Chrys. *ad h. l.*: καλὸν μὲν γὰρ τὸ μὴ ὀργίζεσθαι. εἰ δέ τις ἐμπέσοι ποτὲ εἰς τὸ πάθος, ἀλλὰ μὴ εἰς τοσοῦτον. And on Ps. iv. 5 (ap. Corder. *caten.*, i. p. 72): οὐ τὴν ὀργὴν ἀναιρεῖ, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἄδικον ὀργήν...ἔστιν δὲ μὴ ἁμαρτάνειν ὀργιζόμενον, ὅταν δικαίως τοῦτο ποιῶμεν. Oec. adds: ἤκουσα τινῶν ἑρμηνευσάντων· μία (φησὶν) ἀναμάρτητος ὀργή, ἡ πρὸς τοὺς δαίμονας καὶ τὰ πάθη.

6. *bene cum diei*, &c.] Thdt.: μέτρον ἔδωκεν τῷ θυμῷ τῆς ἡμέρας τὸ μέτρον.

10. *accipit locum*, &c.] Cf. Chrys.: οὐδεπότε γὰρ οὕτως ἔχει τόπον ὁ διάβολος ὡς ἐν ταῖς ἔχθραις.

15. *operando quod b. est m. s.*] ἐργαζόμενος τὸ ἀγαθὸν ταῖς ἰδίαις χερσίν—the reading adopted also by Thdt. Chrys., &c., omit ἰδίαις.

22. *non enim in comm. posuit*, &c.] Cf. infr. on 2 Thess. iii. 12: "non generaliter dicens quod ille qui non operatur non debet manducare."

23. *ubi*] The sense seems to require *unde*.

imminentem sibi doctrinae necessitatem dicit: *numquid non habemus potestatem ut non operemur?* et ut bonum opus erga sanctos fiat, frequenter uidetur sollicitudinem impendere; quod utique superfluum erat facere, si operandi lex omnibus incumbebat.

omnis sermo nequam ex ore uestro non procedat; sed si quis bonus ad aedificationem necessitatis, ut det gratiam audientibus.

'inconueniens nihil nos proloqui uult, sed magis illa quae audientibus sunt utilia, quae et de necessariis sciunt iuuamen praestare; in quibus etiam et laetari conuenit eos qui audiunt.' et quod per omnia eos possit ad reuerentiam inuitare, adiecit:

et nolite contristare Spiritum sanctum Dei in quo signati estis in die redemptionis.

dein et aliam inducit exhortationem:

omnis amaritudo et ira et indignatio et clamor et blasphemia tollatur a uobis cum omni malitia.

compendiose per omnia ista cauere nos uult ab odio illo quod in inuicem solet fieri; propter quod et adiecit:

estote in inuicem benigni, misericordes.

et quoniam illa quae adnascuntur saepe solent mentem hominis conturbare:

donantes uobis ipsis.

deinde quia graue esse uidebatur, ut is qui nocitus est remitteret nocenti se:

1 necess. doctr. deo (*for* doctr. n. dicit) *H* 10 laetare *C** 11, 18 adicit *C* 14 deinde *C* (*corr*) | inducet *C* H* 17 ut (*aft* uult) *add H* | qui (*for* quod) *C H* 19 in (*bef* inu.) *om H*

1. *numquid non potestatem*, &c.] 1 Cor. ix. 4—6 (*μὴ οὐκ ἔχομεν ἐξουσίαν...τοῦ μὴ ἐργαζεσθαι;*).

3. *frequenter uid. soll. impendere*] Cf. e.g., Gal. ii. 10: vi. 6—10; and the charge to the Ephesian clergy, Acts xx. 35 (*κοπιῶντας δεῖ ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι τῶν ἀσθενούντων*).

7. *ad aedif. necessitatis*] *Opportunitatis*, Hieron., Cod. Amiat.; *fidei*, O. L., Vulg.$^{clem.}$ With the other Gk. commentators Th. reads *πρὸς οἰκοδομὴν τῆς χρείας*, interpreting: 'to build up the hearers according as they have need.' Cf. Thdt.: *καὶ τοῦτον δὲ* [sc. *τὸν ἀγαθὸν λόγον*] *εἰς καιρὸν προσφέρειν κελεύει.*

10. *in quibus...qui audiunt*] Lanfranc.

23. *nocitus est, nocenti se*] See p. 67, l. 2, note. Lanfranc cites this sentence, but replaces *is qui nocitus est* by a simple *quis*.

sicut et Deus (inquit) *in Christo donauit uobis.*

et confidens exemplo probato:

estote ergo imitatores Dei.

deinde et condecentem ostendens esse ipsam imitationem:

sicut filii dilecti.

et imitationis factae documenta ostendit:

et ambulate in caritatem.

et iterum exemplo utitur, simul discutiens illud:

sicut et Christus dilexit nos, et seipsum tradidit pro nobis oblationem et sacrificium Deo in odorem bonae suauitatis.

sicut et Dominus dicit: *ut diligatis in inuicem, sicut et ego dilexi uos; maiorem hac caritatem nemo habet ut quis animam suam ponat pro amicis suis.* et post caritatis uerba iterum ad alia transit dicens:

fornicatio autem et omnis immunditia aut auaritia nec nominetur in uobis.

immunditiam dicit fornicationis nimiam pertinaciam. et quoniam dixit, *neque nominetur in uobis,* ad uerecundiam eos inuitans adiecit:

sicut decet sanctos.

et non solum hoc, sed

et turpitudo et stultiloquium et scurrilitas, quae ad rem non pertinet; sed magis gratiarum actio.

stultiloquium dicit, quando de rebus non necessariis loquimur; *scurrilitatem* uero dicit derogationem illam quam in proximos facimus. deinde et timorem illis incutiens:

1 nobis *H* 3 ergo *om* C^* 4 condecenter *H* 7 caritate *H* 11 in (*bef* inu.) *om H* 12 hanc C^* *H* 17 fornicationes C^* 19 adicit *C* 25 scurrilitates *H*

11. *ut diligatis*, &c.] S. John xv. 12, 13: ἵνα ἀγαπᾶτε ἀλλήλους, καθὼς [+ κἀγὼ (? cf. v. 9 and c. xiii. 34, vv. ll.)] ἠγάπησα ὑμᾶς. μείζονα, κ.τ.λ.

22. *et stultiloquium*, &c.] καὶ αἰσχρ. καὶ μωρολ. καὶ εὐτραπελία (?). By εὐτραπ. Th. seems to understand 'ill-natured wit'; cf. Arist. *Rhet.* ii. 12 [cited by Trench, *Syn.*]: ἡ γὰρ εὐτραπελία πεπαιδευμένη ὕβρις ἐστίν.

hoc enim scitote, cognoscentes quoniam omnis fornicarius aut inmundus aut auarus (quod est idolorum seruitus) non habet hereditatem in regno Christi et Dei.

auaritiae autem pondus ex similibus demonstrauit, 'idolorum seruitutem' illam vocans; eo quod similiter a Deo potest auertere, et quia haec apud gentes absolute tunc agebantur, eo quod nolebant credere aliquod esse examen illorum quae hic agimus.

nemo uos seducat inanibus uerbis; propter haec enim uenit ira Dei super filios diffidentiae. nolite ergo fieri conparticipes eorum.

id ostendens quemadmodum illis non sit aptum ultra id facere.

eratis enim aliquando tenebrae, nunc uero lumen in Domino.

hoc est ut dicat: 'ignorabatis Deum; nunc autem cognouistis.' bene ignorantiam quidem 'tenebras' uocauit, scientiam uero, 'lumen'; non solum propter rerum differentiam, sed et ut opportunissimis abusus nominibus ad eruditionem eos inuitaret uirtutum. unde et adiecit:

tamquam filii luminis ambulate.

'sicut decet illos qui in lumine consistunt.' et aliter illa ostendere cupiens quae illos deceant:

fructus enim Spiritus in omni bonitate et iustitia et ueritate.

'sed et illius Spiritus tales sunt donationes; itaque talia decet agere uos qui accepistis eundem Spiritum.' et recurrens iterum ad exemplum quod usus est:

7 hic *om H* 17 adicit *C* 22 et *om H* 24 quo (*for* quod) *C* (*corr*)

1. *hoc enim scitote, cognoscentes*] = τοῦτο γὰρ ἴστε γινώσκοντες. So Chrys.; Thdt., on the other hand, appears to have read ἐστέ.

2. *quod est idol. seruitus*] Perhaps from the Latin versions, since ὅς ἐστιν εἰδωλολάτρης is the reading of Chrys., Thdt., and the other Gk. commentators. Yet cf. Th.'s comm. below, l. 4.

4, 5. *auaritiae ... auertere*] Lanfranc, Robert of B.

4. *auar. autem pondus*] *Pondus* reads strangely; should we correct *poenas?* With Th.'s explanation of ὅς ἐστιν εἰδωλολ. cf. Chrys.: ἀφίσταται ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ ὁ πλεονέκτης καθάπερ ὁ εἰδωλολ. Both Chrys. and Thdt. *ad h. l.* aptly refer to Matt. vi. 24. See Th.'s comm. on Col. iii. 5 (*infra*).

21. *fructus enim Spiritus*] Our translator, it will be observed, is faithful to Th.'s text, the authority of the Latin versions and fathers notwithstanding.

probantes quid sit beneplacitum Domino; et nolite communicare operibus infructuosis tenebrarum, magis autem et redarguite.

'curam igitur magis adhibere illorum quae placent Domino, nihil perficientes tale quale et illi qui Deum nesciunt. decet enim uos sic a peccato modis omnibus auerti, ita ut et illa quae huiusmodi ab aliis fiunt arguatis, ob utilitatem communem.' sic et ad Timotheum scribit, dicens *eos qui peccant coram omnibus arguere, ut et ceteri timorem habeant.*

et ostendens qualia sunt quae ab illis fiebant:

quae enim in occulto fiunt ab illis, turpe est et dicere.

dein quod dixit, *magis autem et arguite,* ostendens ipsius rei utilitatem, adiecit:

omnia enim dum arguuntur, a lumine manifestantur.

nam dum illius actus qui arguitur fiunt manifesti, sciunt etiam alterius corrigere. dictum est autem ab apostolo non integre, dixit enim nihil amplius nisi quia *manifestantur;* illud uero quod sequebatur silentio tradidit, eo quod posset ipsa manifestatio adiuuare. omnis enim quicumque est, ille super suum delictum confusionem patietur tunc quando eius delictum fuerit manifestatum. deinde adiecit:

omne quod manifestatur, lumen est.

1 probans *C H* 2 op. infruct. *om H* 3 adhibete *C* (*corr*) | illorumque *C** 10 inquit (*aft* enim) *add C* (*corr*) 12 adicit *C* 20 manifestum *C** | adicit *C*

1. *probantes*] See vv. ll. The scribes were misled by the notion that the words *prob.—Domino* formed part of the comment. As such in fact they are printed by Card. Pitra.

7. *eos qui peccant*] Cf. 1 Tim. v. 20, where Th. remarks: "nec enim erat necessarium ut hoc ita fieret, nisi ob aliorum fieret emendationem" (citing Matt. xviii. 15).

13. *omnia enim...occultantur*] Cited by Lanfranc, but loosely and with several obvious errors, possibly due to the editor or his MS., e.g., *aguntur* (for *arg.*), *aliud autem retulit* (for *ad illud*, &c.), *manifestati* (for *manifestata*). *Eo quod posset* is replaced by the easier *id scilicet quod possit. Enim* (for *autem*) is given also by Iren, Aug.

21. *omne quod manifestatur, l. e.* &c.] Th. seems here to depart from the sense which he had assigned to φανεροῦσθαι in the previous verse. There it is interpreted to mean εἰς φανερὸν ἐλθεῖν—here, ἐν τῷ φανερῷ γενέσθαι He connects πᾶν [γὰρ?] φαν. not with φανεροῦται (v. 13), but with μὴ συγκοινωνεῖτε, κ.τ.λ. (v. 11); 'have no communion with the works of darkness, but on the contrary practise the works of light, i. e., all such works as do not shun

ad illud retulit quod dixit: *et nolite communicare operibus tenebrarum*, hoc est: 'uos decet non illorum opera imitari, sed et talia agere quae si fuerint manifestata, tristes uos minime faciant.' luminis enim sunt opera illa quae in manifesto fiunt. talia autem sunt opera uirtutum; tenebrarum uero opera illa sunt quae occultantur. talia autem sunt opera malitiae.

deinde adiecit et testimonium:

propter quod dicit: 'surge qui dormis, et exsurge ex mortuis, et inluminabit tibi Christus.'

alii *continget te Christus* legerunt; habet autem nullam sequentiam. de lumine enim disputans, abusus est hoc testimonium; dicit autem de peccato et impietate. atubi enim credentes in Christo resipiscere uoluerimus, et quasi de somno et morte quadam expergefacti fuerimus, suscipimus illam cognitionem et gratiam quae exinde ad instar luminis in nos defertur; quibus decens est nos consentanea agere.

5 sunt illa *H* 7 adicit (*for* adiecit) *C* 8 a (*for* ex) *H* 10 contempnentes non Christum *C* contempn. Chr. (*om* non) *H* [*see note*] 11 consequentiam *C* (*corr*) | autem (*for* enim) *H* 12 adubi *C* 15 adstar (*for* ad instar) *H*

the light of day.' Cf. Thpht.: ἢ ὅτι ὁ μὲν ὑμέτερος βίος, φησίν, φανερὸς ὢν φῶς ἐστιν, οὐδεὶς γὰρ κρύπτει τὴν ἀμώμητον πίστιν καὶ πρᾶξιν.

7. *testimonium ... psalmos facerent*] Abbreviated by Lanfranc and Robert of B.; the latter beginning, "testimonium hoc non invenitur in Scripturis authenticis."

10. *alii* continget te Chr. *legerunt*] See vv. ll. Chrysostom agrees with Th. in holding that the Ap. wrote ἐπιφαύσει σοι ὁ Χριστός. Chrys., however, mentions the reading ἐπιψαύσεις τοῦ Χριστοῦ [in the anon. extract of his comm. *ap.* Cramer vi. 196 he is represented by the catenist as supporting it, but falsely]. Thdt. (see Rosenmüller, *hist. interpr.* iv. pp. 120—1) appears to have admitted into his text ἐπιψαύσει σου ὁ Χριστός. But he remarks: ἔνια τῶν ἀντιγράφων ἐπιφαύσει σοι ὁ Χρ. ἔχει, καὶ τοῦτο μάλιστα τῇ ἀκολουθίᾳ τῶν εἰρημένων πρόσφορον. In the Latin, *illuminabit te* [*tibi*, Amb. *de fid. res.*] is given by the Vulg.; whilst *continges* [s. *attinges*] *Christum* appears to have found place in the O. L. generally, and *continget te Christus* occurs in Aug. (*in Ps.* 3). In our MSS., the impossible reading *contempnentes Christum* seems to have arisen from the latter of these forms, *Christum* being either a correction to save the sense, or a reminiscence of the O. L. The insertion of *non* in the Corbie MS. betrays the perplexity of the scribes. I have no doubt that Th. wrote: οἱ δὲ ἐΠΙΨΑΥCΕΙ COΥ Ο ΧΡΙCΤΟC ἀνέγνωσαν. On this reading see the story told by S. Jerome *ad h. l.*, and his remark, not alien to Th.'s: "cum loci istius interpretatione atque contextu sensus iste non convenit."

12. *atubi enim credentes*, &c.] Cf. Thdt.: ὁ γὰρ τὴν ῥᾳθυμίαν καθάπερ ὕπνον ἀποτιθέμενος δέχεται τοῦ δεσποτικοῦ φωτὸς τὴν ἀκτῖνα.

quidam dixerunt quoniam multae erant illo in tempore gratiae Spiritus quae dabantur illis; dabatur etiam cum ceteris gratia ut et psalmos facerent, sicuti et beato David ante Christi aduentum id tribui euenit. unum quidem hoc erat, quod tunc cantantes illi qui gratiam talem acceperant dicebant. quod apostolus in testimonium ad praesens abusus fuisse uidetur. uerumtamen qualitercumque se habet, nos sensum apostoli examinare debemus. ponens enim ipsud testimonium adiecit exhortationem dicens:

uidete etenim quomodo caute ambuletis, non sicut insipientes, [sed ut sapientes]; redimentes tempus, quoniam dies mali sunt. propter hoc nolite fieri insipientes, sed intellegentes quae sit uoluntas Domini.

bene posuit *redimentes;* eo quod is qui aliquid emit ad suam utilitatem, illud quod emit utitur. 'et tu (inquit) quia praesens uita malitiae repleta est, accelera cum sapientia abuti illa conuenienter; quasi redimens teipsum per uirtutem, ut uoluntatem Dei in uitam praesentem implens, adsequaris aeternas mercedes.' et iterum connectit consilium:

et nolite inebriari uino, in quo est omnis luxuria, sed replemini

1 in. temp. illo *H* 5 que (quae?) *C** quod *H* 8 ipsum *C* (*corr*) *H* 10 enim *H* 11 sed ut sap. *om C H* 18 in uita praesenti *C* (*corr*) 20 inebriare *C**

1. *quidam dixerunt*, &c.] e.g. Severianus (Cramer vi. 197): *τὸ ἔγειρε ὁ καθεύδων καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς οὐδαμοῦ τῆς παλαιᾶς ἢ τῆς καινῆς εὑρίσκομεν γεγραμμένον· τί οὖν ἐστίν; χάρισμα ἦν τότε καὶ προσευχῆς καὶ ψαλμῶν, ὑποβάλλοντος τοῦ πνεύματος* [1 Cor. xiv. 15]...*δῆλον οὖν ὅτι ἐν ἐνὶ τούτων τῶν πνευματικῶν ψαλμῶν ἤτοι προσευχῶν ἔκειτο τοῦτο ὁ ἐμνημόνευσεν.* The idea seems to have been suggested by Origen (Cramer, *l. c.*): *ἕτερος δὲ* [*φήσει*] *αὐτὸν τὸν ἀπόστολον προσωποποιεῖν τινὰ ἐκ τοῦ πνεύματος λεγόμενα εἰς προτροπὴν τὴν ἐπὶ μετάνοιαν.* Cf. Jerome *ad h. l.* Thdt. gives the substance of Sev.'s remarks, including the reference to 1 Cor., with the prefatory words, *τινὲς δὲ τῶν ἑρμηνευτῶν ἔφασαν.*

3. *ut et psalmos facerent*] See below on v. 19.

10. *insipientes.....insip.*] *ἄσοφοι..... ἄφρονες.* The Latin versions keep up the distinction, by rendering *insipientes... imprudentes. Sed ut sapientes* has been omitted *per homoeoteleuton.*

14. *emit ad suam utilitatem*] See below on Col. iv. 5, where the force of the middle *ἐξαγοράζεσθαι* is again brought out in the comm.; and cf. Thdt. on the latter passage. Severianus (Cramer vi. 199): *ὁ ἐξαγοραζόμενος τὸν ἀλλότριον δοῦλον...κτᾶται αὐτόν· ἐπεὶ οὖν ὁ καιρὸς ὁ παρὼν δουλεύει τοῖς πονηροῖς, ἐξαγοράσασθε αὐτόν, ὥστε καταχρήσασθαι αὐτῷ πρὸς εὐσέβειαν.* Oec.: *ὁ καιρὸς οὐκ ἔστιν ἡμῖν βέβαιος...ἀγόρασον οὖν αὐτὸν καὶ ποίησον ἴδιον.*

20. *in quo est omnis luxuria*] *ἐν ᾧ*

in Spiritu; loquentes uobis psalmis et hymnis et canticis spiritalibus, cantantes et psallentes in cordibus uestris Domino; gratias agentes semper pro omnibus, in nomine domini nostri Iesu Christi, Deo et Patri.

'ab ebrietate quidem cauete ex qua luxuria impletur. adcelerate uero uos ipsos dignos exhibere ut Spiritu repleamini, uirtutibus intendentes, psalmis quoque et spiritalibus canticis semper corda uestra inlustrantes; proque omnibus illis quae uobis per Christum conlata sunt gratiarum actionem reddere Deo properate, ita ut numquam minus faciatis quin animo uestro laudetis Deum. quam laudem conuenit pro illis quae uobis tributa sunt illi cum gratiarum reddere actione.'

et iterum adiecit illa, unde coepit, de quibus et multa in medio uerba fecisse uidetur:

subiecti inuicem in timore Christi.

'ante omnia (inquit) propter timorem Christi caritatem quae inuicem est ostendentes; neque subici uobis in inuicem differatis, propter illum lucrum quod hinc uobis adnasci uidetur.'

et quoniam communem ad omnes hanc fecisse uidetur exhortationem, incipit ultra de his propria quae unicuique sunt disputare, et quae ultra non ad omnes similiter pertinere poterant. et alia quidem proprie scribit mulieribus ita ut erga maritos suos suum seruent affectum; alia uero uiris scribit ita ut erga suas uxores integro sint arbitrio. parentibus quoque scribit ut erga filios suos affectum habeant inlibatum. filiis quoque scribit ut parentes suos omni honore dignos existiment. seruis

5 luxurias impetur (*sic*) *C** | ad celeritate *C** 10 qui in (*for* quin) *H* 13 et (2°) *om C* 15, 17 in (*bef* inu.) *add C* (*corr*) *H* 18 illud *C* (*corr*) 25 effectum *C* H*

ἐστὶν ἀσωτία. Cod. Amiat. inserts *omnis;* cod. Fuld. and the Clem. Vulg. reject it.

2. *in cordibus uestris*] So the Latin versions; the Gk. authorities with few exceptions give [ἐν]τῇ καρδίᾳ ὑμῶν.

8. *semper...inlustrantes*, &c.] Cf. Th. on Hos. xiv. 3 (Migne, 208): προτρέψασθε πάντες ἀλλήλους διηνεκεῖς αὐτῷ τοὺς ὕμνους καὶ τὰς εὐχαριστίας ὑπὲρ τῶν ὑπαρξάντων ὑμῖν ἀποδοῦναι καλῶς.

10. *ita ut numquam minus f. quin*] 'that ye may never fail to,' &c.

13. *unde coepit*] Cf. p. 163, l. 2, sq.

18. *propter illum lucrum quod*] Cf. Rönsch, *Itala*, p. 276.

19. *et quoniam communem*, &c.] Thdt.: καὶ ἐπειδὴ κοινὴν τὴν περὶ τῆς ὑποταγῆς νομοθεσίαν προσήνεγκαν, κατ' εἶδος λοιτὸν παραινεῖ τὰ κατάλληλα...θαυμάσαι δὲ ἄξιον τὴν τῆς παραινέσεως τάξιν, κ.τ.λ.

quoque et dominis scribit, unicuique suadens ut quod iustum est alter alteri praebeat. tres uero hos affectus memoratus est, ex quibus unum est quod debeant mariti et uxores in inuicem se diligere; alterum quod debeant parentes cum suis habere filiis; aliud quemadmodum debeant esse serui et domini. et primum quidem naturalem memoratus est affectum, deinde subintroductum. talis enim est affectus inter seruos et dominos; nec enim in natura inest seruitus, sicut est in natura nuptialis cohabitatio et filiorum procreatio. et neque de illis dicens, corrupit ordinem; primum enim de uiris et mulieribus, eorumque explicauit affectum, eo quod nuptiae praecedere soleant, deinde sequitur filiorum propagatio. tamen in unoquoque affectum ab infirmioribus inchoauit, primum mulieribus disputans, deinde uiris; et antequam parentibus aliquid diceret, filiis illa quae conueniebant suasit. sed et de dominis disputans, illa quae conueniebant ad seruos narrauit, ostendens quoniam ante omnia necesse est illos debitum implere obsequium, eo quod et hinc maxime illa quae meliora sunt accipiunt in melius incrementum; quae etsi non impleantur, excusationem nullam habere poterunt peccatorum. incipit ergo a mulieribus. *subiecti* (inquit) *in inuicem in timore Christi;* consequenter adiciens:

mulieres propriis maritis sicut Domino subditae sint.

hoc est, 'subiectae sint.' et quoniam dignum fidei esse uidebatur quod dixerat, *sicut Domino,* non uidebatur autem ratione id suadere; adiecit:

quoniam uir caput est mulieris; sicut et Christus caput ecclesiae, et ipse est saluator corporis.

†illum enim ordinem quem Christus habet ad ecclesiam, eo

ἣν γὰρ ἐπέχει τάξιν ὁ Χριστὸς τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, [ἅτε δὴ ἐκεῖθεν τὴν

2 affectos *C** 11 procedere *H* 23 subditae sint *H* 25 adicit *C*
29 sq. Coisl. 204, f. 98 a [Cr. vi. 202, Fr. 135] *Θεόδωρος δέ φησιν· ἣν γὰρ ἐπέχει τάξιν ὁ Χριστὸς τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, τὸ αὐτό ἐστιν ὁ σωτήρ· ἀντὶ τοῦ, κ.τ.λ.*

2. *tres uero...inchoauit*] Abbreviated by Lanfranc.

22. *mulieres ... subditae sint*] The comm. ("hoc est, subiectae sint") suggests the absence of *ὑποτασσέσθωσαν* from Th.'s text; cf. Jerome *ad h. l.* It occurs, however, in Thdt.; and Chrys. has *ὑποτάσσεσθε.*

28. *illum enim ordinem...ex uiro accepit*] Cited by Lanfranc, but inexactly.

illum enim ordinem, &c.] The original of this paragraph having suffered

quod ex illo secundae uitae causam ecclesia habere uidetur, ex quo et ecclesiastici corporis status est effectus (hoc enim isto in loco dicit: *ipse est saluator corporis*, hoc est, causam praebens status ecclesiastici corporis); hunc ordinem etiam uir habet ad mulierem; eo quod et ut sit et ut consistat, mulier ex uiro accepit.*

sed ut ecclesia subdita est Christo, sic et mulieres suis maritis in omnibus.

et quidem sunt quidam in ecclesia qui non sunt subiecti. sed eiusmodi homines iam non esse ecclesiae existimantur, eo quod nec illa quae corporis sunt sapiant. subditam autem Christo esse ecclesiam dixit; de illis dicit, qui subditi sunt, quos et corpus ecclesiae esse existimat. non est autem demiratione dignum, si adiecit *in omnibus*, quod absolute quasi ad pios disputans adiecit; de quibus superfluum erat excogitare nequando in deterius suas uellent adducere uxores.

uiri, diligite uxores uestras sicut et Christus dilexit ecclesiam, [et] seipsum tradidit pro illa.

demirandum est eo quod uno eodemque exemplo, et ut subiectae sint mulieres, et ut uiri eas diligant et affectum ut conuenit

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αἰτίαν λαβούσῃ τῆς δευτέρας ὑπάρξεως, ἐξ οὗ καὶ τοῦ ἐκκλησιαστικοῦ σώματος γίνεται ἡ σύστασις (τοῦτο γὰρ λέγει] τὸ αὐτό[c] ἐcτιν ὁ cωτὴρ [τοῦ cώματος], *ἀντὶ τοῦ 'ὁ τὴν αἰτίαν παρασχόμενος τῇ συστάσει τοῦ ἐκκλησιαστικοῦ σώματος')· ταύτην ἐπέχει τὴν τάξιν ὁ ἀνὴρ τῇ γυναικί, ἅτε δὴ τὸ εἶναί τε καὶ συνεστάναι ἐκεῖθεν λαβούσῃ.*

7 et (*bef* ut) *add C* (*corr*) 16 interius *H** 18 et *om C H*

mutilation at the hands of some careless transcriber of the catena, the missing words are conjecturally supplied from the Latin. It will be noticed that Th. reads *ὁ σωτήρ*. Thdt. omits the article. With Th.'s comm. on *ὁ σ. τοῦ σώματος* cf. Chrys.: *καὶ γὰρ ἡ κεφαλὴ τοῦ σώματος σωτηρία ἐστίν*. With regard to the Headship of Christ see Th.'s remarks on 1 Cor. xi. 3: *ἀπὸ μὲν τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐπὶ τὸν θεὸν χωροῦμεν, ἐξ οὗπερ ἔστιν· ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐπὶ τὸν Χριστόν, ἐξ ἐκείνου γάρ ἐσμεν κατὰ τὴν δευτέραν ὕπαρξιν...ὁμοίως δὲ (φησὶν) καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς γυναικὸς ἐπὶ τὸν ἄνδρα, ἐπειδὴ ἀπ' ἐκείνου τὸ εἶναι εἴληφεν.* Cf. also *supra*, p. 58, l. 9, note.

9. *et quidem*] *καίπερ*: cf. p. 95, l. 7, note.

14. *quasi ad pios*] Thdt.: *ὡς εὐσεβέσιν νομοθετῶν προστέθεικεν τὸ ἐν παντί.*

erga eas ostendant, instruxit. 'talem (inquit) et uos erga uestras uxores iustum est ostendere caritatem, qualem et Christus erga ecclesiam ostendit.' unde et caritatis indicia latius in Christo nititur publicare dicens:

ut illam sanctificet, mundans per lauacrum aquae in sermone; ut exhibeat eam sibi ipsi gloriosam ecclesiam, non habentem maculam aut rugam aut aliquid horum, sed ut sit sancta et immaculata.

hoc non solum caritatis Christi continebat demonstrationem, sed et ad eruditionem illis proficiebat, ut custodirent uxoribus suis nuptialis conscientiae foedus; eo quod sic eos conligatos esse erga uxores caritatis ratio depostulabat, sicut Christus ecclesiam sibi coniunxit ita ut numquam eos qui in ecclesia sunt relinquat, usque dum affectum erga eum integrum uelint seruare.

unde adiecit:

sic debent uiri diligere suas uxores sicut sua corpora.

hoc est, 'sic Christus ecclesiam diligit, sicut corpus suum.' deinde ex ipsa similitudine etiam ad rationem naturae decurrit, ostendens quoniam ipsa ratio illis competere uideatur secundum principalem opificationem:

qui diligit suam uxorem, se ipsum diligit; nemo enim aliquando suam carnem odio habuit, sed nutrit et fouet eam.

ut dicat quoniam 'secundum primam opificationem una caro erat mulieris et uiri; eo quod et mulier portio mariti erat. itaque qualem solicitudinem uel diligentiam erga proprium corpus exhibemus, talem iustitiae ratio postulat ut uiri erga suas exhibeant uxores.' et complectens exemplum illud quod secundum Christum est, adiecit:

1 ostendit *C** 6 eam *om H* 8 ad (*bef* car.) *add C* (*corr*) 9 et *om H* | custodiret *C** 14, 27 adicit *C* 21 fouit *C H* 23 fortior marito (*for* portio mariti) *H*

5. *in sermone*] Vulg. and O. L., *in uerbo*. Our translator chooses *sermo* to represent ῥῆμα again in c. vi. 17. In the latter passage Th. interprets ῥῆμα as = ἐνέργεια, and probably this is the sense he would attach to it here. Chrys. and Thdt. both understand in this place the words of Baptism: ἀντὶ τοῦ εἰς ὄνομα πατέρος καὶ υἱοῦ καὶ ἁγίου πνεύματος.

23. *portio mariti*] Cf. Ambrstr.: "naturali ratione mulier portio corporis uiri est, ac per hoc uir in muliere seipsum diligit."

sicut et Christus ecclesiam.

eo quod et corpus Christi est ecclesia, corpus uero mariti uxor; et complectitur utrumque, ostendens quoniam et a natura et a ratione pietatis aptum est illis, ut connexi suis uxoribus habeantur. etenim non absolute ampliorem ad uiros fecit sermonem, incitans eos ad illam caritatem quam debeant erga suas seruare uxores; eo quod facilius hi nuptiales leges spernere consueuerunt, cum aliis se, praetermissis suis uxoribus, permiscentes. quoniam autem dixit, *sicut et Christus ecclesiam*, persistit docere quoniam illam rationem habet uxor ad maritum secundum primam opificationem, quam uindicat rationem ecclesia a Christo; ita ut non uideatur uane abusus fuisse exemplo illo quod secundum Christum et ecclesiam est. deinde adiecit:

quoniam membra sumus corporis eius, de carne eius et de ossibus eius.

'†sicut enim portio fuit Adae mulier ex ossibus eius et carne eius sumpta; sic et nos dominici corporis sumus membra, sicuti ex carne eius et ex ossibus eius facti*, eo quod gratiam ex illo Spiritu qui in eum est accepimus, ut ad similitudinem eius resurrectionem et inmortalitatem potiamur.' deinde permanens in

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ὥσπερ μέρος ἐγένετο τοῦ Ἀδὰμ ἡ γυνὴ ἐκ τῶν ὀστῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐκ τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ ληφθεῖσα· οὕτως καὶ ἡμεῖς τοῦ δεσποτικοῦ σώματος ἐσμὲν μέλη, ὥσπερ ἐκ τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὀστέων αὐτοῦ γεγονότες.

4 pietati *C* | connexis *C* H* 8 se *om C* 13 adicit *C* 19 eo (*for* eum) *H* | resurrectione et immortalitate *H* 21 sq. Coisl. 204, f. 99 b [Cr. vi. 205, Fr. 136] *θεόδωρος δέ φησιν· ὥσπερ μέρος, κ. τ. λ. μέλος* (*for μέρος*) Fr.

14. *de carne...de ossibus*] So Vulg. and O. L. In the comm. the translator has forsaken the lead of the Latin, substituting *ex* for *de*.

19. *resurrectionem.....potiamur*] Th. characteristically finds the fulfilment of *ἐκ τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ* in the future resurrection-life. Chrys. explains the words in reference to the Holy Mysteries (*καὶ πῶς ἐκ τῆς σαρκός; ἴστε ὅσοι μετέχετε μυστηρίων*), following in this the interpretation of Irenaeus (v. 2. 3). Thdt. sees an allusion to both the great Sacraments: *καθάπερ γὰρ ἡ Εὔα ἐκ τοῦ Ἀδὰμ ἐπλάσθη, οὕτως ἡμεῖς ἐκ τοῦ δεσπότου Χριστοῦ· συναπτόμεθα* [*συνθ.* (?)] *γὰρ αὐτῷ ἐν τῷ βαπτίσματι καὶ συναναστάμεθα, καὶ τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ ἐσθίομεν καὶ τὸ αἷμα αὐτοῦ πίνομεν.* Like the rest of the Gk. expositors, Th. admitted without suspicion the clause *ἐκ τῆς σαρκός, κ. τ. λ.*

ipso exemplo, ostendere cupiens eius similitudinem, scripturalem ponit uocem dicens:

propter hoc relinquet homo patrem suum et matrem suam, et adiungetur ad uxorem suam; et erunt duo in carne una.

quibus et adiecit:

mysterium hoc magnum est.

et ut ne uideatur de uirorum et mulierum copulatione dicere quoniam 'magnum est mysterium' caute prospexit:

ego autem dico in Christo et in ecclesia.

†hoc uult dicere quoniam 'illud quod dictum in principium opificationis de mulieribus et maritis, hoc mystice in Christo et in ecclesia impletum est. omnes enim ab illa natiuitate quae ex patre et matre erat segregati sunt, eo quod et morte ab illa uita sunt separati. spiritali uero regeneratione resurrectionem percipimus, inenarrabili ratione Christo copulati, et similitudinem inmortalitatis eius cautam percipimus.'* et ostendens per omnia similitudinem illorum quae a Christo sunt, et quoniam similiter illis et secundum rationem naturae et secundum rationem fidei aptus est consensus ille qui est cum uxoribus, adiecit:

uerumtamen et uos singuli, unusquisque suam uxorem sic diligat sicut seipsum.

deinde et de mulieribus:

uxor uero, ut timeat maritum.

ὅπερ (φησὶν) εἴρηται ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς δημιουργίας περὶ τῶν γυναικῶν καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν, τοῦτο μυστικώτερον ἐπὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας πεπλήρωται· πάντες γὰρ τῆς ἐκ πατρὸς καὶ μητρὸς γεννήσεως ἔξω γενόμενοι, ἅτε δὴ καὶ θανάτῳ χωρισθέντες τῆς ζωῆς ἐκείνης, πνευματικῇ τῇ ἀναγεννήσει τὴν ἀνάστασιν δεχόμεθα, ἀπορρήτῳ λόγῳ τῷ Χριστῷ συναπτόμενοι, καὶ τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁμοιότητα τῆς ἀθανασίας ἀκριβῆ λαμβάνοντες.

3 relinquit *C H* 5 adicit *C* 7 ut *om C* | copulationem *C** 15 inenarrabile *H** 16 percepimus *C* 20 ut (*bef* suam) *add C* 23 uero *om H* 24 sq. Coisl. 204, f. 100 b [Cr. vi. 207, Fr. 136] *Θεόδωρος δέ φησιν· ὅπερ, φησίν, κ.τ.λ.*

1. *script. p. uocem*] Gen. ii. 24.
4. *adiungetur*] Vulg. and O. L., *adhaerebit*. "Adiung. *ad* uxorem" seems to point to the reading *πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα*.
6. *mysterium*] So Iren., Hil., Ambrstr.

exinde uertitur ad alium affectum, deinde et ad parentes:

filii, oboedite parentibus uestris in Domino; hoc enim iustum est.

ostendere uero cupiens quoniam de his etiam antiqua lex id praeceperat:

honora (inquit) *patrem tuum et matrem, quod est primum mandatum in promissione; ut bene tibi fiat, et sis longaeuus super terram. et uos, patres, nolite exacerbare filios uestros; sed nutrite eos in disciplina et admonitione Domini.*

nam quod dicit, *nolite exacerbare*, hoc est, 'nolite despicere neque respuere, sed fouete magis eos, et sustinete delinquentes.' et iterum ad alterum migrat affectum:

serui, oboedite dominis (inquit) *secundum carnem cum timore et tremore; in simplicitate cordis uestri, tamquam Christo.*

et quoniam incertum erat illud quod dixerat *sicut Christo*, modum quo illud dixerat pandit:

non ad oculum serui, sicut hominibus placentes, sed sicut serui Christi, facientes uoluntatem Dei ex animo; cum bona uoluntate seruientes Domino et non hominibus.

'serui (inquit) estis Christi. conuenit ergo uos erga uestros dominos bonam exhibere uoluntatem, eo quod hoc uult Deus, ut perfecto animo adimpleatis ei uicem; ut serui Christi propter Christi faciatis legem, quasi Christo ipsi ista implentes; ita ut illa quae fiunt, Deo propter uestrum reputentur arbitrium.' et

1 alienum (*for* alium) *H* 2 fili *C* 5 praeceperit *C* 9 admonitionem *C* H* 13 et tremore *om C** 16 quod *H* 17 non ad oc. seruientes *C* (*corr*) 19 Deo (*for* Domino) *H*

1. *alium affectum*] Cf. vv. ll., and see p. 182, l. 19, note. *Alienum* (see vv. ll.) might mean: 'towards others, who are not one flesh with us, as the husband is with the wife.'

7. *ut bene tibi fiat*] The Latin versions less accurately: *ut bene tibi sit* (γένηται). *Exacerbare, admonitione* are also in this place peculiar to our translator, though Jerome *ad h. l.* suggested the latter word as preferable to the O. L. *correptione.*

8. *nolite...neque*] μὴ...μηδέ.

13. *dominis sec. carnem*] τοῖς κ. κατὰ σάρκα. O. L. and Vulg., *carnalibus.*

14. *tamquam Christo*] O. L. and Vulg., "sicut Christo"; see next line.

16. *modum...pandit*] Cited by Lanfranc.

19. *seruientes Domino*] Th.'s text seems to have omitted ὡς. It is represented in the Latin versions.

22. *propter Christi*] See p. 83, l. 20, note. Or connect *propter...legem.*

quod magis poterat eos ad reuerentiam adducere et placare, ut serui cum bona uoluntate suis seruiant dominis, quasi ipsi Christo seruientes:

scientes quoniam quodcumque fecerit unusquisque uestrum bonum, hoc et recipiet a Deo, siue seruus siue liber.

'licet seruus sis, accipies a Deo mercedem tuam, faciens illa et quae conueniunt. et liber quoque ab illo mercedem expectat. itaque nulla tibi differentia est apud Deum secundum mercedum receptionem. ergo sicut illi seruiens a quo et mercedem recipere expectas, sic omnia debes adimplere.'

et uos, domini, haec eadem facite ad eos, remittentes minas.

hoc est: 'benignissimos uos illis exhibete, tribuentes ueniam delictis eorum, cum illa examinatis.' bene autem quia non dixit 'auferentes,' sed et *remittentes*. non enim corrigere seruos, si pertinaciter permanent in peccatis, prohibet, aut ad plenum existimat auferendam esse disciplinam; sed ut humane et cum uenia illud agant praecepit. nam et adiectio est demiranda et sufficiens ad uerecundiam eos inuitare qui auctoritate abutuntur dominationis:

scientes quoniam et uester et eorum dominus est in caelis, et personarum acceptio non est apud eum.

hoc est: 'aestima tecum quoniam licet et in praesenti uidearis supereminere seruis, sed communis uester dominus est in caelis, qui nullum erubescens, omnium faciet examen; non relinquens nec dominos impunitos, si praeterquam conuenit delinquant.

1 placere *H* 2 dominos *C** 8 mercedem *C* 9 retributionem (*for* recept.) *H* | ille *C H* 10 expectans *C H* 11 uos *om H** 13 examine natis *C** 14 et *om H* 18 qua *C* 21 Deum (*for* eum) *H* 22 aestimatio (*for* aest. tec.) *C H* | et *om H*

4. *quodcumque fecerit*, &c.] ὃ ἐάν τι ἕκαστος ὑμῶν ποιήσῃ ἀγαθόν. So Thdt. also reads, with the exception of ἡμῶν for ὑμῶν.

9. *receptionem*] A Plautine word; see lexx.

a quo et mercedem] See below on Col. iii. 24.

13. *non dixit....prohibet*] Lanfranc, Robert of B. The latter adds *sed ut... praecepit.*

20. *et uester et eorum d.*] καὶ ὑμῶν καὶ αὐτῶν κύριος. Chrys. and Thdt. read καὶ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ὁ κ.; and so too Dam., Thpht., Oec. Of the Latin authorities Ambrstr. agrees with our text; Vulg., *et illorum et uester d.*

22. *aestima tecum*] λογίζου πρὸς σεαυτόν (?). See vv. ll.

igitur qualem uis illum esse erga te, talis ipse esto erga proprios seruos.' implens autem et specialem exhortationem, iterum in communi disputat de illis quae omnibus similiter aptari poterant:

de cetero, fratres mei, confortamini in Domino, et in potentia uirtutis eius.

'omnia cum sollicitudine et uirtute illa quae Deo placita sunt perficite.' et quoniam dixit: *confortamini*, adiecit:

induite uos omnia arma Dei.

sicut consuetudo est militibus dicere, quibus cum fortitudine etiam arma sunt necessaria. deinde dicit et aduersus quos est bellum illis; conueniebat enim et hoc manifestum facere illum, quia omnia arma indui praecipiebat:

ita ut possitis stare aduersus uersutias diaboli.

'itaque nolite locum dare diabolicis machinationibus.' et haec dicens quasi ad bellum illos adhortans, adiecit:

quoniam non est nobis conluctatio aduersus sanguinem et carnem, sed aduersus principatus et aduersus potestates, aduersus mundi rectores tenebrarum saeculi huius, aduersus spiritalia nequitiae in caelestibus.

inconsequens esse uidetur ut is qui de armis omnibus sumendis et bello disputauit conluctationem memoretur; sed nihil differre existimat, eo quod neque uera ratione de conluctatione aut de militia illi erat ratio, sed abusiue ueritatis, quoniam omnibus est

6 D. sunt pl. *H* 15 adicit *C* 16 uobis *H* | carnem et sang. *H* 20 de arma omnia sumenda et bellum *C H*

1. *qualem uis illum*, &c.] Thdt.: οἷον βούλει περὶ σὲ τὸν δεσπότην γενέσθαι, τοιοῦτος γένου καὶ περὶ τὸν οἰκέτην.

2. *implens autem*, &c.] Thdt.: οὕτως τοίνυν ἐκεῖνα νομοθετήσας κατὰ διαίρεσιν, κοινὴν εἰσφέρει πάλιν παραίνεσιν.

8. *omnia arma Dei*] = τὴν πανοπλίαν. So below, v. 13. Tert. has *armaturam*, which the Clementine Vulg. retains. Jerome *ad h. l.* had proposed our translator's rendering. See Mill, *prolegg.* § 569.

13. *uersutias*] = τὰς μεθοδείας: cf. *supr.* p. 169, l. 12, note. *Machinationes*, which occurs just below in the comm., is Tertullian's word here in the text.

16. *adu. sang. et carnem*] See vv. ll. The Harley MS. follows the order of the Vulg., both here and below in the comm. (p. 191, l. 10).

17. *adu. mundi rectores tenebr. s. h.*] = πρὸς τοὺς κοσμοκράτορας τοῦ σκότους τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου. So Chrys., Thdt.

23. *abusiue ueritatis*] 'using the words figuratively, καταχρηστικῶς' (sc. abutendo ueritatem, abusione ueritatis) [?]. Pitra

abusus ad confirmationem certaminis illius, quod proprietatem aduersus diabolum inire uidetur. quoniam autem *principatus* et *potestates* inuisibilium uirtutum scit ordines esse, euidens est ex quibus et Colossensibus scribens dicit *siue sedes siue dominationes siue principatus siue potestates.* hoc ergo in loco principatus et potestates daemonum ordines uidetur dicere; eo quod et euidens est quoniam de illo ordine erant illi qui in deterius uersi sunt. unde et superius dixit: *secundum principem potestatis aeris spiritus,* de diabolo id dicens. hoc ergo dicit, quoniam 'non aduersus homines infirmos nobis est certamen (nam *sanguinem et carnem* hoc uult dicere) sed aduersus uirtutes inuisibiles, et qui multam habent potentiam in praesente uita, omne quodcumque est pessimum operantes.' hoc enim dicit *spiritalia nequitiae.* nam quod dicit, *in caelestibus;* ut dicat, 'pro caelestibus,' hoc est, pro regno caelorum aduersus illos nobis certamen. quidam uero pro multa fatuitate mutauerunt illud quod dixerat, *in caelestibus,* et ita legere uoluerunt dicentes: 'in his quae sub caelo sunt;' existimantes dicere apostolum, quoniam sub caelum nobis est certamen

8 huius (*for* spiritus) *H* 10 carnem et sang. *H* 12 praesenti *H*

corrects "ratione sed abutitur ueritatis," adding: "*abusiue* cod. id est, in ordine ueritatis omnibus utitur. *abusiue, abuti,* in bono sensu, uti monuimus." Robert of B.; "abusiue colluctationis nomen pro bello ponens innuit bellum esse uicinum."

4. *et Coloss. scribens*] Col. i. 16, where see Th.'s comm.; compare his remarks on Rom. viii. 38 (Migne, 381), Eph. iii. 10 (*supra*, p. 157, sq.).

6. *daemonum ordines*] Thdt.: *ἐκ τῶν ἁγίων ἦσαν ταγμάτων οἱ πονηροὶ δαίμονες, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τὴν πονηρίαν τῆς τάξεως ἐκείνης ἐξέπεσαν· ἔχουσιν δὲ καὶ νῦν τὰς προσηγορίας εἰς ἔλεγχον τῆς βδελυρίας.*

8. *superius*] c. ii. 2, where see notes. *H* again corrects the text from the Vulg.; see vv. ll. and cf. p. 143, l. 21, note.

10. *homines infirmos*] Thpht.: *οὐ πρὸς τυχόντας ἔχομεν (φησὶν) [τὴν πάλην], οὐδὲ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους ὁμοιοπαθεῖς ἡμῖν καὶ ἰσοδυνάμους.*

14. *ut dicat...certamen*] Cited by Lanfranc.

ut dicat 'pro caelestibus'] Thdt.: *τουτέστιν, περὶ τῶν οὐρανίων ταγμάτων ἡ μάχη· ἆθλον ἡμῖν πρόκειται τῆς παρατάξεως ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν.* Chrys. seems to have been the parent of this unsatisfactory explanation; *τὸ γὰρ ἐν ἐπ.* (he writes) *ἀντὶ τοῦ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐπουρανίων ἐστίν.*

15. *quidam...mutauerunt,* &c.] No known MS. of S. Paul's Epp. presents the reading *ὑπουρανίοις* in this place. Possibly Th. refers to the Peshito, which translates as if *ὑπ.* had stood in the text (ܕܬܚܝܬ ܫܡܝܐ). In his comm. on the Minor Prophets he animadverts upon the Syriac version in a bitter tone which tallies with his strong condemnation of the present variant; cf. Migne, 452—3, 465 sq.

cum illis. nouam adiectionem et dignam illorum stultitiae! qui sic intellexerunt, ut ne existimaremus quoniam aduersus illos super caelum habemus pugnare. sed non sic se ratio habet; sed uoluit dicere quoniam 'pro illis quae adquirere properamus; cum caelesti enim commoratione etiam et illa bona quae in caelis sunt potiri uolumus; pro quibus aduersus inuisibiles uirtutes nobis est bellum. itaque sic nos conuenit esse paratos, quasi qui et pro talibus et aduersus tales bellum habere uideamur.' tamen adiciens dictum illum quia *non est nobis conluctatio*, hoc est, bellum, et abusus indifferenter conluctationis nomen, sequitur iterum suam sequentiam, quasi qui de bello disputet, et dicit:

propter hoc resumite omnia arma Dei, ut possitis resistere in die maligno, et omnia perficientes stare.

nam quod dicit *in die maligno*, ut dicat 'in tempore pessimo,' praesentem uitam sic nominans, eo quod mala in hoc saeculo in praesente uita aguntur. et quae sint *omnia arma* dicit:

state ergo circumcinctum habentes lumbum uestrum in ueritate; et induite loricam iustitiae, et calciati pedes uestros in praeparatione euangelii pacis.

circumcingere ueritatem, uestire iustitiam, calciare pacem, ut dicat: 'de his uobis sit sollicitudo, id est, de ueritate et iustitia et pace. haec uobis imponite; istis uos armis munite.' et quoniam omnia illis erant tradenda, quae militibus adsunt, adiecit:

super omnibus autem adsumentes scutum fidei, in quo possitis omnia iacula inimici ignita exstinguere.

5 caelestem, commorationem C^* | et *om* H^* 6 potire C | aduersis H 10 conluctationes H^* 14 maligna $C\,H$ 16 praesenti H 18 luricam $C\,H$ | calciate H

10. *abusus...nomen*] Lanfranc.

12. *omnia arma Dei*] Cf. p. 190, l. 8, note.

15. *praesentem...aguntur*] Lanfranc.

18, 20. *calciati, calciare*] Cf. Tisch. Cod. Amiat. *prolegg.* p. xxix.

20. *circumcingere ... pace*] Cited by Robert of B., in whose compilation it is ascribed to Augustine (*Au.*).

24. *super omnibus*] = ἐπὶ πᾶσιν. So Chrys. and Thdt.; and among the Latins, Ambrstr.

25. *inimici*] The Gk. text gives τοῦ πονηροῦ without variant, and the Latin versions correspond. Our translation suggests a gloss, τοῦ ἐχθροῦ, τοῦ ἀντικειμένου, or the like; but possibly it is a mere oversight. On the other hand *ignita* (so Tert., Cypr., Sedul. Scot.) answers to the Gk. more nearly than the Vulg. *ignea*. On *ignire* = πυροῦν see Rönsch, *Itala*, p. 156.

scutum clypeum esse dicit. 'nam pro scuto (inquit) sit uobis fides, per quam omnia diaboli machinamenta facile percutere poteritis.'

et galeam salutarem accipite.

'horum (inquit) diligentiam adhibentes, habebitis illam salutem quae est a Deo, quae et pro galea communiet uos; ita ut uulnus a diabolo in locis uiuacibus minime percipiatis.'

et gladium Spiritus, qui est sermo Dei.

'pro gladio Spiritus sumite gratiam, quam habentes uel maxime terribiles eritis daemonibus.' †bene autem dixit: *quod est sermo Dei*, ad ostensionem potentiae inoperationis Spiritus. nam quod dicit: *sermo Dei*, hoc est 'Dei inoperatio;' sicut et alibi dictum est: *uerbo Domini caeli firmati sunt*, hoc est, 'inoperatione et uirtute Dei ista sunt constituta.' sic etiam et apud prophetas

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καλῶς τὸ ὅ ἐστιν ῥῆμα θεοῦ, εἰς παράστασιν τοῦ δυνατοῦ τῆς ἐνεργείας τοῦ πνεύματος· ῥῆμα γὰρ θεοῦ λέγει ἀντὶ τοῦ 'θεοῦ ἐνέργεια,' ὡς τὸ τῷ λόγῳ κυρίου οἱ οὐρανοὶ ἐστερεώθησαν, ἀντὶ τοῦ 'τῇ ἐνεργείᾳ καὶ τῇ δυνάμει τοῦ θεοῦ ταῦτα συνέστη.' οὕτως καὶ

2 diaboli *om H* 4 salutaria *C* 6 muniet *H* 10 qui *C* 12 dixit *C* 15 sq. Coisl. 204 f. 107 a [Cr. vi. 221, Fr. 136]. *Θεόδωρος. καλῶς, κ.τ.λ.*

1. *scutum clypeum e. d.*] = θυρεὸν λέγει τὴν ἀσπίδα. Cf. Thpht.: ὁ θυρεός, ἤγουν ἡ ἀσπίς. Thdt.: ἀντὶ ἀσπίδος ὑμῖν ἡ πίστις γενέσθω.

4. *galeam salutarem*] See vv. ll. The translator possibly wrote *salutaris;* on salutare = τὸ σωτήριον, see Rönsch, *Itala*, p. 104; *N. T. Tertullians*, pp. 766—7.

7. *in locis uiuacibus*] = uitalibus.

8. *qui est*] So Cypr. *Ep.* 58. Cf. l. 10, vv. ll.

12. *hoc est, Dei inoperatio*] Thdt.: μάχαιραν τοῦ πνεύματος τὴν τοῦ πν. ἐνέργειαν κέκληκεν, τὴν δὲ ἐνέργειαν τοῦ πν. ῥῆμα θεοῦ προσηγόρευσεν. Severianus (Cramer, vi. 221): ὡς λόγος ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ, οὕτως καὶ ῥῆμα τοῦ θεοῦ τὸ πνεῦμα. μάχαιραν δὲ τοῦ πν. εἶπεν τὴν τιμωρητικὴν ἐνέργειαν τοῦ πν. Chrys. on the other hand understands ἢ τὸ πρόσταγμα, ἢ τὸ κέλευσμα.

sicut et alibi, &c.] Ps. xxxiii. (xxxii) 6; where, however, the LXX. have τῷ λόγῳ, not τῷ ῥήματι. Th.'s comment on this Ps. is wanting [but see next note]; Thdt. gives the usual interpretation: ἡ δὲ ἀληθὴς θεολογία τὸν θεὸν ἡμῖν ὑποδείκνυσιν λόγον.

14. *sic etiam et apud prophetas*] e. g., Hos. i. 1, λόγος κυρίου ὃς ἐγενήθη πρὸς Ὡσηέ, where Th. comments: λόγον δὲ κυρίου τὴν ἐνέργειαν ἅπανταχοῦ λέγει τὴν ἐφ' ὅτῳ δήποτε γιγνομένην· ὡς τὸ τῷ λόγῳ κυρίου οἱ οὐρανοὶ ἐστερεώθησαν· ἵνα εἴπῃ ὅτι τῇ ἐνεργείᾳ συνέστησαν τοῦ θεοῦ. So again, on Obad. 1: λόγον γὰρ κυρίου τὴν ἐνέργειαν ὀνομάζει τοῦ θεοῦ, καθ' ἣν τῇ πνευματικῇ χάριτι τὰς ἀποκαλύψεις οἱ προφῆται τῶν ἐσομένων ἐδέχοντο.

positum est frequenter: *sermo Domini qui factus est;* et: *uerbum Domini quod factum est,* hoc est, 'reuelatio illa quae secundum inoperationem Dei est menti impressa.' et hoc in loco Dei sermonem Spiritus operationem esse uocauit,* simul etiam et Spiritus dignitatem ostendens. nec enim Dei operatio erit Spiritus operatio, si non idem Spiritus primum sit Deus. simul etiam quasi magnum aliquod bonum esse ostendens ipsius Spiritus participationem. et post plenariam exhortationem adiecit:

per omnem orationem et obsecrationem orantes in omni tempore in Spiritu; et in ipso uigilantes in omni assiduitate et oratione pro omnibus sanctis. et pro me, ut detur mihi sermo in apertione oris mei in fiducia notum facere mysterium euangelii, pro quo legationem fungor in catenis, ut in ipso fiducialiter agam prout oportet me loqui.

praecepit illis intentissime orare pro se, ita ut eueniat illi cum fiducia praedicare pietatem. et adiecit:

ut autem sciatis et uos illa quae erga me sunt, quid ago, omnia uobis nota faciet Tychicus, carissimus frater et fidelis minister in Domino. quem misi uobis in hoc ipsum, ut sciatis quae de nobis sunt, et ut consolentur corda uestra in Domino.

παρὰ τοῖς προφήταις κεῖται συνεχῶς τὸ ῥῆμα τοῦ θεοῦ ὃ ἐγένετο, καὶ λόγος κυρίου ὃς ἐγένετο, ἀντὶ τοῦ 'ἡ ἀποκάλυψις ἡ κατ' ἐνέργειαν τοῦ θεοῦ ἐναποτεθεῖσα.' κἀνταῦθα τοίνυν θεοῦ ῥῆμα τὴν τοῦ πνεύματος ἐκάλεσεν ἐνέργειαν.

1 sequenter C^*(?) 2 Dei C 3 operationem (*for* serm.) *CH*: *txt g* 4 uocatur C^*H 7 aliquid C (*corr*) 8, 15 adicit C 12 legatione C (*corr*) 13 aeternis (*for* catenis) *CH* 17 titicus C (*corr*) [C^*?] 18 misi ad uos C 22 εναποτεθεῖσα Cr.

6. *si non idem Spiritus primum sit Deus*] Cf. the Theodorean ecthesis: καὶ [πιστεύομεν] εἰς τὸ πνεῦμα δὲ τὸ ἅγιον, ἐκ τῆς θεοῦ τυγχάνον οὐσίας, οὐχ υἱόν, θεὸν δὲ ὄντα τῇ οὐσίᾳ, ὡς ἐκείνης ὂν τῆς οὐσίας ἥσπερ ἐστὶν ὁ θεὸς καὶ πατήρ, ἐξ οὗπερ κατ' οὐσίαν ἐστίν. Th. wrote ag. the Pneumatomachi; cf. Ebediesu ap. Assemani (*bibl. orient.* III. i. p. 33), Leont. *de sect.* iv. (Fritzsche, p. 101).

10. *assid. et oratione*] Vulg., "instantia et obseruatione."

13. *in catenis*] O. L. and Vulg., *in catena;* so the Gk. (ἐν ἁλύσει). The Peshito, however (followed by the Copt. Goth. and Armen. versions, see Ellicott *ad h. l.*), has the pl. (ܒܫܠܝܬܐ). See vv. ll. for the curious error which both our MSS. have probably inherited from a common source.

ut fiducialiter agam] A happier rendering of ἵνα παρρησιάσωμαι than the Vulg. *ut audeam.* Comp. Ambrstr.: "ut exerta libertate utar."

16. *quae erga me sunt*] τὰ κατ' ἐμέ. Cf. p. 2, l. 23, note.

19. *ut consolentur*] Cf. O. L. (Sabatier): "ut exhortentur corda uestra;"

'eo quod illa quae secundum me sunt omnia uobis Tychicus nota faciet, qui est fidelis minister Christi, frater uero noster dilectus; quem propter hoc misi, ut nota uobis faciat illa quae circa nos sunt et consoletur uos suis sermonibus.'

pax fratribus et caritas cum fide a Deo Patre et domino Iesu Christo.

exoptans pacem et caritatem fratribus cum fide a Deo Patre et domino Iesu Christo. omni enim loco uidetur plurimis sermonibus fuisse abusus de caritate, eo quod et maxime necessaria sit ad uirtutum incorruptionem. adiecit:

gratia cum omnibus qui diligunt dominum nostrum Iesum Christum, et caste conuersantur.

hoc est, †'omnibus adsit Dei gratia, qui diligunt Christum et caste conuersantur.' uidetur autem non dixisse secundum suam consuetudinem *gratia uobiscum;* sed absolute [*cum omnibus*] *qui diligunt Dominum in incorruptione,* ita ut doceat eos multam istius rei facere diligentiam; quasi illi qui tales sunt gratiam a Deo plurimam perfrui possent,* talem qualem et erga Deum cari-

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'πᾶσιν δὲ προσείη τοῦ θεοῦ ἡ χάρις τοῖς ἀγαπῶσιν τὸν Χριστὸν καὶ ἐν ἀφθαρσίᾳ πολιτευομένοις.' ἔοικεν δὲ μὴ εἰρηκέναι ἡ ΧΑΡΙC ΜΕΘ' ΥΜΩΝ *συνηθῶς· ἀλλ'* ΑΠΛΩΣ [ΜΕΤΑ ΠΑΝΤΩΝ] ΤΩΝ ΑΓΑΠΩΝΤΩΝ ΤΟΝ ΚΥΡΙΟΝ ΕΝ ΑΦΘΑΡCΙΑ· *ἐπὶ τῷ παιδεῦσαι αὐτοὺς πολλὴν τούτου ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν, ὡς ἂν τῶν τοιούτων καὶ τῆς παρὰ του θεοῦ χάριτος ἀπολαύειν δυναμένων.*

1 tychius *H* 3 misit (*for* misi ut) *C** 7, 8 exoptans—Christo *om* (*per homoeotel.*) *C** 10 adicit *C* 13 assit *H* 15 cum omn. *om CH* 18 et *om C* (*corr*) *H* 19 sq. Coisl. 204 f. 108 b [Cr. vi. 225] *θεόδωρός φησω· πᾶσιν δέ, κ.τ.λ.* Cr., *θεοῦ φησίν.*

the Vulg. corrects "ut.....consoletur." For exx. of *consolari* pass., see Rönsch, *Itala*, p. 388. *In Domino* (2°) seems to have been repeated from the previous line.

12. *et caste conuersantur*] Probably substituted here by an error of the scribes for *in incorruptione*, which stands in the text as quoted in the comm. just below. With regard to the interpretation of *ἐν ἀφθαρσίᾳ*, Th. is at one with Chrys., who explains *τουτέστιν, δι' ἀρετῆς*, although he mentions the alternative meaning *ὑπὲρ ἀφθάρτων*. Thdt. follows Th.: *οὐ γὰρ πᾶσιν ἁπλῶς χορηγεῖται ἡ χάρις, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἀγαπῶσιν τὸν κύριον· καὶ οὐδὲ τούτοις ἁπλῶς, ἀλλὰ τοῖς πρὸς τὸ ἀγαπᾶν καὶ τοὺς ζωποιοὺς αὐτοῦ φυλάττουσιν νόμους.* This interpretation is as old as the time of Origen; see Cramer, vi. 224, *Ὠριγένης φησίν.....διηγήσαντό τινες εἶναι τὸ ἀγαπᾶν αὐτὸν ἐν ἀφθ. καθαρεύοντα ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων τῆς φθορᾶς* [citing 1 Cor. iii. 17].

tatem ostendere uoluerint. monet etiam eos castitatem diligenter custodire. nam in superioribus plurima uidetur de his dixisse, suadens illis ut pudice uiuant, et non luxuriose, secundum ritum gentium qui alieni sunt a pietate. eo quod erant ex gentibus ipsi Ephesii, gentibus autem luxuriose uiuere moris erat; siquidem et ipsis illis quae sua mystica esse existimabant plurima talia agere uidebantur. necessarie ergo plurimam ad eos exhortationem super his facere uidetur, ut ne antiqua consuetudine protracti neglegerent pudice uiuere. ideo et diligentiam eos istius rei habere suadet; eo quod illis qui pie uiuere deproperant, condecens est et necessarium ut in sanctam perseuerent conuersationem.

5 eresi (*for* Ephesii) *C* 9 neglegerint *H* 12 explicit *add C* (*corr*)

2. *in superioribus*] c. iv. 17 sq. 6 *mystica*] = mysteria.

THEODORUS MOPSUESTENUS
IN EPISTOLAM B. PAULI
AD PHILIPPENSES.

ARGUMENTUM.*

PHILIPPENSES uiri erant eligantes et contemplatione uirtutum multis erant meliores, qui et ad usus necessarios beati Pauli multam semper expendebant sollicitudinem, debitores se eius esse existimantes utpote apostoli, et quia ob aliorum utilitatem multum sustinere uidebatur laborem. et hoc quis recognoscere poterit ex illis quae in fine epistolae ab eodem Paulo sunt scripta. sed euenit de primatu contentionem oboriri inter quosdam illorum, et hoc inter illos qui maxime uirtutibus ornati esse uidebantur. deducti uero sunt ad hanc contentionem sicut saepe solet inter homines fieri, maxime cum illis adfuerint illa quae possunt primatum illis praestare. uirtus enim hoc uel maxime conferre potest, licet si et aliqua alia sint quae id praestare possint; haec tamen, quantum aliis melior esse perspicitur, tanto uehementius id uindicat sibi, si non quis

* Incipit argumentum in epistola ad Philippenses *C* (*corr*) 7 aboriri *C H*: *txt r* 10 dum (*for* cum) *r* 11 illa (*bef* quae) *om C* 12 licet et alia aliqua *r* 13 meliores se perspiciunt *C* H r* 14 uindicant *r*

1. *Philippenses*, &c.] 'Argument: The Ap., while (1) praising the conspicuous virtues of the Philippians, and (2) acknowledging their supply of his personal necessities, (3) warns them against (*a*) the spiritual pride which had already impaired their unity, and (*b*) the Judaizing doctrine which threatened to undermine their faith. The Ep. was written from Rome during S. Paul's first imprisonment in that city.' The argument is cited by Lanfranc in an abbreviated form.

eligantes] Cf. p. 22, l. 16, note.

contemplatione uirtutum] Cf. p. 117, l. 13, note; *infra*, on 1 Tim. iii. 8.

6. *in fine epistolae*] c. iv. 10—18.

11. *uirtus enim hoc*, &c.] Comp. the arg. in Cramer (vi. 229): *σπανίως γάρ τις καὶ ἁμαρτάνει καὶ φυσιοῦται· τὸ γὰρ τῆς φυσιώσεως ἅπτεται τῶν κάλλιστα βιούντων καὶ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τούτου ὡς τὰ πολλὰ ἑταιρομένων.*

12. *licet si*] Cf. p. 202, l. 18.

13. *melior esse persp.*] See vv. ll. The MSS. retain in *uindicat* a trace of the original construction.

naturae perpendens infirmitatem ab animo suo omnem repulerit elationem. his additur, quoniam illi qui ex circumcisione erant suadere properabant illis fidelibus qui ex gentibus crediderunt ut legem custodirent; de quibus apostolus in secunda ad Corinthios epistola et ad Galatas plurima uidetur scripsisse. ex quibus quidam uenerunt et ad Philippenses temptantes subrepere eis; qui etiam et docebant eos, dicentes quod illos qui Christo crediderunt non conueniat legem neglegere. scribit ergo in praesenti epistola beatus Paulus de humilitate custodienda illa quae scribi conueniebant, scribens eis simul et de illis qui custodire eos legem suadebant, ut non intenderent dictis eorum; complectens et aliqua, quae ad ineundum consilium idonea illis esse existimabat. demonstrabuntur uero cautius omnia ista in illa interpretatione quae per partes futura est, cum et illis quae his dicit, et residua omnia quae in epistola dixisse uidetur. tantum uero adicere dictis dignum est ad manifestandum textum epistolae, quoniam scribit ista ad eos ab urbe Roma, cum esset in uinculis, quando contigit eum Caesarem adpellare et propterea a Iudaea ductus est Romae, Nerone illo in tempore regnante.

Paulus et Timotheus, servi Iesu Christi, omnibus sanctis qui sunt Philippis, coepiscopis et diaconibus. gratia vobis et pax a Deo patre nostro et domino Iesu Christo.

5 Chorinthios *H* 6 subripere *C H* surripere *r* 7 illis (*for* illos) *r* 8 in Chr. *H* 12 ad in eundem *C H*: *txt r* 13 existimabant *C H*: *txt r* 14 patres (*for* partes) *C** 19 Romam *r* 22 quo episcopis *H* cum ep. *C* (*corr*)

2. *his additur*, &c.] Thdt.: μάλιστα δὲ αὐτοῖς παρεγγυᾷ φεύγειν τὴν ἐξαπάτην τῶν ἐξ Ἰουδαίων μὲν πεπιστευκότων, συνηγορεῖν δὲ πειρωμένων τῷ νόμῳ.

4. *in sec. ad Cor.*] Cf. p. 1, l. 11, note.

19. *Caesarem adpellare*, &c.] Cf. p. 116, l. 16, note.

21. *omnibus sanctis*] Jacobi: "uerba ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ post *sanctis* quae hodie textus N. Ti. exhibere solet a Theodoro non lecta esse uidentur." They occur, however, in the comm. as represented in the Latin version (p. 200, l. 8), although wanting there in the Greek catena. The omission, if Theodore's, is probably due to an oversight. Both Chrys. and Thdt. have the words.

22. *coepiscopis*] So both our MSS.; cf. *infra*, p. 200, l. 4, note. Comp. Cassiod. *complex. in epp. apost.* ad h. l.: "salutat cum Timotheo coepiscopos et diaconos Philippis constitutos." Ziegler's fragments also present *coepiscopis*. Συνεπισκόποις appears in Chrys., as edited; but his comm. does not decide for that reading; cf. Lightfoot, *Philippians*, p. 94, note 2. Thpht. (συνεπισκόπους εἶπεν τοὺς

haec est praescriptio epistolae. sociauit uero Timotheum secum, eo quod et miserat eum aliquando in Macedoniam cum Erasto, et quod notus est et illis. notandum uero est et illud, quoniam episcopos dixit illos qui nunc presbyteri dicuntur, sic illos nominans; nec enim ordinis erat, multos in una ciuitate esse illos, qui nunc episcopi nuncupantur, siquidem nec per singulas ciuitates erant antiquis temporibus qui functionem hanc adimplebant. sed *episcopis* dicens statim memoratus est et diacones. non utique relictis presbyteris diacones dixisset inferiores eorum. sed ista quis melius recognoscet ex illis quae ad Titum scripta sunt, in quibus dicit: *ut constituas per ciui-*

2 Macedonia *H* 3 notum est et illis C^* notus esset illis *C* (*corr*) *r* | et (*bef* illud) *om l* 8 episcopos *r* 9 diaconos (*bis*) *r* | dixisse *H*

πρεσβυτέρους) is clearly in favour of it; Thdt. and Dam. as distinctly read σὺν ἐπισκόποις, and notwithstanding the Latin translation, Th. certainly concurred with them. It is perhaps not quite so certain that he alludes to the reading συνεπισκόποις. Dr L. (*l. c.*) indeed denies that he does so, and translates the Gk. fragment: "It must be observed that when he says *with the bishops*, it is not, as some have thought, a parallel to our practice of writing 'together with the elders' (i.e. of associating the elders with themselves in the superscription, as, for instance, Polycarp does in writing to the Philippians): for he does not use the word *with* in reference to himself, meaning *with our bishops*, but in reference to *all the saints that are at Philippi*, i.e. with the bishops and deacons that are *there*." But the proposed change of συμπρεσβυτέροις into σὺν πρεσβ. derives no sanction from the Paris MS. of Cramer's catena. I still venture to think that the opinion of Tisch. *ad h. l.* is correct, and that Th. writes in view of the reading συνεπισκόποις, and rejects both that reading and the interpretation which had been put upon it.

diaconibus] Cf. Rönsch, *Itala*, p. 262.

2. *eo quod et miserat*, &c.] See Acts xix. 22, and Dr Lightfoot's note on Philipp. i. 1.

4. *episcopos...in una ciuitate*] Cited by Lanfranc; see vv. ll.

episcopos dixit illos qui nunc presb. dic.] Lightfoot, p. 97: "in every one of the extant commentaries on the epistles containing the crucial passages [Phil., 1 Tim., Tit.], whether Greek or Latin, before the close of the 5th century, this identity is affirmed." Comp. Bingham, ii. 2, § 1—particularly his caution: "they do not thence argue (as some who abuse their authority have done since) that therefore bishops and presbyters were all one." Thdt. *ad h. l.* argues for the identity of the N. T. ἐπίσκοποι and πρεσβύτεροι on the same grounds which are adduced by Th.: (*a*) τοῖς γὰρ ἐπισκόποις τοὺς διακόνους συνέζευξεν, τῶν πρεσβυτέρων οὐ ποιησάμενος μνήμην, (*b*) οὐδὲ οἷόν τε ἦν πολλοὺς ἐπισκόπους μίαν πόλιν ποιμαίνειν (cf. Haddan, art. *Bishop*, Dict. of Chr. Antiqq. i. p. 234, sq.), (*c*) τοὺς αὐτοὺς καὶ πρεσβ. καὶ ἐπισκ. ὠνόμασεν (Tit. i. 5, 7). Upon the whole question see Th.'s disquisitions in the comm. on 1 Tim. iii. 8, Tit. i. 7, and notes there.

11. *ad Titum*] c. i. 5, 7. The translation is almost word for word the same in the two passages, and differs from both O. L. and Vulg.

tates presbyteros, sicut ego tibi praecepi; et adiciens quales, *oportet,* (inquit) *episcopum inreprehensibilem esse,* 'presbyteros' episcopos euidenter nominans.

hoc uero in loco † intendendum est, quoniam dixit *coepiscopis;* non sicut quidam intellexerunt, *coepiscopis* dixit, sicut et nos et 'conpresbyteris' scribere consueuimus. non enim ad suam personam redigens dixit *coepiscopis,* ut intellegi possit 'coepiscopis nostris,' sed ad illud quod dixit *omnibus sanctis in Christo Iesu;* ut intellegi possit quoniam 'omnibus qui sunt Philippis sanctis cum illis [qui illic] sunt coepiscopis et diaconibus;' non absolute designans horum nomina, sed quia humilitatis exhortatio illis magis apta esse uidebatur, qui et ceteros instruere

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προσεκτέον ὅτι τὸ ΣΥΝΕΠΙΣΚΌΠΟΙΣ *λέγει οὐχ ὥς τινες ἐνόμισαν, ὥσπερ ἡμεῖς 'συμπρεσβυτέροις' γράφειν εἰώθαμεν· οὐ γὰρ πρὸς τὸ ἑαυτοῦ πρόσωπον εἶπεν τὸ σύν, ἵνα ᾖ συνεπισκόποις ἡμῶν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸ* ΠΆΣΙΝ [ΤΟΙΣ ἉΓΙΟΙΣ ἘΝ ΧΡΙΣΤῼ ΙΗΣΟΥ̂, *ἵνα ᾖ·* ΠΆΣΙΝ] *τοῖς ἐν Φιλίπποις ἁγίοις σὺν τοῖς αὐτόθι* ΕΠΙΣΚΌΠΟΙΣ ΤΕ ΚΑῚ ΔΙΑΚΌΝΟΙΣ· *οὐχ ἁπλῶς ἐπισημηνάμενος τὰ τούτων ὀνόματα, ἀλλ' ὡς μάλιστα τῶν περὶ τῆς μετριοφροσύνης λόγων τούτοις ἁρμοττόντων οἳ τοὺς*

4 cum episcopis *r* 7 rediens *C r* 9 cum (*for* quoniam) *r* 10 cum sanctis illis sunt *C H* ut in sanctis illic suis coep. et diaconis *r*: *txt g* 13 sq. Coisl. 204, f. 110 b—111 a [Cr. vi. 232, Fr. 137] *Θεόδωρος. ἄλλος φησίν· προσεκτέον, κ.τ.λ.* 13 *συν ἐπισκοποις* (*sic*) cod. 15 *σὺν ἐπισκόποις* cod. [*ἰσὴν ἐπισκόποις* (*sic*) Cr.] 17 *τοῖς ἁγίοις—πᾶσιν* om. cod. edd.: see note.

4. *quoniam dixit* coepiscopis] With regard to this error on the part of the translator see above, p. 198, l. 22, note. *Cum episcopis*, which Dr Jacobi edits in l. 4 from Rabanus, is doubtless a correction; both our MSS. give *coep.* here as above in the text; and the same reading occurs again in the verse as cited in the comm. on 1 Tim. iii. 8. *Coepisc. dixit* (l. 5) is redundant; see Gk.

5. *sicut et nos et 'conpresbyteris'*] Chrys.: *καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι τὸ παλαιὸν ἐκαλοῦντο ἐπίσκοποι καὶ διάκονοι τοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ οἱ ἐπίσκοποι πρεσβύτεροι· ὅθεν καὶ νῦν πολλοὶ* ΣΥΜΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΈΡΩ *ἐπίσκοποι γράφουσιν καὶ* ΣΥΝΔΙΑΚΌΝΩ. For *compresbyter* = coepiscopus see Aug. *Ep.* 114: "per fratrem et compresbyterum meum Caelestinum."

8. *sed ad illud quod d.*, &c.] A comparison of the Latin with the Greek of the catena shews that a line has fallen out in the latter, which has nothing to correspond with *omnibus sanctis—quoniam.* It will be seen that the error has arisen *per homoeoteleuton.*

10. *sanctis cum illis* [*qui illic*] *sunt*] So I venture to restore the Latin text after the Gk. of the catena. The bracketed words (written, perhaps, *qui illis*, before *sunt*) seem to have slipped out after *cum illis;* and the transposition of *sanctis cum* followed naturally. *Illic* still lingers in Rab.; see vv. ll. Dr Jacobi

poterant, et ante alios seipsos formam ceteris praebere in his quae conueniebant uel agi debebant.*

gratias ago Deo meo super omni memoria uestra semper in omni oratione mea pro omnibus uobis, cum gaudio et orationem meam faciens, in communionem uestram in euangelio a prima die usque nunc.

frequenter quidem a gratiarum actione incipit scribere; hoc uero in loco uidetur etiam aliquam illis adtestare uirtutem, si tamen non solum pro illis gratias se agere semper edicitur *super omni* [*memoria* illorum *in omni*] *oratione*, sed et *cum gaudio* pro illis facit orationem, *communionem* eorum *in euangelio ex prima die usque nunc* demirans. nam quod gaudere se pro illis in orationibus edicit, indicium eorum uirtutis habere uidetur; et quod *a prima die usque nunc* dixit, inmobilitatem eorum indicat probatissimam, eo quod numquam mutabilitatem aliquam fuerunt perpessi. et quoniam incautum esse uidebatur gaudere pro omnibus, quorum exitus erat incertus, adiecit:

ἑτέρους ὤφειλον διδάσκειν καὶ πρὸ τῶν λοιπῶν αὐτοὶ μετιέναι τὸ δέον.

1 aliis *H* | seipsis f. ceteros *C H r* 3 omni *om H** 8 attestari *r* 9 se gratias *H* se *om r* | edicitur *C H: txt r* 10 mem. ill. in omni *om CHr* | iam (*for* cum) *r* 11 orat. communem *C r* communem orat. *H* | eorum *om r* 17 adicit *C r* 18 αὐτούς cod. Cr.; txt Fr.

says: "Graeca desiderant nihil nisi *qui sunt Phil. cum illic ep. et diac.*" But it is quite after the manner of our translator to render such a phrase as οἱ αὐτόθι by *illi qui illic sunt.*

1. *seipsos f. ceteris praebere*] See vv. ll. The correction had already been suggested by Dr Jacobi.

3. *super omni mem. uestra...in omni or. mea*] Vulg.: "in omni mem. uestri ...in cunctis orationibus meis." On the other hand, for *in communionem uestram* the Vulg. has "super communicatione uestra." *Communione* is found in the editions of Aug, but his MSS. are said to support *communicatione* (Sabatier, Ziegler). *Cum gaudio et orationem meam faciens* seems to represent the reading of *F G* (μετὰ χαρᾶς καὶ τὴν δ. π.).

7. *frequenter quidem a grat. act.*] Cf. p. 120, l. 4, note.

8. *adtestare*] So both our MSS.; cf. p. 59, l. 21, note. *Si tamen:* cf. p. 172, l. 13, note.

10. *super omni*, &c.] Both MSS. give *super omni oratione*, and so Rab. Dr Jacobi regards *super* as a simple error for *in*, and corrects accordingly. *Semper in* has been suggested by a friend. I prefer to seek the solution in the common process of omission by *homoeoteleuton.*

confidens hoc ipsum, quoniam qui inchoauit in uobis opus bonum, perficiet usque in diem Christi Iesu.

bene autem et principium et finem Christi gratiae aptauisse perspicitur, non solum quoniam confirmabatur illa quae in Christo est fides; quoniam et istos plus esse firmos erga bonum faciebat, dum discerent quia causam illorum quae fiunt Deo conuenit aptari, ipsi etiam pro praeteritis debent gratiarum referre actiones. nam ita in illis persistere confirmationem illis de futuris praestare uidebatur.

sicut est iustum mihi hoc sapere pro omnibus uobis, eo quod habeam uos in corde meo, et in uinculis meis et in omni defensione et confirmatione euangelii comparticipes gratiae omnes uos esse.

hoc ad illud quod in superioribus est dictum retulit, ubi dixit: *cum gaudio et orationem faciens super communionem uestram in euangelium;* uolens dicere quoniam 'mihi uel maxime decet talia de uobis credere, qui semper uos in corde meo habeo, licet si in uinculis, licet ob defensionem meam tenear pro opere meo. sic enim me adfectari facit de uobis, ut sciam quoniam praedicationem et doctrinam meam confirmastis per uestram fidem, tributae mihi gratiae in apostolatum comparticipes facti;' ut dicat quoniam 'habeo uos in animo semper eo quod credidistis.' †'confirmationem' enim 'in euangelio' illorum dicit credulitatem, eo quod credentes, quantum ad illos pertinet,

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βεβαίωσιν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου τὸ πιστεῦσαι λέγει, ὡς ἂν τῶν πιστευόντων τό γε ἐπ' αὐτοῖς βεβαιούντων τὸ κήρυγμα ὅτι ἀληθές·

1 lec confidimus in domino Iesu (*marg*) *H* 6 faciebant *C H*: *txt r* | qui causam *C* quia causa *r* 8 actiones ref. *H* | confirmatione *C* 16 me (*for* mihi) *r* 18 sim (*for* si) *C* (*corr*) *r* 21 tribuit *H r* | gratiam *H* 25 sq. Coisl. 204, f. 112 a [Cr. vi. 234, Fr. 137] *θεοδώρου. ἄλλος φησίν· βεβαίωσιν, κ.τ.λ.* 26 *τότε* cod., Cr.: txt conj. Fr.

1. *qui inchoauit*] *ὁ ἐναρξάμενος*: cf. *supra*, Gal. iii. 3. So here Ambrstr.; Vulg., "qui coepit."

5. *quoniam et*] Jacobi: "uersio non accurata esse uidetur uerborum *ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅτι*." Or can *sed* have dropt out between *fides* and *quoniam?*

10. *hoc sapere*] *τοῦτο φρονεῖν*: cf. *infra*, c. ii. 5. *In corde meo*—so the Peshito. *Omni* is without authority, and so is the omission of the pers. pronoun after *gratiae*. The Latin versions uniformly give *gaudii* (*χαρᾶς*?).

18. *licet si in uinculis*, &c.] For *licet si*

confirmant praedicationem, quod uera habeatur; sicut et in euangelio scriptum est: *qui accipit eius testimonium, signauit quoniam Deus uerax est;* hoc est: 'credens confirmauit quantum ad se est illa quae a Deo sunt, utpote uera.' nam et *comparticipes gratiae meae* quia dixit, idipsum dicit. eo quod ipse acceperat gratiam apostolatus ut crederent alii, sicut et Romanis scribens dicit: *per quem accepimus gratiam et apostolatum in oboedientia fidei in omnibus gentibus;* qui credebat communicabat utique gratiae.* et copiose suum erga eos affectum ostendens dicit:

testis enim mihi est Deus, quemadmodum desidero omnes uos in uisceribus Christi Iesu; et hoc oro, ut caritas uestra magis magisque abundet in cognitione et omni sensu, ut probetis utiliora, ut sitis sinceres et sine offensione in die Christi, repleti fructum iustitiae illum qui per Iesum Christum est in gloriam et laudem Dei.

ὡς ἐν τοῖς εὐαγγελίοις τὸ ὁ ΛΑΒΩΝ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΤΗΝ ΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΑΝ ΕΣΦΡΑΓΙΣΕΝ ΟΤΙ Ο ΘΕΟΣ ΑΛΗΘΗΣ ΕΣΤΙΝ, *ἀντὶ τοῦ 'τῷ πιστεῦσαι ἐβεβαίωσεν τά γε ἐπ' αὐτῷ τὰ παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ γινόμενα ὡς ἀληθῆ.' καὶ* ΣΥΝΚΟΙΝΩΝΟΥΣ ΔΕ ΜΟΥ ΤΗΣ ΧΑΡΙΤΟΣ *τὸ αὐτὸ λέγει· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ αὐτὸς εἰλήφει χάριν ἀποστολῆς εἰς τὸ πιστεύειν ἑτέρους, ὁ πιστεύων ὡς εἰκὸς ἐκοινώνει τῆς χάριτος.*

2 testomonium *H* 7 accipimus *C* 11 uos omnes *H* 14, 15 fructu... illum *H r* 18 ἐκβεβαιώσει edd.: txt cod. (corr. ἐβεβαίωσε τό γε, κ.τ.λ.).

see above, p. 197, l. 12, and vv. ll. With the exposition comp. Thdt.: *ἄσβεστον ὑμῶν περιφέρω τὴν μνήμην, καὶ καθειργμένος καὶ δεδεμένος καὶ τὴν ὑπὲρ τοῦ κηρύγματος ἀπολογίαν ποιούμενος.*

2. *qui accipit*, &c.] S. John iii. 33, where Euthymius interprets *ἐσφράγισεν* as =*ἐβεβαίωσεν, ἔδειξεν*. Comp. Th. on Eph. i. 13 *supra* (*τὴν βεβαίωσιν ἐδέξασθε· τοῦτο γὰρ λέγει τὸ ἐσφραγίσθητε*). Thdt. varies the explanation, but adheres in the main to Th.'s view of *βεβαιώσει*, κ.τ.λ.: *βεβαίωσιν δὲ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου τὰ παθήματα προσηγόρευσεν... ὁ δέ γε μυρίους ὑπὲρ τοῦ κηρύγματος ὑπομένων κινδύνους καὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐπιμένων, δῆλός ἐστιν ἀληθῆ πρεσβεύων, καὶ τὴν διδασκαλίαν βεβαιοῖ τοῖς παθήμασιν.*

7. *per quem accepimus*, &c.] Rom. i. 5. For *in oboedientia* the Latin versions have *ad oboediendum*.

8. *communicabat...gratiae*] See Gk. (ll. 21, 22); and for the more usual constructions cf. p. 5, l. 1, note. Comp. Dr Lightfoot's note on Gal. vi. 6.

11. *quemadmodum desidero*] Ambrstr., Sedul. Scot., "qu. desiderem;" Vulg., "quomodo cupiam." For *cognitione* Ambrstr. has *agnitione;* Vulg., *scientia* (cf. *supra*, p. 136, l. 4, note); for *utiliora*, the Latin authorities give *potiora*. On *sinceres* see Rönsch, *Itala*, p. 274. Robert of B.

nam quod dixit: *in uisceribus Christi*, dicere uoluit: 'in caritate illa quae secundum Christum est.' et quod dixit: *caritas uestra*, 'illa utique quae et erga Deum est et erga alterutrum est.' †uult ergo dicere quoniam 'testis est mihi Deus, qualiter erga uos affectum teneo, et oro per singula momenta abundare magis in uobis illam caritatem, quae et erga Deum et erga alterutrum est. scientiam uero conuenientem habere uos cupio de illis quae ad uirtutem pertinent, probantes quae sint utiliora; et erga illa magis sollicitudinem expendite, ita ut in futura die sine ulla adpareatis reprehensione, plurimam directionum copiam obtinentes, pro quibus poterit et in praesenti uita glorificari in uobis Deus, omnibus super uestra uirtute illum conlaudantibus, in cuius nomine haec facitis.'* ista quidem scripsit ad eos, affectum proprium quem erga eos habebat ostendens. et quidem uerissimis laudibus ad eorum est exhortationem abusus. incipit uero in subsequentibus ea quae de se erant nota facere illis simul quidem quasi affectiosis et qui ualde pro illo solliciti,

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βούλεται εἰπεῖν ὅτι 'μάρτυς μου ὁ θεὸς ὅπως περὶ πάντας ὑμᾶς διάκειμαι, καὶ προσεύχομαι ἑκάστοτε πλεονάζειν μὲν ὑμῶν τὴν περὶ τὸν θεὸν καὶ τὴν περὶ ἀλλήλους ἀγάπην, γνῶσιν δὲ ἔχειν ὑμᾶς τὴν προσήκουσαν περὶ τῶν εἰς ἀρετὴν συντεινόντων, δοκιμάζοντας τίνα τὰ κρείττονα, καὶ περὶ ταῦτα μᾶλλον ἐσπουδακότας, ὥστε ὑμᾶς ἐν τῇ μελλούσῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἀμέμπτους κατὰ πάντα φανῆναι, ὄγκον ἐπαγομένους κατορθωμάτων, ἐφ' οἷς δυνατὸν καὶ κατὰ τὸν παρόντα βίον θαυμάζεσθαι ἐφ' ὑμῖν τὸν θεόν, πάντων ὡς εἰκὸς ἐπὶ τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ ἀρέτῃ ἐκεῖνον ἐκπληττομένων, οὗπερ ἐπ' ὀνόματι ταῦτα ποιεῖτε.'

2 est *om H* 3 et (1°) *om C* 10 confusione (*for* repreh.) *H* | directionis *H* 13 quidam *C* 15 in (*bef* uer.) *add C H r* 17 affectuosus *r* | erant (*bef* soll.) *add H* 18 sq. Coisl. 204, f. 112 b [Cr. vi. 236, Fr. 138] *θεοδώρου. ἄλλος φησίν· βούλεται, κ.τ.λ.* 19 *ὑμῶν* edd.: txt cod.

ad h. l. has the remark: "habet [sincerus] duo pluralia 'sinceri' et 'sinceres;' sicut diaconus, diaconi et diacones." *Repleti fructum* = *πεπληρωμένοι καρτόν*. So also e.g. Sedul. Scot. and Ziegler's fragments.

1. *quod dixit...sec. Chr. est*] Lanfranc.

8. *quae sint utiliora*] = *τὰ διαφέροντα*. Thdt.: *τίνα μὲν καλά, τίνα δὲ κρείττονα.*

10. *directionum*] See Gk.; and cf. p. 51, l. 9, note.

14. *et quidem uer. l.*] See vv. ll. Jacobi: "*in* delendum esse uidetur." The prep. may have easily crept in after the final letter of *quidem*.

17. *affectiosis*] Cf. Tert. *anim.* 19 (*ed.* Oehler): "infantia...naturaliter affectiosa." So below, p. 227, l. 16. Rönsch (*Itala*, p. 26) gives only the form *affec-*

siquidem sumptus misisse uidentur; conueniebat enim talibus et illa quae secundum se erant nota facere, simulque et ad doctrinam illis proficere poterant. nam quia sub arcta erat necessitate apostolus pietatis contemplatione, sufficiens erat erudire illos eius imitatione etiam grauiora tolerare pro uirtute. incipit uero sic:

scire autem uos uolo, fratres, quoniam ea quae erga me sunt magis ad profectum euangelii peruenerunt, ita ut uincula mea manifesta in Christo fierent in toto praetorio et ceteris omnibus, et plures fratrum in Domino confidentes uinculis meis abundantius auderent sine timore uerbum loqui.

†beatus Paulus adpellans Festum eo quod uolebat eum Iudaeis tradere, et postulans se mitti ad Caesarem, ductus est in uinculis Romae. inductus uero ante Neronem, et defensionem sui faciens, biennio illo demoratus, plenariam adeptus est securitatem.* ideo et in secunda ad Timotheum epistola, quam a Roma ad eum scripsit, non tunc quando et ad Philippenses scribebat—etenim tunc cum ipso ad illos scripsit—sed secunda uice, quando illic capite est punitus, scribens dicit:

ὁ μακάριος Παῦλος ἐφέσει κατὰ τοῦ Φήστου χρησάμενος βουληθέντος αὐτὸν Ἰουδαίοις ἐκδοῦναι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο Καίσαρα ἐπικαλεσάμενος, ἀνήχθη δέσμιος εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην· εἰσαχθεὶς δὲ τῷ Νέρωνι καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἀπολογησάμενος διετῆ χρόνον αὐτόθι διέτριψεν, παντελοῦς τετυχηκὼς τῆς ἀφέσεως.

3 erant *C** *r* 4 contemplationem *C H r* 5 imitationem *C r* 14 Romam *r* 17 ad (*bef* Philipp.) *om H* Philippensibus *r* 20 sq. Coisl. 204, f. 113 a [Cr. vi. 238, Fr. 138] *θεοδώρου. ἄλλοι φησίν· ὁ μακ. Π., κ.τ.λ.* 24 *ἐφέσεως* edd.: txt cod.

tuosus, although he refers to Tert. *anim.* l. c.

4. *pietatis contemplatione*] *τῆς εὐσεβείας ἕνεκεν.* Cf. *infra*, on 1 Tim. vi. 12; 2 Tim., *arg.*

7. *ea quae erga me sunt*] *τὰ κατ' ἐμέ.* Vulg., "quae circa me sunt." On our translator's use of *erga* see p. 2, l. 23, note.

11. *uerbum loqui*] So Ziegler's fragments. Chrys. *ad h. l.*, Thdt., Dam., present the same reading.

12. *adpellans Festum*] See p. 116, l. 16, note.

19. *secunda uice*] Jacobi: "uides, Theodorum inter eos esse, qui Paulum uinculis solutum, postea uero iterum in ea coniectum et trucidatum fuisse opinentur." Th. expresses the same opinion in the arg. to Ephesians (*supra*, p. 116, l. 15, sq.; see notes there).

in prima mea defensione nemo mihi adfuit, sed omnes me reliquerunt; non illis imputetur. Dominus autem adstitit mihi et confortauit me, ut per me praedicatio impleatur, et audiant omnes gentes; et liberatus sum ex ore leonis (Neronem indicans). †tunc quidem existimabant omnes beatum Paulum interfici a Nerone, eo quod crudelissimus erat; et maxime, quia noua quaedam illis in temporibus docere uidebatur, multum extranea illorum quae apud Romanos tunc ritu deorum colebantur. praeter omnem uero spem introductus est defendens causam suam; non solum quia nihil passus est, uerum etiam et plenam securitatem est adsecutus, ita ut et a Roma postea discederet, et consueto more doctrinae immineret. omnes uero ad demirationem impellebat illud quod fuerat factum, et plurimam fiduciam fidelibus tribuebat, ita ut excepto omni terrore pacatus dogmata doceret.* nam quod dixit *in toto praetorio*, ut dicat: 'in regiis, et illis quae circa eum sunt;' 'praetorium' illud nominans,

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τότε τοίνυν προσεδόκων μὲν ἅπαντες τὸν μακάριον Παῦλον πάντως ἀναιρεῖσθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ Νέρωνος, ὠμοτάτου τὸν τρόπον ὄντος, καὶ μάλιστα ἐπειδή πως καὶ καινὰ ἐδόκει διδάσκειν, πολὺ τῆς τότε παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις κρατούσης περὶ θεὸν δόξης ἀλλότρια. ἔτυχεν οὖν παντελοῦς ἀφέσεως, ὡς καὶ ἀναχωρῆσαι τῆς Ῥώμης καὶ τῷ συνήθει τρόπῳ χρήσασθαι τῆς διδασκαλίας· ἐξέπληττέν τε ἅπαντας τὸ γενόμενον καὶ παῤῥησίαν ἐνεποίει τοῖς πιστοῖς τοῦ διδάσκειν.

1 affuit *C* (*corr*) *H* | relinquerunt *C** dereliquerunt *H* 7 in *om r* | docebatur uidebatur *H* 13 et *om H r* 14 peccatus *C** 15 dogma *H*

1. *in prima mea defensione*, &c.] 2 Tim. iv. 16, 17. Our translation is identical in both places, except that *adfuit*, *dereliquerunt* (*H*), and *impleatur* are here imported from the Vulg. Th. understands the *πρώτη ἀπολογία* to belong to the first imprisonment: see his comm. on 2 Tim. *l. c.* So apparently Eusebius (*H. E.* ii. 22), Thdt. (on 2 Tim. iv. 16).

4. *Neronem indicans*] Cf. *infra* on 2 Tim. iv. 16. So Eusebius *l. c.*: *τὸν Νέρωνα ταύτῃ, ὡς ἔοικεν, διὰ τὸ ὠμόθυμον προσειπών*. All the Gk. expositors are agreed upon this point: see Suicer *s. v.* *λέων*.

14. *pacatus doceret*] The Gk. requires *pacati...docerent*. Cf. p. 207, l. 5, where the Latin is right. *Exc. omni terrore*, *χωρὶς φόβου*. See p. 10, l. 16, note.

15. *ut dicat in regiis*] So Chrys. (arg.): *πραιτώριον τὰ βασίλεια καλῶν*: i. 14, *τέως γὰρ οὕτως ἐκάλουν τὰ βασίλεια*. And Thdt., but more cautiously: *εἰκὸς δὲ ὅτι καὶ οὕτως κατ' ἐκεῖνον ὠνομάζετο τὸν καιρόν· ἀρχὴν γὰρ εἶχεν ἡ Ῥωμαϊκὴ δυναστεία*. Oec. (as Th.): *τουτέστιν, τῷ παλατίῳ*. Thpht. follows Chrys.; Dam. alone passes on without remark. Thus the Greek expositors from Chrys. downwards are all but unanimous in support of this interpretation; although, as Dr Lightfoot has observed, the language of Chrys. and

quod nunc ex consuetudine 'palatium' nominamus. †hoc ergo dixit: 'uolo uos (inquit) scire, eo quod illa quae doctrinae meae sunt in singulis diebus incrementa accipiunt. nam uinctus ad omnium notitiam perueni, inductus defensione mea adfui; et sic ab omni periculo liberatus, ut multi fideles docerent illa quae pietatis sunt, ex illis quae erga me facta sunt fiduciam accipientes.'*

quidam quidem et propter inuidiam et contentionem, quidam uero et propter bonum placitum Christum adnuntiant.

et latius significans quid sit, quod dixerit: *propter inuidiam et contentionem*, adicit:

alii quidem ex contentione Christum adnuntiant, non sincere, existimantes tribulationem inferre uinculis meis.

'quidam (inquit) inuidentes rebus bene erga me gestis, et quoniam nihil mali passus sum inductus ante Neronem, sed et illa quae erga me fuerunt edicens solui ab eo promerui; contra me suam contentionem exercentes discurrunt, non fiducia aliqua id agentes, sed nequitia (ut ita dixerim) pietatis dog-

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τοῦτο οὖν λέγει, ὅτι 'βούλομαι ὑμᾶς εἰδέναι, ὡς τὰ τῆς διδασκαλίας ὁσημέραι προκόπτει τῆς ἐμῆς· δῆλος γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῖς δεσμοῖς μου ἅπασιν ἐγενόμην, καὶ εἰσαχθεὶς περὶ τῶν καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἀπελογησάμην, καὶ οὕτως ἀπήλλαξα ἀκινδύνως ὥστε πολλοὺς τῶν ὁμοπίστων διδάσκειν τὰ τῆς εὐσεβείας ἀπὸ τῶν κατ' ἐμὲ τὴν παῤῥησίαν εἰληφότας.'

1 nos (*for* nunc) *H* 3 incrementum *C* 4 peruenit *r* | affui *C* (*corr*) *H* 5 cum fiducia (*aft* fideles) *add C* 18 impietatis *C H r*

Thdt. shews that "though they assumed the word must have had this meaning at an earlier date, it was certainly not so when they wrote." The pl. *regiis* seems to be an imitation of the Gk. (*ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ πρ., ἵνα εἴπῃ· ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις*). *Circa eum*, i.e. "circa Caesarem" (Jacobi); or possibly *eum* is an error for *ea*.

13. *tribulationem inferre*] *θλῖψιν ἐπιφέρειν*. So Chrys. and Thdt. The Latin authorities represent the reading *θλ. ἐγείρειν*. It will be observed that verses 16, 17 (*οἱ μὲν ἐξ ἀγάπης...οἱ δὲ ἐριθείας*) are transposed in Th.'s text, as they are by Chrys. and Thdt., though *alii quidem—quidam quidem* points to some uncertainty in the mind of the translator, who was doubtless accustomed to the original order.

18. *nequitia ut ita dixerim pietatis*, &c.] The scribes (see vv. ll.) have repeated the last two letters of *dixerim* before *pietatis*, thus destroying the paradox. That Th. wrote *τῆς εὐσεβείας* is clear from the comment below (p. 209, l. 3, &c.: "de illis hoc in loco loquentem qui *sanam* quidem doctrinam doceat," &c.). Cf. Chrys. (*hom. in* Phil. i. 18. Migne 51, 318): *οὐ τοίνυν τοῦ-*

mata docere deproperant, ut illi qui in principatu et potestate sunt ex eorum fiducia permoti secum reputent, quoniam quia horum omnium causa illa extitit, quod ego sine periculo negotium transierim; ut iterum aduersus me conuertantur, et poena mea ceteros corrigant.' hoc autem quis erga beatum Paulum effectum intellegens nequaquam demirabitur, quasi qui ob inuidiam fuerit aliquid perpessus. deinde quia dixit: *et per bonum placitum Christum praedicant*, euidenter illud significauit dicens:

quidam quidem ex caritate, scientes quoniam in defensionem euangelii positus sum.

hoc est: 'quidam caritate illa quam erga Christum habebant praedicant, confidentes quidem, meum esse opus ut praedicetur pietas; abutuntur uero fiducia, eo quod ita erga me diuina donante gratia sit dispensatum, ut fiduciam cuncti adsequerentur.' dicens euidentius horum quoque et illorum arbitrium:

quid enim? dum omnimodo, siue occasione siue ueritate, Christus praedicetur.

multa demiratione dignum est id quod a Paulo dictum est, licet sit et aliquid aliud simile. 'non (inquit) discutio arbitrium illorum, licet ad nociuitatem meam per inuidiam fiat quod fit; tantum cunctos doceant Christo credere.' nec enim, ut quidam existimauerunt, licentiam in his beatus Paulus praestat illis qui

1 properant *H* | principatum et potestatem *H* 2 quia *om r* 3 existit *r* | ego *om H* 4 aduersum *r* 5 corrigantur *r* 9 defensione *C* (*corr*) *H* 11 caritatem illam *C H r* 18 a *om r* 21 non (*for* nec) *H*

τὸ φησὶν ὅτι διεφθαρμένα δόγματα εἰσῆγον, ἀλλ' ὅτι ἡ αἰτία, ἀφ' ἧς ἐκήρυττον, αὕτη ἦν διεφθαρμένη. Thdt.: ἐκείνων μὲν κατηγόρησεν οὐχ ὡς φαῦλα διδασκόντων, ἀλλ' ὡς καλὰ μέν, οὐ καλῶς δέ. S. Augustine agrees with this exposition of οὐχ ἁγνῶς (*c. ep. Parmeniani* ii. 24: "numquid de talium praedicatione gauderet nisi sciret quod illis quidem perniciosum esset rem castam non caste annuntiare; illis autem salubre, qui bona et uera per eos audientes proficerent ad salutem? nam ubi non Christus qui unitas est, sed falsitas et mendacium praedicatur, apertissime prohibet" [citing Gal. i. 9]).

1. *ut illi in principatu*, &c.] So Chrys. (*l. c.*): τί δὲ ἐβούλοντο; τῆς πίστεως αὐξηθείσης καὶ πολλῶν γενομένων τῶν Παύλου μαθητῶν, εἰς μείζονα πόλεμον τὸν Νέρωνα διεγεῖραι. Similarly Thdt., and among the Latins, Pelagius: "ad me grauandum quasi plures discipulos facientem et doctrina mea totum orbem implere conantem, ut ex hoc maior mihi cumuletur iniuria."

6. *quasi qui*, &c.] A reference, possibly, to Th.'s own experience. The translator has missed the point, and connected the relative clause with *Paulum*.

21. *ut quidam existimauerunt*] Chrys. has a homily (cited above), πρὸς τοὺς οὐκ εἰς δέον χρωμένους τῷ ἀποστολικῷ ῥητῷ τῷ

interuertere pietatis cupiunt dogma; qui tantum nos uult erga haereticos odium habere, sicut ipse scribens dicit: *haereticum hominem post primam et secundam correptionem deuita.* sed de illis hoc in loco loquitur, qui sanam quidem doctrinam docent dogmatum, faciunt autem illud non ob ipsam pietatem, sed ut commoueant contra eum insidias. et ostendens quoniam consequenti ratione ita persistit de illis qui non integre illud faciunt, sed insidias ei cupiunt commouere:

et hoc gaudeo, sed et gaudebo; scio enim quoniam hoc mihi proficiet in salutem, per uestram orationem et subministrationem Spiritus Iesu Christi.

'his ita affectis gaudio cumulor, sciens quoniam in futuro saeculo plus gratulabor, quando pro his mercedem recipiam uobis orantibus, et Christo gratiam Spiritus copiosam nobis pro istis praebente;' eo quod et resurrectionem per Spiritum sanctum fieri expectabant, et fruitionem futurorum bonorum, eo quod ante adsequi sperabant. euidens autem est, quoniam et futurae

1 pietatis *om H* 6 commouere cupiunt *r* 9 ego (*bef* gaudebo) *add H**
10 in *om C* Hr* 12 gaudeo comulor (*sic*) *C**

λέγοντι εἴτε προφάσει, κ.τ.λ.: and this misapplication of the text is also referred to by Thdt. and Oec., the former saying: τοῦτό τινες τῶν ἀνοήτων καὶ περὶ τῶν αἱρέσεων ὑπειλήφασιν εἰρῆσθαι· καίτοι συνιδεῖν αὐτοὺς ἔδει ὡς οὐ προστακτικῶς ἀλλ' ἀφηγηματικῶς τοῦτο τέθεικεν ὁ θ. ἀπόστολος· οὐ γὰρ εἶπεν καταγγελλέσθω, ἀλλὰ ΚΑΤΑΓΓΈΛΛΕΤΑΙ—an argument due to Chrys., for which Oec. has substituted the assertion that "many of the heretics" misrepresented this text, as if the imperative had been used. This is probably nothing but a hasty inference from the language of his predecessors; but from the united protest of Chrys., Th. and Thdt. it is clear that at the beginning of the fifth century the Apostle's words were used by many as an argument against the prevalent attacks upon heresy (Jacobi: "non deerant igitur illis temporibus, qui severiorem ecclesiae catholicae in haereticos agendi modum improbarent"). With this latitudinarian party (possibly a relic of the Arian and Macedonian factions) Th. had no sympathy, notwithstanding his dislike of coercive measures (cf. *supra*, p. 106, l. 18, note).

2. *haereticum hominem*, &c.] Tit. iii. 10.

5. *ut commoueant contra eum insidias*] See above, p. 208, l. 1, note.

10. *proficiet*] Vulg., *proueniet;* O. L., *procedat.* Vig. Taps. has *proficit.*

12. *in fut. saec.*] Chrys. takes σωτηρίαν in the lower sense of deliverance from peril: τουτέστιν τὴν ἀπαλλαγήν· 'καὶ τὸν παρόντα διαφεύξομαι ὡς τὸν πρῶτον κίνδυνον.'

15. *eo quod et resurrectionem per Spiritum*, &c.] Cf. p. 37, l. 13, note; *et passim.* The other Gk. expositors refer rather to the increase of present grace and spiritual gifts; e.g. Thpht.: ἐπιχορηγίαν δὲ λέγει τὴν πλείω ἐπιδοσιν τῆς χάριτος τοῦ πνεύματος.

gloriae splendorem pro modo fidei uel laborum a Spiritu sibi itidem dari expectabant. bene ergo *subministrationem Spiritus* dixit, ut largam mercedem significaret et retributionum magnitudinem illam, quam decet Spiritum tribuere. et quoniam licet magna sint illa quae expectantur, sed et tribulationes praesentes magnae erant, siquidem et tales insidiae aduersus eum ab his qui eiusdem fidei erant praeparabantur:

secundum desperationem et spem meam quia in nullis confundar, sed in omni fiducia, sicut semper et nunc magnificabitur Christus in corpore meo, siue per uitam, siue per mortem.

desperationem euidenter illud dicit, quod sperare non possit. uult enim dicere quoniam 'licet in tantis constringar malis, ut desperem de praesentibus, et nullam subrelictam mihi spem salutis esse existimem, sed tunc spero non confundi, ualde edoctus, quoniam magnus per illa quae erga me sunt uidebitur Christus, siue uiuam, siue moriar; neque mortem meam fieri Christo absolute concedente aut uane.' et quoniam dixit quia *magnificabitur Christus*, hoc autem necdum probationem habebat illorum quae erga eum erant, ostendens quoniam et hoc suffi-ciens sit sibi si Christus magnificabitur, adiecit:

1 laborem *C H r* 2 dare *C* H r* 8 dispensationem *C H r* 11 dispensationem *C** desparationem *H** desperationem *C* (*corr*) *H* (*corr*) 13 mihi *om r* 17 quia *om H*

3. *largam...tribuere*] Lanfranc: "larg. merc. significat, quantam d. Sp. tr."

8. *sec. desperationem*] O. L. and Vulg., *sec. expectationem*; Ambrstr., *sec. contemplationem*. *Dispensationem* can scarcely have been intended as a rendering for *τὴν ἀποκαραδοκίαν*. I have little doubt that the true reading is preserved in the comm. (l. 11) and that in the text *desperationem* has been altered into *dispensationem* by an early copyist, to whom the juxtaposition of *desper.* and *spem* was intolerable. On *ἀποκαραδοκία=desperatio* see next note.

11. *desperationem euidenter*, &c.] Cf. Th.'s comm. on Rom. viii. 19: *καραδοκεῖν λέγεται τὸ ἐλπίζειν· ἀποκαραδοκεῖν, τὸ ἀπελπίζειν...τοῦτο οὖν λέγει, ὅτε ἡ κτίσις τό γε ἐφ' ἡμῖν πολλάκις τὰ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἀπελπίσασα ταύτην ἀπεκδέχεται τῶν ἁπάντων διόρθωσιν, κ.τ.λ.* Th. has imported this singular interpretation of *ἀποκαραδοκία* into the present passage, which is thus made to present a bold paradox: 'I am moved at once by hope and by despair—despair of worldly security, hope of the ultimate success of my life's work.'

16. *mortem...fieri*] Lanfranc: "sperabat enim Christo concedente mortem suam non fieri absolute aut uane."

17. *quoniam dixit...curam habeo*] Lanfranc: "quoniam d. quia magn. Chr. per uitam, nec hanc prob. habebat, adiecit: *mihi enim*, &c.; neque enim si uiuam, inquam, alterius rei curam habeo."

mihi autem uiuere Christus est et mori lucrum.

'nec enim si uiuam, inquam, alterius alicuius rei curam habeo, nisi solum illam, quae ad gloriam pertinet Christi; licet moriar pro eo magna me lucrasse confido. uado enim, ut sim cum illo.' unde et summa cum demiratione adicit:

si autem uiuere in carne, hic mihi fructus operis, et quid eligam, ignoro. coarctor enim ex duobus, desiderium habens ut resoluar et cum Christo sim, multo magis melius; permanere autem in carne necessarium est propter uos.

'itaque et in aporia uertor, ignorans quid me conueniat eligere. oblectat enim me huius uitae exitus, eo quod Christo me facit adesse; gratum autem mihi est et ut sim in uita, eo quod multos ex illis qui Christo extranei sunt ad eius pote sum perducere fidem. itaque etsi melius est mihi hinc discedere ut sim cum Christo, sed tamen plus praesentiam meam *propter uos* necessariam esse iudico'—ut dicat 'uos, qui ad fidem acceditis.' et quoniam ista dixit suum arbitrium publicans, ut ne uideatur uera ratione aporiatus nescire ea quae secundum se sunt, uel in quibus sit, adiecit:

et hoc confidens scio quoniam manebo et compermanebo omnibus

4 lucratum esse *r* 5 cum *om H* 10 dubitationem (*for* aporia) *r* 11 fecit *H* 12 multis *C H r* 13 possum *C* (*corr*) potes *H* potero *r* 14 finem (*for* fidem) *H* | melior *C H* 16 ut ducam (*for* ut dicat) *r* 17 dixit ista *H* 18 apparatus *r* | nec scire *C*H* nec ea scire *r* 19 adicit *C r*

1. *mihi autem*] ἐμοὶ δέ (?). *Autem* may however be an error for *enim*, the scribe having had his eye on *si autem* below.

4. *lucrasse*]=*lucratum esse*, which has been substituted for it in Rabanus.

7. *coarctor enim*] συνέχομαι γάρ. So Thdt., but Chrys., συν. δέ, the reading followed by the Latin versions. Instead of *ut res. et...sim*, the O. L. and Vulg. have *dissolui et...esse*. Th. read εἰς τὸ ἀναλῦσαι, and the prep. was not overlooked by the conscientious translator.

10, 18. *in aporia uertor... aporiatus*] Cf. p. 70, l. 21, note, and see vv. ll.

12. *gratiam autem mihi est*, &c.] Th., contrary to his use, passes over the grammatical difficulties of the sentence εἰ δὲ... οὐ γνωρίζω. In common with Chrys. and the rest, he seems to regard τοῦτό μοι κ. ἔργον as meaning 'my life here is fruitful in work for Christ.' Cf. Thpht.: καὶ τὸ ζῆν ἐν σαρκὶ οὐκ ἄκαρπόν μοί ἐστιν· καρποφορῶ γὰρ διδάσκων καὶ φωτίζων πάντας.

13. *pote sum*] Cf. vv. ll.

20. *compermanebo*] συμπαραμενῶ—the reading of Chrys. and the other Gk. expositors; "Latini *permanebo*" (Tisch.). *Gloriatio* is given by the O. L. (*gloria*, Ambrstr.); Vulg., *gratulatio*.

uobis ad uestrum profectum et gaudium fidei, ut gloriatio vestra abundet in Christo Iesu in me per meum aduentum iterum ad uos.

'sed haec quidem secundum meum affectum locutus sum; scio autem quoniam ero in hac uita, ita ut et ad uos iterum ueniam, et profectum suum in fide etiam illa quae secundum uos sunt habeant, adiuncta uobis multitudine copiosa quae per me ad fidem deducetur, ita ut et ampliorem habeam occasionem gloriandi de uobis secundum Christum.' nam *uestrum* dicens non ad plenum de persona Philippensium dicit, sed ut dicat illos qui per eum sint credituri ex gentibus; ex illorum persona illud dicens, quasi quia et ipsi sic crediderunt.

tantum digne euangelio Christi conuersamini.

hinc incipit de concordia et humilitate illis disputare, docens eos, non de primatu concertare. ualde autem illos ad uerecundiam inuitat dicto illo quo dixit, *ita ut digne euangelio Christi conuersemini;* si igitur hoc quaerit ab illis, ut promissione sua consentanea agant. cui demiranda adiectio quam adiecit:

ut siue ueniens et uidens uos, siue absens audiero illa quae de uobis sunt.

licet praesens sit, licet absens, similiter sollicitus est de illis,

5 uitam (*for* uos) *C H r: see note* 11 sunt *H* 12 si (*for* sic) *C* 17 conuersamini *C H r* | sic (*for* si) *H* | promissione sine C^{*} *r* prom. sibi *C* (*corr*) [promissioni suae *conj. Jacobi*] 18 cuius *C r* 20 et (*for* ut) *C* (*corr*)

5. *ad uos iterum*] See vv. ll. The reading of the MSS. seems to have originated in the repetition of the first two or three letters of *iterum*.

8. *ut et ampliorem*, &c.] By τὸ καύχημα ὑμῶν Th. understands 'my boasting on your behalf'; cf. Chrys.: μειζόνως ἔχω καυχᾶσθαι ὑμῶν ἐπιδόντων.

14. *hinc incipit*, &c.] Cf. *supra*, p. 197, l. 1, note. Thdt.: οὕτως τὰ καθ' ἑαυτὸν διηγησάμενος, εἰς παραίνεσιν μεταφέρει τὸν λόγον.

17. *si igitur*]=siquidem (εἴ γε)?
promissione sua consentanea, &c.] Cf. vv. ll.; for a similar construction see p. 119, l. 14. *Promissio* (ἐπάγγελμα), 'profession.' Cf. Ducange, *s. v.*

20. *ut siue ueniens*, &c.] A translation wholly independent of the Vulg., which aims at assisting the intercepted grammar of the original. Cf. Aug. (cited by Sabatier): "ut siue aduenientes et uidens uos siue absens audiam." *Audiero* supports the reading ἀκούσω as against ἀκούω. On the other hand the present participles *ueniens* and *uidens* are loosely used to represent the aor.—a frequent blemish in this translation.

ut illa quae meliora sunt recognoscant, et propter hoc semper aequo studio diligentiam implere meliorem optent. quod est autem eius consilium ?

quoniam statis in uno spiritu unianimes.

hoc est, 'concordatis uobis.' et quae sit utilitas concordiae explicans :

concertantes in fide euangelii ; et non terreamini in nullo ab aduersariis, quae est illis causa perditionis, uobis autem salutis.

'poteritis (inquit) concordantes auxilium uobis inuicem praestare in fide, ita ut non concedatis illis quae ab aduersariis uobis inferuntur; quae illorum quidem perditionis habent probationem, qui iusta ratione poenas luent pro quibus in uobis talia agunt. uobis uero salus ex hoc erit, quam adquiretis pro quibus in praesenti uita contemplatione pietatis passionibus obiectamini.' et prouocans eos ad passionem ineundam :

et hoc a Deo ; quoniam uobis datum est pro Christo non solum ut in illum credatis, sed et pro illo patiamini.

sufficienter illis et hisce dictis alacritatem praestitit, siquidem sic bonum est pati pro Christo, ita ut et dignum sit illi pro hoc etiam gratias agere ob illos lucros qui illis hinc adnascuntur.

deinde exemplo sui magis eos adhortatur :

idem certamen habentes quod uidistis in me et nunc audistis de me.

4 unanimes *C* (*corr*) *H r* 7 in ullo *C* (*corr*) *r* 8 illa (*for* illis) *C H* 10 cedatis *H* 13 exoceret (*sic* : *for* ex hoc erit) *C** 15 adiectamini *H* oblectamini *r* 20 illa lucra *r* 21 suo *H* 22 in me *om C**

2. *meliorem*] For. leg. *meliorum.*

4. *unianimes*] See vv. ll. So Cod. Amiat. here and in c. ii. 2, 20; but in Acts xii. 20, Rom. xv. 6, 1 Pet. iii. 8, *unanimes.* From the division of the text it would seem as if Th., with Chrys. and "the best ancient versions" (Ellicott), referred ἐν μιᾷ ψυχῇ to στήκετε rather than to συναθλοῦντες.

7. *concertantes*] The O. L. rendering; Vulg., *conlaborantes.* "Non ... in nullo" (μὴ...ἐν μηδενί) finds place also in the O. L.; in the Vulg. the first negative disappears.

20. *lucros*] Cf. p. 93, l. 9, note.

21. *deinde...de me*] Jacobi : "uerba... quamquam Pitrae codex non continet apposuimus ex Rabani catena deprompta." They occur in both our MSS., but had been overlooked by Card. Pitra. *Audistis* is from the Latin Versions, though *auditis* is found in Tert. (Rönsch, *N. T. Tert.* p. 486) and Ambrstr.

exemplo ... adhortatur] Lanfranc.

deinde sumens exhortationem, dicens:

si qua ergo consolatio in Christo, si quod solatium caritatis, si qua societas Spiritus, si qua et uiscera miserationis, implete gaudium meum.

bene quia dixit *si qua ergo*, eo quod uidebantur curam eius habere propter imminentem ei necessitatem, ita ut mitterent et illa quae usui eius sciebant esse necessaria; 'omnimodo (inquit) si uobis cura est de nostra consolatione, et diligentes nos condoletis nobis talia patientibus, illa facite quae perfectum nobis gaudium de uobis reddere poterunt.'

ut idipsum sapiatis, eandem. caritatem habentes, unanimes, unum sapientes.

quae illa? uarie dixit, ut dicat 'concordantes et diligentes alterutrum.' deinde et abdicans illa quae ab illis fiebant, monuit:

nihil secundum concertationem aut uanam gloriam.

'nec enim cupiditate uanae gloriae super primatum debetis contendere; sed quid magis conuenit uos facere?'

7 usum C^* *H* ad usum *C* (*corr*): *txt r* | omnino (*for* omnimodo) *r* 8 mea (*for* nostra) *H* 11, 12 ut idipsum—sapientes *om r* 14 faciebant (*for* fiebant) *r* 17 cupiditatem *H* 18 uobis *r*

3. *si qua et uiscera miserationis*] O. L., *si qua u. et miserationes; si quid u.*, &c., Cod. Amiat. The Clementine Vulg. agrees with our translation, excepting that it omits *et*. The error seems to have crept in from a reminiscence of Col. iii. 12 (σπλάγχνα οἰκτιρμοῦ).

5. *eo quod uidebantur*, &c.] i.e. S. Paul is urging the past kindnesses of the Philippian Church towards himself (cf. p. 197, ll. 2, 3) as a plea for the fulfilment of his present request. So (but with less direct allusion to c. iv. 10 sq.) Chrys.: ὡς ἂν εἰ ἔλεγεν· εἴ τινά μου λόγον ἔχεις. Thdt.: εἴ τινα γὰρ ἐμοὶ παράκλησιν (φησὶν) πρόσεγκεῖν βούλεσθε...διὰ τούτου παράσχετε.

8. *si...diligentes...patientibus*] Lanfranc.

9. *condoletis*] Cf. Rönsch, *Itala*, p. 185.

11. *idipsum...unum*] Vulg., *idem... idipsum*. On *idipsum* see above, p. 82, l. 19, note.

13. *quae illa? uarie dixit*, &c.] Jacobi suggests *illis*; but a mark of interrogation renders the MS. text intelligible. Possibly, however, *illa* may be redundant (cf. p. 242, l. 14), or a correction of *quae*.

16. *concertationem*] Vulg., *contentionem*; and so Rabanus. Jacobi: "at *concert.* propter raritatem uocabuli a nostro saepius adhibiti praeferendum esse uidetur." Similarly below (p. 215, l. 1), Rabanus substitutes the Vulg. "superiores sibi inuicem arbitrantes."

sed humilitate in inuicem existimantes supereminere uobis.

'melius est, inquam, per humilitatem etiam et illos, qui aequales uobis sunt, meliores existimare, et sic omnem illis honorem impigre tribuere.' et quod maxime sciebat posse intercipere huiusmodi contentionem, adiecit, consilium dans eis:

ut non solum sua unusquisque consideret, sed et quae alterius sunt singuli.

'noli (inquit) considerare, quemadmodum ipse primatum teneas, sed reputa, quoniam si tibi iucundum est ceteris praeesse, multo magis alteri intolerabile est, ut secundum locum teneat. cogitans autem similia et de ceteris, diligentiam magis ex aequalitate adhibebis.'

deinde et exemplo admodum necessario utitur ad humilitatis doctrinam illam, edicens quae secundum Christum sunt:

hoc enim (ait) *sapiatur* (uel *sentiatur*) *in uobis quod in Christo Iesu.*

hoc est, 'talia sapite et qualia Christus uidetur sapuisse.' qualia illa?

qui in forma Dei extans non rapinam arbitratus est esse se aequalem Deo.

rapere hominibus est moris illa, ex quibus aliquid adquirere sese posse existimant. dicimus enim frequenter quoniam 'rem

12 ex qualitate *C* H* 13 et *om r* 14 illam *C* 15 uel sent. sap. *C** | lec̄ hoc enim sentite (*marg*) *H* 17, 18 hoc est—illa *om r* 17 et *om C* (*corr*) 19 se *om H**

6. *ut non unusquisque consideret*] Th. (with Chrys., Thdt.) read ἕκαστος σκοποῦντες. So the O. L.; Vulg., "singuli considerantes."

15. *hoc enim sapiatur*] = τοῦτο γὰρ φρονείσθω, the reading of Chrys. and Thdt. The Latin fathers give "*hoc*" or "*hoc enim* sentite" (Hil., Victorin., *sapite*). *Vel sentiatur* may be either a marginal gloss (as the place of the words in *C** seems to suggest; see vv. ll.), or an alternative rendering; cf. p. 5, l. 16, note.

22. *dicimus enim frequenter*, &c.] i.e. the phrase ἅρπαγμα ἡγεῖσθαι was in common use in Th.'s time, with the sense of 'eagerly grasping' or 'setting store by' a possession; see the exx. collected by Dr Lightfoot *ad h. l.* The *form* of the noun appears to have raised no difficulty in the mind of Th., who evidently regards ἁρπαγμός as here equivalent to ἅρπαγμα, and such is probably his view also in the fragment of his treatise against Apollinarius, Sachau, p. ܡܘ (46):

ܗܘ̇ ܕܐܚܝܕܘܬܗ ܗܘ̣ܐ
ܕܫܘܝܘܬܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ... ܘܠܐ

illam rapiendam esse existimauit,' hoc est, 'cum celeritate illud suscepit, quasi quia magnum illi lucrum possit conferre.' hoc ergo dicit de Christo, *quoniam non rapinam arbitratus est, ut sit aequalis Deo;* hoc est, 'non magnam reputauit illam quae ad Deum est aequalitatem, et elatus in sua permansit dignitate; sed magis pro aliorum utilitate praeelegit humiliora sustinere negotia quam secundum se erant, et quidem cum in forma Dei extaret'—ut dicat: 'Dei existens;' hoc est, 'dominus et dominator et uniuersitatis auctor.' haec enim omnia quae dicta sunt nuncupationem Dei subsequi uidentur ueraciter. quid autem fecit?

sed se ipsum exinaniuit formam serui accipiens.

†'exinanitum' diuina scriptura pro nihilo uocat, sicut alibi scriptum est: *euacuata est fides*, hoc est, 'nulla esse ostensa est;'

κένωσιν ἡ θεία γραφή φησιν τὸ μηδέν, ὡς τὸ ΚΕΚΈΝΩΤΑΙ Ἡ ΠΊΣΤΙΣ, *ἀντὶ τοῦ 'οὐδὲν ἀποπέφανται'* *καὶ* ΚΕΝῸΝ ἌΡΑ ΤῸ ΚΉΡΥΓΜΑ

3 rapina *H* 6 utilitatem *C* H* 13 nihilum *C H* | ab illis (*for* alibi) *H* 15 sq. Coisl. 204, f. 124 a, b [Cr. vi. 259, Fr. 138—9] *θεόδωρος. καὶ ἄλλος δέ φησιν· κένωσιν, κ.τ.λ.* 16 *ἀπέφανται* cod., Cr.: *πέφανται* Fr.

ܡܫܬܘܝܘܬܐ ܕܚܛܘܦܝܐ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ
ܗܘܐ ܗܕܐ: ܐܠܐ ܐܝܟ
ܟܝܢ ܕܦܐܐ ܠܟܝܢܗ:

where the original probably had *ἁρπαγμός*, and though the translator has adopted from the Peshito the ambiguous word ܚܛܘܦܝܐ, the sense evidently is: "likeness to God was in Him not eagerly sought after, but natural." Comp. Thdt.: *θεὸς γὰρ ὢν καὶ φύσει θεὸς καὶ τὴν πρὸς τὸν πατέρα ἰσότητα ἔχων, οὐ μέγα τοῦτο ὑπέλαβεν—τοῦτο γὰρ ἴδιον τῶν παρ' ἀξίαν τιμῆς τινὸς τετυχηκότων—ἀλλὰ τὴν ἀξίαν κατακρύψας τὴν ἄκραν ταπεινοφροσύνην εἵλετο.* For a catena on the words *οὐχ ἁρπ. ἡγ.* see Dr Lightfoot (*Phil.* pp. 133, 134), who remarks that "this [the view held by Th.] is the common and indeed almost universal interpretation of the Greek fathers, who would have the most lively sense of the requirements of the language." Chrys. is the principal exception, followed as usual by Thpht. and Oec.; his interpretation is thus summarized by Oec.: *ἐπειδὴ γὰρ μὴ κατὰ ἁρπαγὴν ᾔδει ἔχων τὸ εἶναι ἴσα θεῷ ἀλλ' ἀπὸ φύσεως καὶ συναϊδίου ἀξιώματος, διὰ τοῦτο θάρρων ἐκένωσεν ἑαυτόν.*

8. *Dei existens*] Jacobi: "fortasse graeca fuerunt *θεοῦ ὤν*. Equidem crediderim tamen esse legendum *Deus*." The MSS. agree with Rabanus in supporting *Dei;* cf. *infra*, p. 217, l. 8, "diuinae naturae existens," where see note on Th.'s interpretation of *ἐν μορφῇ θεοῦ.*

dominus et dominator] Cf. S. Jude 4, Vulg., "dominatorem [et] dominum" (*δεσπότην καὶ κύριον*).

13. *exinanitum*] Probably a substantive = exinanitionem (*κένωσιν*), and possibly neuter; cf. *tactum*, p. 170, l. 1.

14. '*euacuata est fides*'...'*euac. est ergo praed. n.*'] Rom. iv. 14 (*κεκένωται*); 1 Cor.

euacuata est ergo praedicatio nostra, hoc est, nulla est et uana. nam quod dicit *seipsum* [*exinaniuit*, hoc est, 'non ostendit seipsum], formam enim serui accipiens dignitatem illam abscondit; hoc solum a uidentibus se esse existimabatur, quod et uideri poterat.* diuina enim natura cunctis erat occulta.' *formam* autem *serui*, ut dicat 'naturam serui,' humanam sic uocans naturam, seruilis enim est humana natura; sicut et illud quod dixit *in forma Dei*, in diuina dicit natura, hoc est, 'diuinae naturae existens.' et quoniam dixit *formam serui*, commune autem erat hoc et hominibus et iumentis et angelis, formae enim seruorum sunt et illi siquidem facti sunt, adiecit et illud quod

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ἡμῶν, *ἀντὶ τοῦ* 'οὐδὲν *καὶ εἰκαῖον.*' *τὸ οὖν* ἑαυτὸν ἐκένωσεν, *ἀντὶ τοῦ* 'οὐκ ἔδειξεν *ἑαυτόν*' μορφὴν *γὰρ* δούλου λαβὼν *τὴν ἀξίαν ἐκείνην ἀπέκρυψεν, τοῦτο τοῖς ὁρῶσιν εἶναι νομιζόμενος ὅπερ ἐφαίνετο.*'

1 ut ipsum sapiatis eandem caritatem habentes unanimes unum sapientes (*bef* euac. est) *add C H r:* see note 2 exinaniuit—seipsum *om C H r* (*per homoeotel.*): *txt g* 3 enim *om r* 5 uidere *C** 7 uocatus *C* uocas *H** [humana sic uocatur natura *r*] 8 in d. n. dicit *r*

xv. 14 (κενόν). Before the second quotation both our MSS. and Rabanus insert part of Phil. ii. 2—a verse already commented upon, and utterly irrelevant to the matter in hand. Prof. Jacobi has rightly expunged the words as an interpolation, although it is not easy to account for their occurrence in all our authorities. It will be observed that (1) the version is identical with our translator's (*supra*); (2) Rab. omits the verse in its proper place. In his copy, or its original, the words had first been dropt by the scribe, and then inserted by the corrector in the margin at the wrong point. Our MSS. repeat the error of the corrector alone. See Introduction.

3. *dignitatem ... poterat*] Cited by Lanfranc, with the curious error [misprint?] of *audientibus* for *a uidentibus*.

dignitatem illam abscondit] Thdt.: τὴν ἀξίαν κατακρύψας. Cf. Gk. (*infra*). Pelagius: "quod erat humilitate celauit."

6. *formam ... ut dicat naturam*] Comp. Th.'s comm. on Rom. ii. 20: μόρφωσιν λέγει οὐ τὴν προτύπωσιν, ἀλλ' αὐτὴν τὴν ὑπόστασιν καὶ τὴν γνῶσιν καὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν· ὡς τὸ ὃς ἐν μορφῇ θεοῦ ὑπάρχων. Chrys., arguing against the Marcionites, who adduced S. John xiii. 4, sq. (cf. Pelag. *ad h. l.*) as an instance of Our Lord's assumption of the servant's form, urges: ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστιν τοῦτο μορφὴ δούλου, ἀλλ' ἔργον δούλου ... οὐδαμοῦ δὲ ἐν τῇ γραφῇ μορφὴ ἀντὶ ἔργου εἴρηται· πολὺ γὰρ τὸ μέσον· τὸ μὲν γὰρ φύσεώς ἐστιν, τὸ δὲ ἐνεργείας. For a list of other contemporary and earlier supporters of Th.'s view see Dr Lightfoot, *Phil.* p. 131, note 1; among later Gk. expositors add Thpht.: ἐν μορφῇ γὰρ θεοῦ, τουτέστιν, οὐσίᾳ ... μορφήν, ἤτοι τὴν φύσιν τοῦ δούλου λαβών.

proprietatem significaret, instruere uolens quoniam dixerit *formam serui:*

in similitudinem hominis factus,

factus quod dixit pro 'habitus' posuit. nam quod dixit *in similitudinem hominis*, ut dicat 'in homine;' similitudo enim hominis homo est. haec omnia coniunxit, de Dei Verbo dicens; unde et adiecit:

in schemate (uel *specie*) *inuentus est ut homo.*

ad comparationem illius naturae, quae in nulla specie uel schemate perspici potest, schema et speciem posuit, ut dicat quoniam 'inuisibilis et omni schemate liber existens, sicut fas est, uoluit in homine uideri.'

humiliauit se ipsum.

usque in hunc locum illa quae diuinae naturae condecebant,

1 quam (*for* quoniam) *C* (*corr*) quod *r* 4 habitans *C* [*r*?] *l* 7 adicit *C* 8 est *om H* 14 concedebant *C** *H r*

1. *quoniam*] *Quemadmodum* seems to be required; cf. vv. ll.

3. *hominis*] Comp. the comm. just below (ll. 5, 6), which seems to turn upon the use of the sing. So occasionally the Latin fathers (see Sabatier *ad h. l.*); and in one place Origen (Tregelles); cf. Chrys. (cited below in note on l. 5).

4. *factus...in homine*] Cited, freely, by Lanfranc, who changes *hominis* into *hominum;* see last note.

'factus'...*pro* 'habitus' *posuit*] τὸ γενόμενος τέθεικεν ἀντὶ τοῦ νομιζόμενος, or the like, i.e. 'Our Lord, in outward seeming, was a man, and nothing more; was apparently mere man.' See above, p. 43, l. 2, note. Sachau, p. ܡܘ (28, 29): ܐܝܟ ܕܒܬܪܥܝܬܐ ܕܝܢ. ܐܝܟ ܡܐ ܕܐܡܪ ܫܠܝܚܐ ܥܠ ܡܪܢ. ܕܗܘܐ ܒܕܡܘܬܐ ܕܒܪ ܐܢܫܐ.

5. *similitudo enim hominis homo est*] Chrys.: ἐνταῦθα ἐπιλαβόμενοι οἱ ἀπὸ Μαρκίωνος· ἰδοὺ (φασὶν) οὐκ ἐγένετο ἄνθρωπος, ἀλλ' ἐν ὁμοιώματι ἀνθρώπου γενόμενος· πῶς δὲ ἔστιν ἐν ὁμοιώματι ἀνθρώπων γενέσθαι σκιὰν παραβαλλόμενον; οὐκοῦν εἴδωλον τοῦτό ἐστιν καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἀνθρώπου ὁμοίωμα. ἀνθρώπου γὰρ ὁμοίωμα ἄνθρωπος ἕτερος.

8. *in schemate* (*uel specie*)] See p. 215, l. 15, note. The Latin authorities have *figura*, *habitu*, *specie*; *schemate* is peculiar to our translator; cf. his use of *aporior* in Gal. iv. 20. In the structure of this clause *C** has departed from the original (καὶ ... εὑρεθείς); *H* follows the Vulgate.

14. *usque...aptari naturae*] Cited by Lanfranc, but loosely.

condecebant] Cf. Rönsch, *Itala*, p. 185. Lanfranc substitutes "quae ad diuinam naturam pertinent."

uisus est edixisse; in subsequentibus uero ad illa transit, quae humanae possunt aptari naturae:

factus oboediens usque ad mortem, mortem autem crucis.

de homine quidem condecent ut ista dicantur; diuinae autem naturae nequaquam aptari possunt ista. nec enim mortem pati natura illa potest, quae et mortuum suscitare promisit, euidenter Domino ipso dicente: *soluite templum hoc, et in tribus diebus suscitabo illud.* et solutionem quidem templo aptauit, resurrectionis uero operationem sibi aptauit. statim in ipso principio dicens: *in Christo Iesu*, singulariter et ut moris erat de una persona dicens, duarum et rationum memoratus est et naturarum, dicens: *qui in forma Dei extans...formam serui* accepit, euidenter aliud quod dicens Dei formam, aliud etiam serui; illud quidem sumptum dicens, hunc uero sumentem. ut autem diuisio haec dictorum non alterum aliquem ad plenum praeter Christum faciat intellegi, serui formam unicuique reddidit. secundum ut et in promptu perspici possit, illud quidem quod

1 dixisse *r*   11 rationem *CHr* | et (*bis*) *om C* (*corr*)

7. *soluite*, &c.] S. John ii. 14. With the interpretation of this text here given comp. the following fragment of Th.'s treatise on the Incarnation, Sachau, p. ܦܓ (51): ܐܝܟܢܐ ܗܘ ܠܟܢ ܗܘ ܕܡܫܬܪܐ ܘܐܝܟܢܐ. ܗܘ ܕܡܩܝܡ. ܘܗܘ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܗܝܟܠܐ ܕܫܪܝܐ ܡܫܬܠ. ܗܘ ܕܝܢ ܕܡܩܝܡ ܠܗ ܐܠܗܐ ܡܠܬܐ.

11. *de una persona*] Comp. the fragment in Migne, 981 [Sachau, p. ܡܓ (43)]: ὅταν δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἕνωσιν (*s.* συνάφειαν: cf. *ib. supra*) ἀποβλέψωμεν, τότε ἓν εἶναι τὸ πρόσωπον ἄμφω τὰς φύσεις κηρύττομεν. And the Theodorean ecthesis (Migne, 1017—20): οὔτε δύο φαμὲν υἱοὺς οὔτε δύο κυρίους...ἕνα τοίνυν τὸν κύριον φαμὲν...πρωτοτύπως μὲν τὸν θεὸν λόγον νοοῦντες, τὸν κατ' οὐσίαν υἱὸν θεοῦ καὶ κύριον, συνεπινοοῦντες δὲ τὸ ληφθέν, Ἰησοῦν τὸν ἀπὸ Ναζαρέτ. Facundus (ix. 3) has preserved a vehement disclaimer by Theodore of the doctrine of a dual Christ: "hoc putare extremae est amentiae." See next page, l. 11 sq. On *mem. est* cf. Rönsch, p. 373.

16. *serui formam unicuique reddidit*] Jacobi: "equidem potius expectauerim: 's. f. *uni Christo* reddidit.' quod si improbaueris, intelliges rationem uerborum: 'omnes quidem seruorum formas et praeterea nihil tenuisse, Christum uero non solum istam, sed etiam diuinam naturam habuisse.'" I believe that Th. wrote τὴν τοῦ δούλου μορφὴν ἑκατέρᾳ ἀπέδωκεν or the like, and that the translator has read ἑκάστῃ for ἑκατ. *per incuriam*.

17. *secundum ut*, &c.] The sense seems to be: 'This is clear from a careful study of the passage itself. The words ὃς ἐν μορφῇ θεοῦ...ἴσα θεῷ set forth the Divine

dixit: *qui in forma existens* et reliqua, omnia illa dixit quae in persona intelleguntur Christi; *formam* uero *serui*, ne aliud quid praeter Christum esse existimetur reputasse, eo quod et ab eo sit accepta. dicens uero quaecunque oportebant de diuina dici natura, ad humilitatis augmentum coniunxit et illa quae humanitatis sunt propria in una eademque persona. dicens illum honorem, qui erga eum post passionem existit, adiecit: *quoniam dominus Iesus Christus*, euidenter ostendens, quoniam non alium aliquem praeter Christum existimat esse susceptum hominem; et uirtute illorum quae significantur naturarum differentiam ostendit. nam ex illo quod in una persona omnia dixit, copulationem sufficienter ostendit. omnia quidem in loco ubi de Christo disputat, quasi de una persona uniuerse dicit; et illa, quae uirtute sunt differentia secundum naturarum diuisionem, in unum omnia collegit, ita ut indiuisam custodiat personae copulationem. hoc uero in loco et maxime hoc prudenter simul et necessarie egisse uidetur. non propter consuetudinem solam quam abutitur ad scrupulosam doctrinam dogmatis, sed et quantum ad praesens argumentum, ualde haec species narrationis illi conueniebat. propositum illi erat enim ut doceret et Philippenses, quoniam bona est humilitas et ualde sufficiens agenti

4 dicit (*for* dici) *r* 10 uirtutem *C H r* 11 quo diuina (*for* quod in una) *r* 13 uniuersa *C* (*corr*) *r* 15 colligit *H* | diuisam C^{a} *H r* 17 nam (*for* non) *r*

glory of the Person of Christ; and they are immediately connected with μορφὴν δούλου λαβών, κ.τ.λ., in order to exclude the misconception that the Human Nature taken by God the Word has a separate subsistence or personality.' See below, l. 8, "non alium aliquem praeter Christum existimat susceptum hominem." Th. indeed regarded the *homo susceptus* as personal (τέλειον τὸ πρόσωπόν φαμεν εἶναι τοῦ ἀνθρώπου), yet in virtue of the 'union' inseparable in fact from the Second Person of the Holy Trinity. On the relation in which this view stands to the doctrine of the Church see Dorner, II. i. p. 47 sq.; Neander, *Ch. H.*, iv. p. 118; and the Introduction to this edition.

10. *uirtute illorum quae significantur*] Jacobi: "codd. perperam: *significantur*; leg. *significant*." I prefer the change adopted in the text. The meaning will be: 'the difference of the two natures is indicated by the properties ascribed to them respectively.' So just below (l. 14): "illa quae uirtute sunt differentia;" cf. also the Latin extract in Migne, 983: "ex differentia quidem illorum quae dicuntur, differentia intellegitur naturarum; cum autem rediguntur, manifestam suspicimus adunationem."

12. *omnia*] For. leg. *omni*.

15. *ita ut indiuisam*, &c.] Cf. Migne, 985: ἡ τοῦ προσώπου ἕνωσις [ὀφείλει] ἀδιασπάστως φυλάττεσθαι. Sachau, p. ٥٩ (51).

illud lucros conferre. et hoc ex illo exemplo, quod secundum Christum est, confirmat; conueniebat enim ad maiorem doctrinam omni ex parte augeri exemplum. quemadmodum? si enim deitatis solius fecisset mentionem, sufficienter ostendere poterat, quod ualde conueniat humilia sapere; etenim tantum diuinam naturam ostendebat humilitate rem efficientem, quae multum a sua dignitate distare uidebatur. nam quia erat res ipsa agenti lucratiua ostendere nullomodo poterat, eo quod nec poterat comprobare aliquid hinc illam naturam potuisse adquirere. si autem humanam naturam tantummodo fuisset memoratus, lucratiuam rem esse ab illis quae ei adquisita fuerant ostendebat; quod uero conueniat humilia sapere cum simili dignitate hinc non poterit confirmare. nam et illud quod dixit: *factus oboediens usque ad mortem,* homini aptatum nihil poterat illorum quae ad humilitatem pertinent comprobare, si non et diuina natura inesse ei fuisset ostensa, per quam licebat et huic non subici morti. nam secundum se non oboeditionis opus implebat morti subcumbens; sustinebat enim mortem et nolens, secundum dudum positum terminum naturae. prudenter uero, sicut dixi, quasi in una persona omnia retulit, colligens in unum illa quae uirtute differre uidebantur, secundum naturarum diuisionem, ita ut ex utroque quod utile erat deduceret ad

1 lucra *r* | ex *om r* 2 enim *om r* 6 diuinam tantum *H* | humilitatem rem efficiens *C H r* 7 namque *C H* nam quae *r* 13 huic *C H r: txt conj. Jacobi* | poterat *r* | et *om H** 14 autem (*aft* homini) *add r* 16 hinc *C H r: txt conj. Jacobi* 20 dixit *C H r: Jacobi*, "*fortasse* dixi." 21 diuis. natur. *H*

7. *nam quia erat,* &c.] Jacobi: "falsa aut uersio aut lectio; nexus enim sententiarum postulat *sed.*" But γάρ in the original would surely be defensible; 'had the Apostle spoken only of the Divine Nature, he would have sufficiently shewn the excellency of humility [though not its profitableness]; for,' &c.

17. *oboeditionis opus*] ἔργον ὑπακοῆς: cf. Rönsch, *Itala*, p. 75.

19. *sec. dudum positum terminum naturae*] Cf. p. 25, l. 17, note, and add the following (Migne, 1010): "Dominus ...et mortem utpote naturae tributum postremo suscipit, ut secundum legem humanae naturae moriens et a mortuis diuina uirtute resurgens, initium cunctis hominibus qui mortem secundum propriam naturam susciperent fieret ut a mortuis surgant."

20. *colligens in unum*] Cf. Sachau, p. ܡܙ (47): ܘܚܫܒ ܗܠܝܢ ܢܦܫܗ ܒܚܕ ܡܠܘܟ ܠܝ ܒܠ ܚܘܝܕܘܬܐ. ܡܠܘܟ ܚܢܢ ܠܗܕܐ. ܒܚܕ ܒܘܠܗܝܢ ܠܚܕ ܡܟܢܫ. Add Thdt. *ad h. l.:* δῆλον καὶ τοῖς ἄγαν ἀνοήτοις ὡς ἡ θεία φύσις ἀνενδεής, καὶ ἐνανθρωπήσας οὐ ταπεινὸς ὢν ὑψώθη, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὕψιστος ὢν ἑαυτὸν ἐταπείνωσεν.

exhortationem. de illis quidem sermonibus qui erant deitatis, suadebat nobis ut necessarie in nostris cogitationibus humilitatem ostenderemus, siquidem Deus Verbum talia sponte fecisse uidebatur, ita ut pro aliorum salute praehonorandam omnibus existimaret humilitatem. de illis uero quae secundum humanitatem facta sunt, ostendebat lucratiuam esse rem agere uolenti, ex quibus ille post passionem in tanta constitit gloria. unde dicens: *factus oboediens usque ad mortem, mortem autem crucis;* quod quidem erat humanitatis proprium, quae humanitas etiam et passionem suscepisse uidebatur, ostendebatur uero ex diuinitatis sermonibus ad exhortationem humilitatis, per quam licebat non pati, si uoluisset, adiecit:

propter quod et Deus illum superexaltauit.

nescio si aliquis sic stultus inueniri possit, ita ut post passionem exaltatum fuisse Dei Verbum existimet. quae est autem ipsa exaltatio?

et donauit illi nomen quod est super omne nomen.

nomen; euidens est quoniam non uocabulum, sed rem quandam dicit adquisitam ei, sicut illud quod scriptum est: *et cognoscant quoniam nomen tibi Dominus,* hoc est, 'quoniam tu Dominus.' interpretatur uero ipse quid sit illud nomen:

ut in nomine Iesu omne genu flectatur caelestium et terrestrium et infernorum, et omnis lingua confiteatur quoniam dominus Iesus Christus in gloria est Dei Patris.

hoc enim illi donauit, ut omnes illum adorent, et ut omnes

2 necessario *r* 12 adicit *C r* 19 illi *r* 25 et *om H**

5. *de illis...lucratiuam esse rem*] Abbreviated by Lanfranc.

14. *nescio si aliquis*, &c.] Cf. Sachau, p. ܥܕ (46): ܠܐܝܢܐ ܕܝܢ ܐܡܪܝܢܢ ܕܐܬܥܠܝ. ܠܐܠܗܐ ܡܠܬܐ. ....ܐܝܟܢܐ ܡܪܝܡ ܗܘܐ ܐܠܗܐ ܠܗܘ ܕܫܘܐ ܗܘܐ ܥܡܗ. ܐܘ ܟܝ [ܟܝܬ (?)] ܕܪܒ ܡܢܗ ܥܒܕܗ· ܗܝ ܕܠܡܐܡܪܝܗ ܫܟܝܪܐ ܗܝ.

18. *euidens ... Dominus*] Lanfranc, R. of B., adding after *ei*, "quia [qui *R.*] assumptus est a uerbo."

19. *et cognoscant*, &c.] Ps. lxxxii. 19. Comp. the comm. of Diodore (Corder. *caten. in Psalm.* ii. p. 721): γνωσάτωσαν ὅτι ὄνομά σοι κύριος· ἀντὶ τοῦ· ἀφ' ὧν θαυματουργεῖς τιμωρούμενος αὐτοὺς γνώτωσαν ὅτι τοῦ παντὸς ὑπάρχεις κύριος καὶ πάσης τῆς γῆς ὑψηλότερος. Thdt. takes τὸ ὄνομα in Phil. ii. 9 as = the title υἱὸς θεοῦ or θεός, comparing Heb. i. 3—5.

25. *ut omnes illum adorent*] Cf. p. 58,

Deum confiteantur Iesum Christum in gloria Dei patris effectum; hoc est, talem potitum gloriam, qualem fas est illum qui sibi patrem adscribit Deum potiri, propter illam copulationem quam habet ad Unigenitum. quoniam autem haec post passionem adquisita sunt illi qui adsumptus est, nemo qui nesciat; Deo autem Verbo aderant a principio, utpote omnium factori, quod neminem aestimo contradicere, nisi forte ualde cedat insaniae. *caelestium* quidem dicit 'inuisibilium uirtutum;' *terrestrium* uero 'uiuorum hominum;' *infernorum* etiam 'illorum qui mortui sunt,' qui et ipsi per resurrectionem Dominum confitebuntur resurrectionis suae auctorem.

illud inter cetera est explicandum, quod quidam haereticorum interuertere uolentes testimonium illud quod dictum est: *non rapinam arbitratus est, esse se aequalem Deo,* sic intellexerunt, quoniam 'existimauit (inquit) Christus conuenire sibi, ut non raperet illam aequalitatem, quam Deus habere uidebatur.' dictum

7 nisi si *H* | forti *C H r* 15 existimabit *C* H r* | Chr. inquit *H*

l. 13, note. Add Migne, 989: *τοσαύτη γέγονεν περὶ τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἡ τιμὴ καταξιωθέντα θείας ἐνοικήσεως, τοῦ τε καθῆσθαι ἐκ δεξιῶν τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ προσκυνεῖσθαι παρὰ πάσης τῆς κτίσεως.* In a Latin fragment (pp. 991—2), Th. compares the adoration of the Man in Christ to that of the Emperor's image; cf. *infra* on Col. i. 15.

2. *talem potitum gloriam*] Cf. p. 40, l. 11, note.

5. *adquisita sunt illi,* &c.] Thdt.: *ἑαυτὸν ταπεινώσας οὐ μόνον οὐκ ἀπώλεσεν ὅπερ εἶχεν ὡς θεός, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς ἄνθρωπος τοῦτο προσέλαβεν.* For the construction *adq. illi* cf. Rönsch, *Itala,* pp. 436—7.

8. *caelestium ... auctorem*] Cited by Lanfranc (see vv. ll.). R. of B.: "ut terrestres dicat uiuos homines, infernales appellet mortuos, qui et ipsi per res. Dominum, &c."

cael. quidem dicit inuisibilium, &c.] Thdt.: *ἐπουρανίους καλεῖ τὰς ἀοράτους δυνάμεις· ἐπιγείους δέ, τοὺς ἔτι ζῶντας ἀνθρώπους· καὶ καταχθονίους τοὺς τεθνεῶτας.* Chrys., followed by Thpht., Oec., understands (1) angels, men, and devils; or (2) the righteous and the wicked.

12. *quidam haereticorum*] Jacobi: "Arianos intellegit." Chrys. *ad h. l.* represents the Arians as expounding the passage thus: *θεὸς ὢν ἐλάττων οὐχ ἥρπασεν τὸ εἶναι ἴσα τῷ θεῷ τῷ μεγάλῳ καὶ μείζονι.* He replies, as Th., that (1) no creature if wise and good could so much as think of making himself equal with the Creator; (2) the Arian interpretation would commit the Ap. to the absurdity of arguing: 'account equals your superiors, *for* Christ, being inferior to God, abstained from making Himself His equal' (*οὐδεὶς γὰρ βουλόμενος προτρέψαι ταπεινοφρονεῖν, τοῦτό φησιν· ἔσο ταπεινὸς καὶ ἔλαττον φρόνει τῶν ὁμοτίμων· καὶ γὰρ ὁ δεῖνα ὁ δοῦλος οὐκ ἐπανέστη τῷ δεσπότῃ· μιμοῦ τοίνυν ἐκεῖνον*). Comp. Thdt.: *πρὸς δὲ τούτοις κἀκεῖνο συνείδομεν* [*for. leg. συνίδωμεν*] *ὅτι ταπεινοφροσύνην διδάσκων ὁ θ. ἀπ. τέθεικεν τοῦ Χριστοῦ τὸ παράδειγμα... εἰ δὲ οὐκ ἴσος ἦν, ἀλλ' ἐλάττων τοῦ πατρὸς ὁ υἱός, οὐ ταπεινοφρονῶν ὑπήκουσεν, ἀλλὰ τάξιν ἐπλήρωσεν.*

ipsum multae stultitiae habet probationem; hoc enim quando excogitare potuit Christus, si tamen secundum illorum sententiam eius factura est ex nihilo factus, qui et auctorem suum scit illum esse factorem suum et creatorem? nisi forte hoc dicant, quoniam secundum daemones exaequare se Deo non usurpauit. quod haereticos quidem conuenit intellegere, qui et semper plena insaniae uerba loquuntur; Paulo uero non conueniebant haec uerba, quasi ut quid magnum diceret de Christo, licet talia esse quis dicat illa quae secundum Filium sunt, qualia illi dicunt. uidentur autem neque sensum apostoli perspexisse dicentis: *humilitate uos existimantes alterutrum uobis superemineret.* euidens est enim quoniam in hisce uerbis non minores docet debitum honorem maioribus persoluere, sed exaequatos honore admonet ut per humilitatem alterutrum se sibi superminere existiment. unde et *alterutrum* posuit, ut et isti erga illos et illi erga istos paria sapiant. ad hoc etiam exemplum aptasse uisus est, siquidem Christus, ad Patrem secundum diuinam naturam aequalitatem uindicans, adquieuit in hominem habitare, et sic exiguam apud homines opinionem adquirere, ita ut nec aestimarent eum aliud quid tunc esse praeter hominem solum, quod et esse uidebatur; ultra uero non erat aptum, si nullam habens ad Patrem aequalitatem, praeceptum solummodo implebat natura ipsa, ut obtemperaret ei, necessitatem illi inponente. itaque et ridiculum erat secundum apostoli intentionem ut diceret quoniam et Christus non insurrexit aduersus Patrem, neque conatus est rapere illam aequalitatem quam cum Patre

1 stultię (*sic*) *H* 3 auditorem (*for* auct.) *H* 7 locuntur *C H* 10 illic *C* H r* illa *C* (*corr*) 10 praespexisse *r* 11 humilitatem *r* 12 quoniam *om H* 18 homine *r* 20 nec (*aft* tunc) *add C H r* | propter (*for* praeter) *r* 21 ultro *C* 23 necessitate *C H* | imponentem *r*

9. *licet talia*, &c.] 'Granting that the Arian view of the Person of Christ were correct, S. Paul would have said nothing so little to the honour of his Master as that He barely abstained from seizing upon Divine prerogatives to which He had no just claim.'

15. *unde et* 'alterutrum' *posuit*] ἀλλήλους: rendered *in inuicem* above, p. 215, l. 1 (*inuicem*, Vulg.); *alterutrum* however is twice given by Aug. when citing Phil. ii. 3.

18. *in hominem habitare*] On the Theodorean doctrine of the ἐνοίκησις see p. 142, l. 10, note.

19. *ita ut nec aest.* &c.] The second *nec* (see vv. ll.), unless a simple error of the scribe, may be due to a misunderstanding of the double negative in the Gk.

habebat; consilia illis dante, ut [quos] aequales sibi existimarent per bonorum actuum cooperationem, per humilitatem supereminere sibi existimarent. itaque beatus Paulus sic per omnia exhortationem faciens adiecit:

itaque carissimi mihi, sicut semper oboedistis non solum in praesentia mea, sed et nunc multo magis in absentia mea, cum timore et tremore uestram salutem operamini.

optime et memoria praeteritorum persuasit illis nihil indignum sibi sapere, sed talia facere, qualia et primitus fiebant coram ipso. et animiaequiores faciens eos super conuenienti illis studio adiecit:

Deus enim est, qui inoperetur in uobis et velle et inoperari pro bono placito.

'sic enim alacritas uestra cooperariam inuenerit sibi Dei gratiam, necessarie eo cooperante uobis, ut cogitetis et agatis illa quae sunt Deo placita'—sic enim dicit *pro bono placito.* deinde ad exhortationem perducit uerbum:

omnia facite sine murmuratione et disceptationibus.

ut dicat: 'alacriter et sollicite.'

ut efficiamini inreprehensibiles et sinceres, filii Dei immaculati,

1 consilio *C H r* | quos *om C H r* 4, 11 adicit *C r* 8 memoriam *C H r* 9 faciebat (*for* fiebant) *H* 10 animaequiores *C* (*corr*) *r* 12 inoperatur *H r* | in uobis (*aft* inop.) *add H* 14 sibi inu. gr. D. ut nec., &c. *H*

1. *quos aequales*, &c.] See vv. ll. If *quos* is omitted, the first *existimarent* is superfluous, and must have found its way into this line from the line following.

6. *cum timore et tremore*] So O. L.; Vulg., *cum metu et tr.*

8. *optime...sapere*] Lanfranc: "optime per memoriam praet. persuasit illis nihil de cetero indignum sapere."

10. *animiaequiores*] εὐθυμοτέρους (?). Cf. Rönsch, *Itala*, p. 223. With the form *animiaequus* cf. *unianimes* (*supra*, p. 213, l. 4, note).

12. *inoperetur*] Cf. p. 60, l. 1, note. For *et inoperari* the Vulg. has *et perficere;* O. L., *et operari. Bono placito;* O. L. and Vulg., *bona uoluntate.*

14. *sic enim alacritas*, &c.] Thdt.: προθυμίαν εὑρίσκων αὔξει ταύτην διὰ τῆς χάριτος. εὐδοκίαν δὲ τὸ ἀγαθὸν τοῦ θεοῦ προσηγόρευσεν θέλημα.

18. *sine murmuratione et disceptationibus*] Vulg., *s. murmurationibus* (*murmuratione*, Sedul. Scot.) *et haesitationibus.*

20. *ut efficiamini*] ἵνα γένησθε. Vulg. and Latin authorities, *ut sitis* (ἵνα ἦτε). The translation of vv. 15, 16 differs considerably from both O. L. and Vulg., but has points of resemblance to that given by

in media generatione praua et peruersa, in quibus adpareatis sicut luminaria in mundo, uerbum uitae retinentes in gloria mihi in diem Christi.

†'sic enim inter medios homines illos, qui deteriorum plurimam habent sollicitudinem, adparebitis inreprehensibiles, et quales decet adparere illos qui in ordine sunt filiorum Dei effecti, ita ut uirtutibus inlustrati, fulgentes inter illos ad similitudinem luminariorum, expectantes illam aeternam uitam in futuro illo die; in quo et mihi proueniet gloriari.' et ostendens quod illorum prouectus multam et illi praestabit fiduciam, qui fiet in melius:*

quoniam non in uacuum cucurri, nec in uacuum laboraui. sed etsi libor in sacrificio et functione fidei uestrae, gaudeo et congaudeo omnibus uobis; idipsum autem et uos gaudete et congaudete mihi.

'οὕτως ἐν μέσῳ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, οἷς περὶ τὰ χείρονα κατά γε τὸ πλεῖστον ἡ σπουδή, φανήσεσθε ἄμεμπτοι καὶ οἵους πρέπει φαίνεσθαι τοὺς ἐν υἱῶν τάξει γεγονότας, ὡς διαλάμπειν ὑμᾶς ἐν αὐτοῖς φωστήρων δίκην κατὰ τὴν ἀρετήν· ἀπεκδεχομένους τὴν αἰώνιον ζωὴν ἐν τῇ μελλούσῃ ἡμέρᾳ. ἀφ' οὗ δὴ καὶ ἐμοὶ τὸ καυχᾶσθαι ὡς εἰκὸς προσγενήσεται.' καὶ δεικνὺς ὡς πολλὴν καὶ αὐτῷ παρέξει τὴν παρρησίαν ἡ ἐν τοῖς βελτίοσιν ἐκείνων προκοπή....

4 deteriorem *C H r: txt g* 6 apparare *C** 7 in (*bef* uirt.) *add H* 8 expectatis *C* (*corr*) 10 profectus *r* | illa *r* 13 et (*for* etsi) *C* 16 sq. Coisl. 204, f. 125 b [Cr. 262] ἄλλος· φησὶν οὕτως (φησὶν), κ.τ.λ.

Aug. *in Pss.* 93, 146; see Sabatier. Ambrstr. and Sedul. Scot. *ad h. l.* agree with our translator in representing ἐμοὶ by *mihi.*

7. *ita ut ... expectantes*] Dr Jacobi, who reads *et exspectetis*, suggests *fulgeatis* for *fulgentes;* while the corrector of the Corbie MS. would read *fulgentes...expectetis.* The translator seems to have inadvertently left the sentence without a finite verb, forgetting that he had rendered ὡς by *ut.* The clause *expectantes*, &c. may be an exposition of ἐπέχοντες, κ.τ.λ.; cf. Chrys.: τουτέστιν, μέλλοντες ζήσεσθαι, τῶν σωζομένων ὄντες...αὐτὴν κατέχοντες [cf. *retinentes* (l. 2); Vulg., *continentes*] τὴν ζωήν. Thdt. departs from this view and regards ἐπέχοντες as = προσέχοντες, citing 1 Tim. iv. 16.

9. *in quo*] 'in consequence of which'; see Gk.

13. *etsi libor ... congaudeo ... congaudete*] So Tert. *Scorp.* 13 (Rönsch, *N. T. Tertullians*, p. 487). The Vulg. (*immolor*) misses the point of σπένδομαι, which Th. brings out ("me...sanguinem uobis infundente;" cf. Chrys.: ὥσπερ σπονδὴ... γίνομαι). Comp. Th.'s comm. below on 2 Tim. iv. 6. For συγχαίρειν the Vulg. has *congratulari* here as in Luke i., xv.;

†'uobis sollicitis de uirtute existentibus gratulor et ipse spe illa, qua et in futuro saeculo sum de uobis exultaturus; sciens quia non uane pro fide laboraui, sed iusta ratione omnia sustineo, licet pro uobis etiam mortem subire sim paratus, uobis quasi aliquod sacrificium fidem uestram Deo offerentibus, me autem ad instar libationis proprium sanguinem uobis infundente.' bene autem dixit: *hoc ipsum et uos facite;* 'hoc et iustum est, et uos, ex quibus agitis, ut socii adpareatis gaudii mei.'* deinde adiecit:

spero autem in domino Iesu Timotheum cito mittere uobis, ut ego bono animo sim, cognoscens quae circa uos sunt. neminem enim habeo aequanimem, qui sincera affectione de uobis sollicitus sit. omnes enim quae sua sunt quaerunt, non quae Iesu Christi.

'quoniam spero (inquit) cito mittere uobis Timotheum, ita ut magis bono animo sim, per illum cautissime uobis instructis; eo quod neque habeo alium sic unanimem et affectiose de uobis sollicitum, omnibus illa considerantibus quae sua sunt.' indicat

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'ὑμῶν ἐπιμελομένων ἀρετῆς καὶ αὐτὸς ἐλπίδι [χαίρω] τοῦ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος αἰῶνος ἐφ' ὑμῖν εὐφρανθήσεσθαι, εἰδὼς ὅτι οὐ μάτην ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐκοπίασα, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰκότως ἅπαντα ὑπομένω κἂν εἰ τὸν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐλοίμην θάνατον· ὑμῶν μὲν ὥσπερ τινὰ θυσίαν τὴν πίστιν τῷ θεῷ προσκομιζόντων, ἐμοῦ δὲ δίκην σπονδῆς ἐπιχέοντος ὑμῖν τὸ οἰκεῖον αἷμα.' καλῶς δὲ τὸ Δ' αὐτὸ καὶ ὑμεῖς ἀντὶ τοῦ· 'δίκαιον καὶ ὑμᾶς δι' ὧν πράττετε κοινωνοῦντάς μοι φαίνεσθαι τῆς χαρᾶς.'

2 seculorum (*for* saec. sum) C^* 11 quae circa uos sunt neminem enim *om* C^* *H* 12 tam (*bef* aeq.) *add C* (*corr*) 15 instructus *H* 16 unianimem *H* 18 *ὅτι οὐκ εἰς κενὸν φησιν ἔδραμον· οὐδὲ εἰς κενὸν ἐκοπίασα· ὑμῶν γάρ φησιν, κ.τ.λ.* cod.

although it gives *congaudere* in 1 Cor. xii., xiii. On these two senses of *συγχ.* see Dr Lightfoot *ad h. l.*; and for *congaudere* cf. Rönsch, *Itala*, p. 186.

1. *gratulor*] "congratulate myself"= *χαίρω* (see last note). The verb has dropt out of the catena. For *gratulor*= "grat. me" see lexx.

8. *ut socii adpareatis*, &c.] Thdt.: *προσήκει δὲ καὶ ὑμᾶς κοινωνεῖν μοι τῆς εὐφροσύνης.* Comp. c. i. 7 (Vulg.).

11. *cognoscens*] *γνούς*: Vulg., *cognitis*. *Aequanimem* (cf. De Vit, *s. v.*) = *ἰσόψυχον*. Vulg., *unanimem* (*unian.*, Cod. Amiat.). *Tam* (see vv. ll.) is from the Vulg. *De uobis* = *περὶ ὑμῶν*: so Aug.

16. *affectiose*] Cf. p. 204, l. 17, note.

enim de illis qui ex circumcisione sunt. et ostendere cupiens quoniam ista non in gratiam Timothei dicit, ipsorum utitur testimonium, utpote scientibus eum, et dicit:

experimentum autem eius cognoscitis, quoniam tamquam patri filius mecum seruiuit in euangelio.

et iterum adiecit:

hunc equidem spero mittere, atubi uidero ea quae erga me sunt, confestim.

'quoniam mittam illum uobis, atubi illa quae secundum me sunt uidero et sciero in quibus sunt, omni dilatione postposita.'

confido autem in Domino, quoniam et ipse cito ueniam ad uos.

adiecit autem quoniam et ipse ualde credidit Deo uenire ad eos. unde adiecit:

necessarium autem existimaui Epaphroditum fratrem et cooperarium et commilitonem meum, uestrum autem apostolum et ministrum necessitatum mearum mittere ad uos, eo quod desiderans erat omnes uos et aestuans animo, eo quod audistis quoniam infirmatus est. etenim infirmatus est prope mortem, sed Deus ei misertus est; non solum autem illi, sed et mei, ut ne tristitiam super tristitiam habeam.

2 Timotheum *H* 3 dixit *H* 4 cognoscetis *C* H* 5 metum *C** 6, 12, 13 adicit *C r* 7 quidam *H* 7, 9 adubi *C* H* 9 uobis illum *H* 13 uos (*for* eos) *H* 20 tristitia (1°) *H*

7. *spero mittere ... confestim*] ἐλπίζω πέμψαι...ἐξαυτῆς. Our translator has kept the order of the Gk.; cf. O. L. (Sabatier): "mox uidero quae circa me sunt *ex ipsa*." Rabanus, who gives the Vulg. rendering ("mox ut uidero"), has retained *confestim;* in his editions it is prefixed to the following sentence ("confestim quoniam," &c.), where it is redundant, ἐξαυτῆς being sufficiently represented by "omni dilat. postp."

14. *cooperarium*] Vulg., *cooperatorem*. Cf. Rönsch, *Itala*, p. 131.

16. *necessitatum mearum*] τῆς χρείας μου. So below, ch. iv. 16, εἰς τὴν χρείαν μου is rendered *ad usus meos*, where, however, Chrys. reads τὰς χρείας.

desiderans erat] ἐπιθυμῶν ἦν: so O. L. *Aestuare animo* is a forcible and perhaps original translation of ἀδημονεῖν; the Latin versions here and in the narrative of the Agony vary between *maestus* or *sollicitus esse* and *taedere*.

19. *ei misertus est*, &c.] For the construction see Rönsch, *Itala*, p. 413. The change to *mei* is curious; just below in the comm. (l. 11) the dative is retained ("ei...et mihi et illi").

'quoniam nunc interim necessarium existimaui Epaphroditum mittere ad uos, qui cooperarius meus est secundum euangelium, apostolus autem uester est et minister necessitatum mearum'—ut dicat: 'per quem transmisistis illa, quae in usus meos necesse habebantur.' deinde et commendans eum illis dicit: 'quoniam et ipse desiderabat uos et maxime, illa quae de uobis sunt per neminem cognoscens; quoniam audistis eundem infirmantem. tristabatur enim reputans tristitiam uestram illam, quam pro eo habere uidebamini. nam et uere infirmatus est, ita ut et propinquaret morti; misertus est autem ei Deus, magis autem et mihi et illi, liberans eum ab infirmitate, ut ne circumuallatus multa tristitia adiectionem alterius tristitiae ex eius sustinerem morte.' quibus et adiecit:

festinantius ergo misi eum, ut uidentes eum iterum gaudium habeatis [*et ego sine tristitia sim*].

'uelocitate, ut et uos uidentes eum gaudio repleamini, et ego ultra non sim tristis, sciens quoniam consolabitur uos illius aduentus.' his ergo adiecit:

suscipite ergo eum in Domino cum omni gaudio, et eos qui huiusmodi sunt in honore habete; quoniam propter opus Domini usque ad mortem adpropinquauit, in incertum tradens animam, ut suppleat uestram minorationem ad meum ministerium.

7 enim (*aft* neminem) *add C H r* 9 et *om r* 16 uelocius eum misi inquit (*for* uelocitate) *C* (*corr*) de eius uelocitate *r* | ut *om H* 21 propinquauit *H** 22 inorationem (*for* minor.) *H*

4. *ut dicat 'per quem transmisistis,'* &c.] Thpht.: τὸν παρ' ὑμῶν ἀποσταλέντα πρός με—adding, however, the alternative ἢ...τὸν διδάσκαλον ὑμῶν.

8. *tristabatur ... infirmatus est*] On these two verbs see Rönsch, *Itala*, pp. 169, 370—1.

14. *uidentes*] ἰδόντες: Vulg., *uiso eo*.

15. *et ego*, &c.] Wanting in our MSS., but not in Th.'s text; see l. 17.

19. *eos qui huiusmodi sunt*] τοὺς τοιούτους. O. L. and Vulg., *eiusmodi* simply; cf. p. 101, l. 16, note.

20. *propter opus Domini*] Vulg., *Christi;* and so Chrys. [txt.—his comm. suggests θεοῦ] and the other Gk. expositors; κυρίου, however, is fairly supported, cf. Tisch.[8] *ad h. l.*, who remarks, "pro χριστου [ΧΥ] facile substituebatur κυριου [ΚΥ]

21. *in incertum tradens*] = παραβολευσάμενος, apparently. But the translation may be due to the influence of the Latin authorities. The other Gk. expositors read παραβουλ.

22. *uestram minorationem*] See pp. 19, l. 12, note; 97, l. 15, note. Vulg., "id quod ex uobis deerat." *Ministerium* = λειτουργίας: cf. *functione* (v. 17). In both instances the Vulg. has the inadequate rendering *obsequium*.

obsecrans eos ut suscipiant eum libenter, et consilium illis dat, ut ad plenum in honore habeant eos qui tales sunt. ostendit autem quoniam uera ratione dignus sit honore apud eos, 'ex quibus (dicit) quod ministrauerit uestrae uoluntati, apportans illa quae mihi a uobis missa sunt, in tantum inciderit periculum.' *opus* quidem *Domini* ministerium ipsum uocans; supplementum uero eorum minorationis ad suum obsequium hoc idem uocans, ita ut cupientes mittere illa, quae ad usus erant necessaria, minime ualerent, eo quod unusquisque quaecunque illi dare uoluerant per se perferre non poterant. hoc ergo dixit: 'ipse suppleuit et quae uobis deerant; ille ab omnibus accipiens et omnium supplens uota apportauit.' et haec dicens de Timotheo quidem memoratus est, quoniam missurus sit eum; de Epaphrodito uero, quoniam misit eum cum suis scriptis. adiecit uero ad omnia:

de cetero, fratres mei, gaudete in Domino.

orans pro illis ista dicit, hoc est: 'contingat uobis ita omnia pati per diuinam gratiam, ut semper gaudio sitis repleti in illis bonis quae ab eo nobis sunt praestita.' bene autem posuit *in Domino*, eo quod est gaudere et non bene, quando quis a bonis praesentibus delectari uidetur erga possessiones et fruitionem earum, id sibi bonum esse existimans.

haec eadem scribere uobis mihi quidem impigrum, uobis autem cautum.

6 enim (*for* quidem) *H* | misterium *C* 14 adicit *C* 20 in (*for* a) *r*

3. *ex quibus (dicit) quod*, &c.] De Jacobi suggests the insertion of an *et* before *apportans*. But the reading of the MSS. is intelligible: 'in that (ἀνθ' ὧν) he incurred danger (so the Ap. would say) because he ministered to your wishes.'

6. *opus D. minist. ips. uocans*] Oec.: τὰ πρὸς τὴν χρείαν ἔδωκεν καὶ διηκόνει αὐτῷ. ἔργον δὲ κυρίου καλεῖ τὸ τοιοῦτον. Ellicott: "all the Gk. commentators refer these and the following words to the danger arising from persecution confronted by Epaphr. at Rome in his endeavour to minister to S. Paul." Th., it may be presumed, agrees with the rest; but his comm. is ambiguous on this point.

14. *quoniam misit eum cum suis scr.*] Thdt. (arg.): τὸν γὰρ μακάριον Ἐπαφρόδιτον...εἰς τὴν μεγίστην ἐκείνην ἀπέστειλαν πόλιν, οὐ δείσαντες τὸ θηριῶδες τοῦ Νέρωνος. διὰ τούτου ταύτην γέγραφεν τὴν ἐπιστολήν. Cf. the subscription διὰ Ἐπαφροδίτου (KL, al. plur., syr$^{utr.}$). This view is supported by the aor. ἔπεμψα (v. 28); cf. Lightfoot, *Philippians*, p. 36, note 2.

19. *ab eo*] *i.e. a Deo*; "per diuinam gratiam" (l. 18) probably represents τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ χάριτι.

20. *bonis praesentibus delect.*] Thdt.: πάσης θυμηδίας πνευματικῆς ἐμφορεῖσθε.

23. *impigrum ... cautum*] οὐκ ὀκνηρὸν

†hinc incipit illos reprehendere qui erant ex circumcisione, qui suadere illis conabantur, ut secundum legem uiuerent. nam quod dixit *haec eadem scribere*, non quia iam scripserat dicit; nullo enim in loco in epistola id uidetur dixisse, alteram autem quando scripsit ad eos epistolam nullomodo didicimus. sed quia docuerat eos instantissime de his ipsis negotiis quando illo fuerat, hoc dicit quoniam 'mihi de quibus frequenter uobis locutus sum, de illis ipsis scribere impigrum est, eo quod frequens commonitio cautelam uobis ampliorem praebere uidetur.'* quae sunt ergo ista?

uidete canes, uidete malos operarios.

†*canes* uocauit eos, eo quod nullam habent uerecundiam, sed

ἐντεῦθεν ἄρχεται τῶν ἐκ περιτομῆς καθάπτεσθαι, οἳ πείθειν αὐτοὺς ἐπειρῶντο κατὰ νόμον ζῆν. τὸ τὰ αὐτὰ γράφειν οὐχ ὡς καὶ ἤδη γράψας λέγει, οὐδαμοῦ γὰρ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς φαίνεται περὶ αὐτῶν εἰπών, ἑτέραν δὲ ὅτι γεγράφηκεν πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐπιστολὴν οὐδαμόθεν ἐμάθομεν· ἀλλ' ὡς διαλεχθεὶς αὐτοῖς πολλὰ περὶ τούτων ὅτε παρῆν τοῦτο λέγει, ὅτι 'ἐμοὶ περὶ ὧν ὑμῖν διελέχθην, περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν καὶ γράφειν ὄκνος οὐδείς, ἐπειδήπερ ἀσφάλειαν ὑμῖν ἡ συνέχεια παρέχει τῶν ῥημάτων.' κύνας δὲ αὐτοὺς καλεῖ ὡς ἀναισχύντους καὶ

13 sq. Coisl. 204, f. 128 b [Cr. vi. 268, Fr. 139]. *θεόδωρος. ἄλλος δέ φησιν· ἐντεῦθεν, κ.τ.λ.* 14 *τῷ* (*for τό*) cod. edd.

...ἀσφαλές. Vulg., *non pigrum...necessarium.* Cf. Ambrstr.: "impiger est ad scribendum eis quae necessaria sunt utilitati illorum."

1. *hinc incipit reprehendere*, &c.] See arg. (p. 198, l. 2, sq.).

3. *non quia iam scrips.*] Theodoret follows Th. in rejecting the hypothesis of a lost letter, but regards *τὰ αὐτά* as referring to the earlier part of the present Epistle: *οὐκ ἄλλην αὐτοῖς ἐπιστολὴν γέγραφεν, ἀλλ' ἐν ταύτῃ πολλὰς αὐτοῖς προσῆνεγκεν εἰσηγήσεις.* Th.'s explanation is given by Pelagius (followed by Sedul. Scot.): "eadem repetere quae iam praesens dixerat."

5 *quando*]=quoniam; see Gk.

6. *quia docuerat...fuerat*] Lanfranc: "*Eadem* dicit, quia de his docuerat eos quando apud eos fuerat."

12. *canes ... eo quod nullam habent uerec.*] So Thdt.: *ἴδιον τῶν κυνῶν ἡ ἀναίδεια. ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν πολλάκις διελεγχθέντες οὗτοι ὡς κακῶς τὸ κήρυγμα διαφθείροντες ἐπέμενον τῇ μοχθηρίᾳ τῆς γνώμης, εἰκότως αὐτοὺς προσηγόρευσεν κύνας.* He adds, however, the explanation which Chrys. had combined with this: *τοῦτο πάλαι τῶν ἐθνῶν ἦν τὸ ὄνομα...ἀλλὰ μετέβη μετὰ τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα.* Ambrstr. (followed by Pelagius) finds a third point of likeness: "primum oblatrant, dehinc morsu saeuo male operantur in carnem." Th.'s explanation is cited under the name of Ambrose by Lanfranc.

et frequenter reprehensi pro praua et uana doctrina in hisdem persistere uideantur; *malos* autem *operarios* dicit, eo quod non illa docere festinent quae pietati conueniunt.* 'opus' autem uocat doctrinam, sicut et alibi dixit: *si cuius opus manserit quod superaedificauit, mercedem accipiet; si cuius opus arserit, detrimentabitur.* de doctrinis enim illa dixisse euidenter cognoscitur.

uidete concisionem.

bene *concisionem* dixit, eo quod quando id fieri Deo complacebat, circumcisio erat; quia uero nunc non secundum Dei fit uoluntatem, sed conciduntur tantum ad corporis nociuitatem. ideo et suam illis comparat personam dicens:

nos enim sumus circumcisio.

hoc est, 'qui illa agimus quae placita sunt Deo, et custodes cautissimi sumus illorum quae Deo placent; quod proprium est illorum, qui se habere promittunt circumcisionem.' ex ipsis rebus id confirmans adiecit:

qui spiritu Deo seruimus et gloriamur in Christo Iesu et non in carne confidimus.

πολλάκις ἐλεγχθέντας ἐφ' οἷς οὐ καλῶς διδάσκουσιν, ἐπιμένοντας δὲ ὅλως· κακοῦς δὲ ἐργάτας ὡς οὐ τὰ προσήκοντα διδάσκειν ἐσπουδακότας.

3 pietatis *C r* 4, 5 si cuius—accipiet *om C** 8 autem (*aft* bene) *add r* 10 nouitatem *C** 11 ad (*for* et) *C* H r* 14 cautissime *C H r* 14, 15 Deo—qui *om H* 16 adicit *C r* 18 confidemus *H*

3. *opus autem uocat doctrinam*, &c.] Comp. Th. on 1 Cor. iii. 14, 15: τὰ κάλλιστα τῶν διδαγμάτων οὐ συγκαταλύεται τῷ παρόντι βίῳ...δς δ' ἂν τὰ ἐναντία διδάσκει (φησίν), κ.τ.λ. (Migne, 880). Thdt. (1 Cor. *l. c.*) rejects this view: τινὲς περὶ δογμάτων ταῦτα εἰρῆσθαι τῷ ἀποστόλῳ φασίν· ἐγὼ δὲ οἶμαι περὶ τῆς πρακτικῆς ἀρετῆς τε καὶ κακίας ταῦτα λέγειν αὐτόν. For another instance of the rare verb *detrimentari* = ζημιοῦσθαι ("detrimentum, damnum pati, facere," O. L., Vulg.) see below (verse 8).

8. *bene concisionem*, &c.] Cited by Lanfranc, but in an abbreviated form.

10. *conciduntur tantum*] So Chrys.: ὅταν γὰρ μὴ ᾖ νόμιμον τὸ γινόμενον, οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ σαρκὸς τομή ἐστιν καὶ κατατομή... καὶ ἡμεῖς δὲ κατατομὴν λέγομεν ἐπὶ τῶν εἰκῇ καὶ ἁπλῶς καὶ ἄνευ τέχνης τοῦτο ποιούντων. He offers, however, an alternative explanation, which Thdt. accepts: ἢ ὅτι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐπειρῶντο κατατέμνειν. Cf. Th.'s comm. on Gal. v. 12 (p. 93), and *infra*, p. 242, l. 7 sq.

15. *promittunt*] ἐπαγγέλλονται: cf. *supra*, p. 212, l. 17, note.

17. *qui spiritu Deo seruimus*] Th., with Chrys., Thpht., Oec. [not Dam.; Thdt., as edited, wavers, but gives *ad*

†'qui non carnalem Deo functionem reddimus, sed sicut est conueniens; et gloriamur in Christo, qui horum nobis auctor extitit, non tamen in illis quae secundum carnem sunt pietatem esse definimus.'* sic et Dominus in euangeliis dicit: *etenim Pater tales quaerit qui se adorent. spiritus est Deus, et qui adorant eum, in spiritu et ueritate debent adorare.* quae et ad Samaritanam dicebat, quae æstimabat in loco oportere adorare diuinitatem, docens quoniam incorporea est diuina natura et tali arbitrio conueniet eam adorari. et ut ne uideatur ex superfluo illos incusare ipse nihil tale habens ad sui probationem, illis habentibus, unde glorietur:

et quidem ego habens confidentiam et in carne; si quis uidetur alter in carne confidere, ego magis.

'si de his (inquit) bonum erat magna sapere, nulli eorum infirmior sum secundum hanc rationem.'' deinde et per partes

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'οἱ ἀσώματον τῷ θεῷ τὴν λατρείαν ἀποδιδόντες, ὥσπερ οὖν προσῆκον ἐστίν, καὶ καυχώμενοι ἐπὶ τῷ Χριστῷ τῷ τούτων ἡμῖν αἰτίῳ γεγονότι, οὐ μὴν ἐν τοῖς περὶ τὴν σάρκα τὴν εὐσέβειαν ὁριζόμενοι.'

1 quoniam (*for* qui non) *C H r*: *txt g* 4 dicit in euan. *H* 6 qui (*for* quae) *r* 8 adorari *H* 10 illo *H** illa *r* | adicit (*for* ad) *C* (*corr*) 13 confidere *om C H* 16 sq. Coisl. 204, *l. c.* [Cr. vi. 269, Fr. 139] *θεόδωρος. οἱ ἀσώματον, κ.τ.λ.*

h. l. *πνεύματι θεοῦ* (Migne, 82, 578, note)], read *οἱ πνεύματι θεῷ λατρεύοντες*, and probably, with Chrys., understood *πνεύματι* as = *πνευματικῶς*. Comp. Chr.'s comm. on Rom. ii. 29: *λέγει δὲ τὸ ἐν πνεύματι ἀντὶ τοῦ τῇ προθέσει.* So Sedul. Scot., basing his comm., however, on the Latin versions: "*spiritu*, id est, mente non litera." "In graeco (he adds) melius *spiritui*, id est, sancto."

1. *qui* [*non*] *carnalem*] See vv. ll., and cf. *infra*, p. 235, l. 2. Jacobi: "et nexus sententiarum et textus graecus desiderat ut legas *non*." *Functio* is here *λατρεία*. Cf. p. 226, l. 13, where it represents *λειτουργία*.

4. *in euangeliis*] S. John iv. 23, 24. For the form of citation cf. p. 6, l. 6, note. *Etenim* = nam et; so *d*, Hil. (*de Trin.*). *Debent* (= eos...oportet) deserts the Gk. as well as the Latin versions; see however *infra*, l. 7, "oportere adorare."

8. *d. qu. incorporea est d. u.*] Comp. the following extract from the catena on S. John printed by Corderius (p. 131): *Ἀμμωνίου.... ὅταν εἶπεν 'πνεῦμα ὁ θεός,' οὐδὲν ἄλλο δηλοῖ ἢ τὸ ἀσώματον. εἰ τοίνυν οὐκ ἔστιν σῶμα, καὶ τὴν λατρείαν αὐτοῦ τοιαύτην εἶναι δεῖ.*

12. *et quidem*] *καίπερ*: cf. p. 95, l. 7. O. L. and Vulg., *quamquam*.

14. *nulli ... infirmior sum*] = *οὐδένι δευτερεύω* or *οὐδένος ἥττῶμαι, λείπομαι, ὑστερῶ* (cf. 2 Cor. xii. 11).

dicit omnia illa, quae uidebantur esse magna illis qui secundum legem conuersabantur:

circumcisione octauae diei.

bene posuit octauam diem, ut ostenderet non se fuisse aduenam, in quibus solet postea celebrari circumcisio; sed et ab initio et secundum legem.

ex genere Israel.

ex cuius genere descendere omnes uidentur qui in qualibet sunt tribu.

de tribu Beniamin.

necessaria fuit etiam tribus adiectio ad ostensionem quod non aduena fuerit, sed a primordio inde originem traxerit. unde et euidentius illud insinuans dicit:

Hebraeus ex Hebraeo.

non dixit, 'Iudaeus ex Iudaeis,' nouella enim erat haec nuncupatio; sed '*Hebraeus ex Hebraeis*,' de antiqua nuncupatione antiquitatem suae originis confirmauit. deinde et illa quae sunt eius propositi:

secundum legem (inquit) *Pharisaeus.*

illi enim qui in hanc consistebant haeresin cauti interpretes legis esse existimabantur, et illa docere properabant quae in lege habere uidebantur. hinc ostendi poterat:

3 circumcisionem *C* (*corr*) *H* | octaui *C* (*corr*) 5 celebrare *C** *H*
7 Israhel *C* 14 Ebraeus, &c. *C H* 17 qui (*for* quae) *r* 18 ei (*for* eius) *H*
21 existimantur *C** *H r* | illo *C** *H* 22 ostendit (*for* ost. poterat) *r*

3. *circumcisione oct. diei*] Similarly O. L., "circumcisione octaua die *s.* octaui diei"—in imitation of the Gk.; Vulg., "circumcisus octaua die."

4. *non fuisse aduenam*] Cf. Thdt.: οὐδὲ γὰρ ὡς προσήλυτος τὴν περιτομὴν ἐδεξάμην. Oec.: δείκνυσιν ὅτι οὐκ ἦν προσήλυτος.

14. *ex Hebraeo*] The sing. seems to be a slip, possibly of Th.'s own pen; comp. l. 16.

15. *nouella enim erat h. nuncupatio*] Occurring for the first time in 2 Kings xvi. 6. Chrys. finds in Ἑβραῖος ἐξ Ἑβραίων a reference to the fact that the Apostle's family were not Hellenists, but used the Hebrew Scriptures and the Aramaic tongue; and in this view he is followed by Thpht. and Oec. Thdt. prefers Th.'s view, though he does not state it as distinctly: εἰς αὐτὴν τὴν ῥίζαν ἀνέδραμον.

17. *quae sunt eius propositi*] Cf. vv. ll. The Gk. seems to have been εἶτα καὶ τὰ τῆς προαιρέσεως, or the like; see Chrys. *ad h. l.* Thdt.: εἶτα τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς γνώμης. So Thpht., Oec.

secundum aemulationem persequens ecclesiam.

et quoniam [non] in persecutione habebat perfectam probationem—fieri enim poterat, ut hoc ferocitate sola faceret, simulatione illa qua pro aemulatione pietatis id facere uidebatur—adiecit:

secundum iustitiam quae in lege est, factus sine querela.

bene autem dixit *quae in lege est,* eo quod non erat possibile sine querela ad plenum posse aliquem inuenire. omnia uero decurrens et ostendens, quod nihil deerat ei bonum ex illis quae secundum legem erant:

sed quaecunque mihi erant lucra, haec existimo propter Christum detrimenta.

lucra quidem dicens, ut ostendat quoniam [non] necessarie tunc agebantur; †adiciens uero 'illa quae erant,' ad confirmationem dicit quoniam lucra habebat illa sollicitudo quae erga illa erat,* nunc uero magis sunt *detrimenta* in comparatione Christi reputata. unde ad comparationem Christi:

sed et existimo omnia detrimenta esse propter supereminentem scientiam Iesu Christi domini mei.

bene posuit *domini mei* quasi ex comparatione cognoscens ipsam differentiam. unde et motus amore dominum suum Deum

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τὸ ἦν εἰς σύστασιν τοῦ ποτὲ κέρδος ἔχειν τὴν περὶ ταῦτα σπουδήν.

2, 12 non *om* $C H r$ 4 illa qua pro aemulatione *bis* H | adicit $C r$ 7 inueniri C (*corr*) 8 qui (*for* quae) H 12 necessario r 14 illos (*for* illa 2°) $C r$ | erant $C^* H r$ 21 sq. Coisl. 204, f. 130 a [Cr. vi. 272, Fr. 139] *θεόδωρος. καὶ ἄλλος δὲ ὁμοίως φησίν· τὸ ἦν, κ.τ.λ.*

2. *quoniam* [*non*]] See p. 235, l. 1, note, and below, l. 12.

5. *factus sine querela*] *γενόμενος ἄμεμπτος.* Vulg., "conversatus sine qu." With Th.'s comm. cf. Thdt.: *ἔδειξεν οὐκ ἀκριβῆ δικαιοσύνην τὴν νομικήν. οὐ δὴ χάριν οὐκ ἀορίστως ἔφη 'κατὰ δικαιοσύνην'... ἀλλὰ προστέθεικεν 'τὴν ἐν νόμῳ.'*

10. *quaecunque*] *ἅτινα.* O. L., Vulg., *quae.* On the other hand *ἡγημαι* is more exactly rendered in the Latin versions by the perfect (*existimaui, duxi, arbitratus sum*).

15. *in comparatione Christi*] Thdt.: *τῇ παραθέσει τῶν κρειττόνων.*

17. *sed et*] *ἀλλὰ μενοῦν[γε?] καί.* For *sed et* see p. 80, l. 11, note; *μενοῦν[γε]* here takes the place of *γάρ.* The rendering looks like a fusion of the O. L. ("arbitror omnia detrimenta esse propter eminentiam scientiae") with the Vulg. ("existimo omnia detrimentum esse propter eminentem scientiam"). *Supereminere* = *ὑπερέχειν* occurs again, c. iv. 7.

20. *dominum suum Deum dixit*] For

dixit, ut post maiorum bonorum illi causam existentem. deinde adiecit:

propter quem omnia detrimentatus sum et existimo stercora esse.

†et quoniam contumeliosa uidebantur, ut stercora uocaret illa quae legis sunt, uelociter adiecit:

ut Christum lucrifaciam;

ostendens quoniam comparatio illorum quae secundum Christum sunt, ista talia facit uideri.* qualiter aut quomodo?

et inveniar in illum habens non meam iustitiam quae ex lege est, sed illam quae ex fide est Christi, quae ex Deo est iustitia ex fide.

'cupio (inquit) illam iustitiam adsequi, quae ex Deo est, quam adsequi possumus per illam fidem quae in Christo est; et ideo despicio meam iustitiam quae ex lege est, sciens eam et laboriosam esse et inpossibilem ad directionem; facilius enim

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ἐπειδὴ ἐφύβριστον ἦν τὸ ΣΚΥΒΑΛΑ *καλέσαι τὰ τοῦ νόμου, μάλα ὀξέως ἐπήγαγεν* ΙΝΑ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΝ ΚΕΡΔΗΣΩ· *δεικνὺς ὅτι ἡ παράθεσις ἐκείνων ταῦτα τοιαῦτα εἶναι ποιεῖ.*

1 causa existente *C H r* 2 adicit *C r* 4 uidebantur contumeliosa *r* | uacare *C* uocare *H r* 5 adicit *C r* 7 qui (*for* quae) *r* 8 faciunt *C H r* | adicit (*aft* uid.) *add C* (*corr*) 10 effide (*for* ex f. *aft* iustitia) *C** 16 sq. Coisl. *l. c.* *θεοδώρου.* Cr.: "non Theodori sed Chrys. est schol."

Deum we should probably read *Iesum*. The error may have arisen from a confusion of the *compendia ihm, dm*.

2. *adiecit*] *ἐπήγαγεν*—see Gk. The Corbie MS. persistently gives the present; and so Rab.

3. *stercora*] So the Latin versions. Thdt. understood *σκύβαλα* in another sense: *σκ. γὰρ τὸ παχύτερον καὶ σκληρότερον ἄχυρον ὀνομάζεται. τοῦτο δὲ φέρει τὸν σῖτον· ἀλλὰ μετὰ τὴν τοῦ σίτου συλλογὴν ἀποβάλλεται τοῦτο. οὕτως ὁ νόμος ὑπέδειξεν τὸν Χριστόν, τούτου δὲ φανέντος λοιπὸν περιττός.* Similarly Chrys., Thpht., Oec.; cf. Suicer, ii. 977 sq. To the Latin expositors a somewhat different train of ideas was suggested; cf. *e.g.* Sedul. Scot. *ad h. l.*: "littera legis eicitur et sensus spiritualis ad cibum animae in corpore ecclesiae remanet." Th. refrains from pressing the figure, but urges that the depreciation of the law implied by the use of such a term is comparative only.

9. *in illum*] *ἐν αὐτῷ*. "Quae *ex* fide:" so Vulg.; below, in the comm., we have *per fidem*. The second *ex fide* seems to have been intended by the translator or copyist to represent *ἐπὶ τῇ πίστει* (cf. the citation from Fulg. *de incarn.* in Sabatier). In the original, *ἐπὶ τῇ π.* commenced the next clause of the text; see below.

15. *inpossibilem ad directionem*] *ἀδύνατον πρὸς τὸ κατορθῶσαι*: cf. pp. 50, 51. Comp. Th. on Rom. viii. 3: *ὁ μὲν οὖν*

mihi ex lege peccare est quam dirigi.' et manifestius faciens, quae sit illa ex Deo iustitia, quae per illam fidem quae in Christo est adquiritur:

in fidem ut cognoscam eum et uirtutem resurrectionis eius.

non dixit 'resurrectionem' sed *uirtutem resurrectionis.* quae est autem resurrectionis eius uirtus? quoniam pro omnibus facta est ut et omnes similem adsequantur resurrectionem. 'credens enim Christo credo etiam et uirtutem resurrectionis eius cognoscere, hoc est, adsequi resurrectionem; in qua effectus in inmortali et inpassibili natura ab omni peccato liber ero, ultra non indigens legem. nec enim erunt consentanea simul etiam et affectus eius quam erga legem cum labore et sudore uirtutem sum directurus, sed diuina gratia custodibor in bonis, eo quod tunc nec peccare ultra potero.'

4, 5 resurr.—uirt. *om C [per homoeotel.]* 7 et ut omn. *H r* 10 immortalia *r* 11 lege *C (corr) r* | erant *C H* 12 et (*bef* aff.) *om H*

νόμος...τῇ κατορθώσει τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀτοπῶν ἐφαίνετο.

4. *in fidem ut cognoscam*] So, it can hardly be doubted, we ought to arrange the words; comp. the comm. just below ("credo etiam et virtutem resurrectionis eius cognoscere"). In this arrangement Th. follows Chrys. (*ἄρα διὰ πίστεως ἡ γνῶσις*), and is followed in turn by Thdt. (*'ἐπὶ τῇ πίστει τοῦ γνῶναι αὐτόν'...ὥστε γνῶναι διὰ τῆς πίστεως ὅτι, κ.τ.λ.*

5. *quae est autem res. eius uirtus?*] Thdt.: *τὴν γὰρ δύναμιν τῆς ἀναστάσεως αὐτοῦ τὸν σκοπὸν τῆς ἀναστάσεως κέκληκεν.* Lanfranc: "*Ambros.* Resurrectionis eius uirtus est ut omnes assequantur similem resurrectionem."

9. *cognoscere, h. e., adsequi*] Comp. p. 161, l. 14 (*τὸ γνῶναι ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀπολαῦσαι λέγει*).

10. *ultra non indigens legem*] See p. 8, ll. 5—15; and the long discussion which Th. grafts upon Gal. ii. 15, 16 (pp. 24 sq.).

11. *nec enim erit*, &c.] Dr Jacobi annotates: "uerba perperam uersa, aucto per scribas errore. Theodorus scripsit *πάθη*, pro quo noster *affectus*, adiectiui *consentanea* genus non mutans. Pro *erant* leg. erunt; pro *quem*, quoniam. Theodorus enim haec exponere uult: Ad statum immortalitatis et immutabilitatis nos prouectos nec affectibus stimulandos, nec in exercendis uirtutibus laboraturos esse, sed diuino adiutorio fore ut omnia quiete et faciliter a nobis fiant." But *affectus* is more probably *διάθεσις* [see below, p. 240, l. 15], and the original may have been: *οὐ γὰρ σύμφωνος ἔσται* [sc. *τῇ ἀθανάτῳ φύσει*] *ὁ νόμος ἥ τε διάθεσις τῆς ἀρετῆς ἐκείνης ἣν κατὰ νόμον, κ.τ.λ. Lex* has been omitted perhaps by the translator, perhaps by a scribe; *eius quam...uirtutem=eius uirtutis quam.* The sentence will thus mean: 'our resurrection-state will not harmonize with the mode of attaining to virtue prescribed by the law, which involves toil and labour—things unknown to immortal natures.'

13. *custodibor*] Cf. Rönsch, *Itala*, p. 291.

et communicationem passionum eius, conformis factus morti eius, si quomodo occurram in eam resurrectionem quae est ex mortuis.

'propter hoc (inquit) et communicare passionibus eius cupio, consimilis factus morti eius, eo quod ad similitudinem eius contemplatione pietatis ab alienis ad mortem pertrahor; spe illa qua confido particeps fieri eius resurrectionis, quae etiam multa et inmensa repleta est gloria.'

non quia iam acceperim, aut iam perfectus sim; persequor autem, si et comprehendam in quo et comprehensus sum a Christo Iesu.

eo quod desursum illi adparuit et de caelo Christus suam illi ostendit gloriam. hoc dicit: 'in illud quod perfectum est necdum constitutio, expecto enim illud adhuc. omnia autem facio enitescens adsequi participationem eorum, in quibus ipse oculis meis perspexi esse Christum, quando me persequentem per suam reuelationem praeueniens in suam me cognitionem conuerterat.' et insistens illis ipsis:

fratres, ego memet ipsum non aestimo comprehendisse; unum tantum, illa quae posteriora sunt obliuiscens, illis quae ante sunt coextendor; ad destinatum persequor, ad brauium supernae uocationis Dei in Christo Iesu.

1 communicatione *C H*: *txt r* 4 contemplationem *r* 8 ut (*for* aut) *C* 13 constitutus *C* (*corr*) constituto *r* 16 conuenerat *C H* 18 met. ipsum *C** meipsum *H*

1. *communicationem*] So Q. L.; Vulg., *societatem*. *Conformis factus:* similarly Aug. (*conformatus*), Ambrstr. (*conformans me*); Vulg., *configuratus*. Comp. our translation with the Vulg. below, v. 20. *In eam res. quae est*, &c. = εἰς τὴν ἐξανάστ. τὴν, κ.τ.λ.

9. *si et comprehendam*] Th., with Chrys., Thdt. and the other Gk. commentators, read εἰ καὶ καταλ.

11. *desursum*] Rönsch, *Itala*, pp. 233, 475. *Desursum...conuerterat:* cited by Lanfranc, but not exactly.

13. *constitutio*] ἡ κατάστασις. Or read *constituor;* cf. p. 239, l. 2, "in fruitionem consisto."

14. *enitescens*] Apparently for *enitens*. Enitescere = eniti seems to be without example; cf. however "adnitescens" (1 Tim. ii. 7).

15. *me persequentem...praeueniens*] Cf. Thdt.: αὐτός με πρότερος καταλαβών. Thpht.: κατεδίωξέν με ὁ Χριστός, καὶ φεύγοντα ἀπ' αὐτοῦ κατέλαβεν, καὶ ἐπέστρεφεν. *Conuerterat:* see vv. ll. Both sense and grammar require the correction.

18. *memet ipsum non aestimo*] The Latin versions less accurately, *me non arbitror*. *Coextendor* is a bold and not altogether unsuccessful attempt to represent ἐπεκτεινόμενος. For the form *coext.* see Paucker, *Spicil.* p. 23, note. In v. 14 our translator follows the Vulg. *uerbatim*.

† 'effectum me ueraciter perfectum non praenuncio, necdum enim in fruitionem consisto illorum quae expectantur; tamen sciens illorum magnitudinem, ueterum omnium nullam facio rationem, ad plenum illa obliuioni tradens; ad futura uero et quae expectantur meum cogitatum extendo, unam habens intentionem, ad quam respiciens omnia ago ita ut adsequar proposita mihi praemia in superna uocatione'—ut dicat 'caelestem commorationem,' ad quam ut adsequamur omnes sumus uocati,* unde et regnum dicitur caelorum; resurgentes enim incorrupti et inmortales in caelesti commorare secundum datum nobis promissum speramus. ex comparatione uero uoluit ostendere, quantum legi illa quae nostra sunt praecellere uidentur. et quoniam dixit suum erga ista propositum, docere nititur qualem oporteat de his habere sententiam; adiecit etenim exhortationem:

quicunque ergo sumus perfecti, hoc sapiamus.

'itaque qui illud frui quod perfectum est concupiscimus, haec

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'γεγενῆσθαι ἐμαυτὸν ἐν τῇ ἀληθινῇ τελειότητι οὐκ ἀποφαίνομαι, οὐδέπω γὰρ ἐν ἀπολαύσει τῶν προσδοκωμένων κατέστημεν. ἀλλ' ὅμως εἰδὼς ἐκείνων τὸ μεγεθος, τῶν μὲν παλαιῶν ἁπάντων οὐδένα ποιοῦμαι λόγον, πρὸς δὲ τὰ μέλλοντα ἐμαυτοῦ λογισμὸν ἐκτείνων, ἕνα σκοπὸν ἔχω, πρὸς ὃν ἀφορῶν ἅπαντα πράττω, ὅπως ἂν τύχοιμι τῶν προκειμένων ἡμῖν ἐπάθλων εἰς τὴν ἄνω κλῆσιν' ἵνα εἴπῃ τὴν ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς δίαιταν, ἧς ἐπὶ τῷ τυχεῖν κεκλήμεθα πάντες.

2 tantum (*for* tamen) *H* 4 obliuione C^*r 6 adsequor C^* *H* (ass.) *r* 7 commemorationem C^* *H* 14 adicit enim hanc exh. *r* 17 sq. Coisl. 204, f. 132 b [Cr. vi. 276, Fr. 139] *Θεόδωρος. ταύτην δὲ τὴν ἐξήγησιν Θεόδωρος οὐ προσίεται. βούλεται γὰρ ἀπὸ τοῦ 'τὰ αὐτὰ γράφειν ὑμῖν ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐκ ὀκνηρόν,' δι' ὅλου περὶ τοῦ μὴ δεῖν πείθεσθαι τοῖς κατὰ νόμον ζῆν αὐτοὺς* [ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς Cr. *per incur.*; cf. Fr.] *βουλομένοις πείθεσθαι· τοῦτο γάρ ἐστιν ὃ φησιν γεγενῆσθαι· ἐμαυτὸν* (*sic*), *κ.τ.λ.* 23 *ἐπὶ τὸ τ.* edd.

2. *fruitionem*] See Paucker, *melet. lexist. alt.*, p. 10; *ib.* ii. p. 23.

5. *cogitatum*] Rönsch, *Itala*, p. 308. Cf. Thdt.: *εἰς δέ μοι σκοπὸς τὸ τῶν ἀποκειμένων ἀπολαῦσαι βραβείων. τοῦτο δέ ἐστιν ἡ τῶν οὐρανῶν βασιλεία.*

11. *ex comparatione*] The paragraph *noua—nouitatis* immediately preceding these words in Dr Jacobi's edition, but bracketed by him as spurious, is wanting in both our MSS., and by Rab. is ascribed to Aug. The same remark applies to the clauses which Jacobi brackets after *etenim si nesc.*, &c., and after *ad usus meos misistis* (p. 250).

15. *hoc sapiamus*] Cf. p. 202, l. 10, note. Vulg. "hoc sentiamus"

debemus sapere, porro abicientes illa omnia quae sunt corporalia, et futuro statui consentanea sentire debemus.'

et si quid aliud sapitis, et hoc uobis Deus reuelabit.

†'etenim si nescimus futura qualia sint, sed ipsis rebus nobis illa ostendit Deus.'*

uerumtamen ad quod occurrimus, eadem constare regula, idipsum sapere.

†'interim (inquit) in quibus sumus et in quibus uocati sumus, permanere debemus, consentaneum erga illos affectum ostendentes, et non discedentes ab expectatione futurorum, sed secundum illam uitam nostram dirigere debemus.'* hinc enim praecedentium uerborum est sensus. quidam uero non intendentes sequentiae, quasi apostolo de uirtute disputante, sic illa susceperunt; et quod dixit: *illa quae posteriora sunt obliuiscens,*

εἰ καὶ μὴ ἴσμεν ἀκριβῶς τὰ μέλλοντα ὁποῖα καθέστηκεν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῶν πραγμάτων αὐτὰ ἡμῖν δείξει ὁ θεός.

'τέως (φησὶν) ἐν οἷς ἐσμὲν καὶ ἐν οἷς ἐκλήθημεν ἐπιμένειν ὀφείλομεν, σύμφωνον τὴν περὶ αὐτὰ διάθεσιν ἐπιδεικνύμενοι καὶ μὴ ἐξιστάμενοι τῆς τῶν μελλόντων προσδοκίας καὶ τοῦ κατ' ἐκεῖνα τὸν ἑαυτοῦ ῥυθμίζειν βίον.'

1 temporalia (*for* corp.) *r* 4 quanta futura qualia sint *C H* et (*bef* qualia) *add C* (*corr*) *r*: *txt g* 6 in eandem (*for* ead.) *C* (*corr*) | regulam *C H* 9 illis *C H*: *txt r* 11 uitam *om H* | enim *om r* 15 sq. Coisl. 204, f. 133 a [Cr. vi. 277] ἄλλος δέ φησιν· εἰ καί, κ.τ.λ.

4. *etenim si nescimus*, &c.] Thdt.: εἰ δὲ καὶ μὴ ἀκριβῶς ἐπιστάμεθα ὁποῖα ταῦτά ἐστιν [sc. τὰ προκείμενα βραβεῖα], ἀλλ' οὖν εἰδέναι προσήκει ὡς δείξει ταῦτα ἡμῖν ὁ ἀγωνοθέτης θεός. A comparison of this extract with the corresponding Gk. of Th. will shew how closely Thdt. followed his master, without, however, condescending to the level of the mere catenist. Chrys. has perhaps more correctly expounded εἴ τι ἑτέρως: οὐ περὶ δογμάτων ταῦτα εἰρηται, ἀλλὰ περὶ βίου τελειότητος, καὶ τοῦ μὴ νομίζειν ἑαυτοὺς τελείους εἶναι. The double rendering of ὁποῖα (see vv. ll.) is due to a marginal gloss, or to the combination of two readings, *qualia* having been displaced by the zeal of a corrector.

6. *eadem constare regula*, &c.] Th., with the other Gk. expositors, read τῷ αὐτῷ στοιχεῖν κανόνι, τὸ αὐτὸ φρονεῖν—an order which the Vulg. reverses.

9. *erga illa*] See vv. ll.

12. *quidam uero non intendentes*, &c.] The opinion of Chrys. (see l. 4, note), and Severianus; cf. Cramer vi. 276, and *supra*, p. 239 (vv. ll.). Sev. paraphrases: οὐκ ἀσχολοῦμαι εἰς τὸ ἀναμμνήσκεσθαι τοὺς ἀγῶνάς μου τοὺς παρελθόντας, ἀλλ' εἰς τὸ μεριμνᾶν τί κατορθώσω εἰς τὰ ἐξῆς. Thdt., on the whole, follows Th.: παρεγγυᾷ τοίνυν αὐτοὺς μὴ ἀνέχεσθαι τῶν τὰ νομικὰ τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ παραμιγνύντων.

ad illa uero quae in ante sunt me extendens, et cetera omnia similiter susceperunt. habent enim se non sic. ab illo enim loco quo dixit: *haec eadem scribere uobis mihi quidem impigrum*, per omnia docet eos eo quod non conueniat obtemperare illis qui secundum legem eos uiuere suadent, sicuti et interpretatione ostendimus. et ostenditur id etiam ex subsequentibus melius; adiecit enim:

imitatores mei estote, fratres mei.

† hoc est, 'nolite sub lege uiuere, sicuti nec ego uiuo sub lege.'* et ostendens, quoniam non sui causa ista dicit, sed talem uitae conuersationem eosdem habere cupit; unde et adiecit:

considerate eos qui sic ambulant sicut habetis formam nostram.

† 'ad plenum (inquit) ad illos respicite, qui sic uiuunt sicut et nos; illis obtemperate, et illos imitari festinate.'* deinde arguens aduersarios uehementer illis insistit:

multi enim ambulant quos frequenter dixi uobis, nunc autem et flens dico, inimicos crucis Christi.

sufficiens erat inuitare Philippenses ad odium illorum, siquidem illa quae contraria erant cruci docere temptabant. unde et adiecit:

quorum finis perditio.

† quid enim aliud erit suspicari de illis qui repugnant Christo

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ἀντὶ τοῦ 'μὴ ὑπὸ νόμον ζῶντες, ἀλλ' ὁμοίως ἐμοί.'

'καὶ καθόλου (φησὶν) πρὸς τοὺς οὕτως ζῶντας ἀφορᾶτε, κἀκείνους μιμεῖσθε.'

τί γὰρ ἕτερον εἴη ἂν καὶ ὑπολαβεῖν ἐπὶ τῶν ἐναντιουμένων

7, 11 adicit *C* 7 adicit enim *om r* 10 causam *C** 11 unde et *om r* 13 et *om C r* 14 imitare *C** 17 cruce *C** | ergo (*bef* Chr.) *r* 20 adicit *C r* 23 sq. Coisl. 204, f. 133 b [Cr. vi. 278, Fr. 140] *Θεόδωρος. ἄλλος φησίν· ἀντὶ τοῦ, κ.τ.λ.* 26 sq. Coisl. 204, *l. c.* [Cr. vi. 278] *ἄλλος δέ φησιν· τί γάρ, κ.τ.λ.*

1. *ad illa u. quae*, &c.] Cf. p. 238, l. 18, note. The present rendering differs as well from the translation given above, as from the Latin authorities. *In ante* seems to be an attempt to represent *ἔμπροσθεν*. *Mei* (l. 8) is without authority.

2. *susceperunt*] Jacobi: "uidetur legisse *παρεξεδέξαντο*."

5. *interpr. ost.*] See p. 231, sq.

9. *nolite...sub lege*] Cited by Lanfranc and R. of Bridlington.

12. *formam nostram*] So Aug., Ambrstr., Sedul. Scot., and the Clementine Vulgate; Amiat., Fuld., *formam nos.*

16. *quos frequenter dixi*] O. L. and Vulg., "quos saepe dicebam." For *perditio* the Latin versions have *interitus*.

et minorare properant illa quae erga Christum sunt, sollicitudinem erga legem impendentes?*

quorum deus uenter est.

†'hoc manduca, illud noli manducare'; et circa studia sua se uertunt, quasi deo cuidam uentri suo intendentes, et idipsum pietatem esse existimant, quod alia quidem illi offerre, alia minime offerre studeant.* ' illud etenim quod ultra non secundum uoluntatem Dei fit, obseruantia est pura nihil continens bonitatis; iniquitatem uero perficit euidentem. unde illud et ex abundantia extenuat dicens:

et gloria in confusione eorum.

†magnum aliquid esse existimant, ut alia quidem manducentur, alia non manducentur, non considerantes quoniam omnis esca, quaeque illa fuerit insumpta, in stercore uertitur, quod et inspicere confundentur; ecce studiorum eorum qui est finis.* et ad plenum eos incusans adiecit:

τῷ Χριστῷ καὶ ἐλαττούντων τὰ περὶ αὐτὸν τῇ περὶ τὰ νόμιμα σπουδῇ;

'τόδε φάγε καὶ τόδε μὴ φάγῃς' καὶ περὶ τοῦτο ἑαυτοὺς ἀσχολοῦντες ὥσπερ θεῷ τῇ κοιλίᾳ προσέχοντες, καὶ τὸ εὐσεβεῖν ἐν τῷ τάδε αὐτῇ προσκομίζειν ἢ μὴ τάδε τιθέμενοι.

μέγα (φησὶν) νομίζουσιν τὸ μὴ τάδε φαγεῖν, ἀλλὰ τάδε· οὐκ ἐννοοῦντες ὅτι κόπρος γίνεται ὅπερ ἂν φάγωσιν, ἣν καὶ ὁρᾶν αἰσχύνονται· ἰδοὺ τῆς σπουδῆς αὐτῶν τὸ τέλος.

5 ad ipsum *C* (*corr*) 9 efficit uidentem *H* perficite uid. *r* | unde et illud *H* 11 eorum (*aft* gloria) *add C* 14 stercora *C* (*corr*) 15 confunduntur *C* (*corr*) 16 adicit *Cr* 17 αὐτῶν cod., Cr. 22 sq. Coisl. 204, f. 134 a [Cr. vi. 279, Fr. 140] θεόδωρος. ἄλλος δέ· οὕτως μέγα φ., κ.τ.λ. cod.: txt edd.

4. *hoc manduca*, &c.] Comp. *infra* on Col. ii. 21, 22. According to Th., the Judaizers are still in view, as they are also in the parallel passage, Rom. xvi. 18 (δουλεύουσιν...τῇ ἑαυτῶν κοιλίᾳ), although his explanation of the metaphor there is different (τὴν ἑαυτῶν γαστέρα πληροῦν πάντα ποιοῦσιν). Chrys., on the other hand, regards the Ap.'s censure as directed against antinomian members of the Church; whilst Thdt. offers the curious explanation: διαφερόντως γὰρ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι πολλὴν ποιοῦνται τροφῆς [*v. l.* τρυφῆς] ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ δικαιοσύνης ὅρον νομίζουσιν τὴν ἐν σαββάτῳ χλιδήν.

5. *quasi Deo ... studeant*] Cited by Lanfranc: see vv. ll.

14. *quaeque illa*, &c.] *Illa* is apparently redundant; see p. 214, l. 13, note. For *quisque*=quicunque see Rönsch, *Itala*, p. 336.

qui terrena sapiunt.

'nam legitimae obseruationes ad praesentem uitam sunt necessariae, siue circumcisio sit, siue sacrificium, siue escarum obseruantiae, siue sabbatorum custodiae; omnia autem haec in futuro saeculo otiosa erunt, in quo constituti expectantes iam secundum formam in illis esse existimamur.'

nostra autem conuersatio in caelis habetur, unde saluatorem expectamus dominum Iesum Christum, qui transfigurabit corpus humilitatis nostrae, ut fiat ipsum conforme corpori gloriae eius secundum bonum placitum, ut possit ipse et subicere sibi omnia.

'nostra autem conuersatio non est terrena, sed caelestis, ubi ire expectamus, unde et nostras primitias expectamus, ipsum Christum, qui hoc corpus quod nunc humiliatum est sub morte ad inmortalitatem transferat, simile illud suo corpori faciens. quia non solum hoc potest facere, sed omnia renouans sibi coniungit; ita ut omnis corruptela soluatur et omnia ad illum inspiciant, quasi principatorem et auctorem incorruptionis sibi existentem.' nam quod hoc in loco dixit *subicere*, non in seruitute illa quae ex necessitate est dicit—non enim hoc in loco

5 erunt et *H* | in quem constituit *C* H* in quem constituti *r* | expectando *C* (*corr*) 8 transfigurauit *C H* 11 celestistis *H* | quo (*for* ubi) *r* 14 transferet *r* 18 in seruite *H* seruituti *r* 19 est *om H*

5. *constituti*] See vv. ll., and cf. p. 102, l. 8: "in uita illa constitutos"; *expectantes* is perhaps *κατὰ προσδοκίαν*. For *sec. formam* = *κατὰ τύπον*, see p. 58, ll. 1, 16.

7. *habetur*] *ὑπάρχει*: Vulg., *est*.

8. *transfigurabit*] See above on v. 10. *Transfigurauit* (see vv. ll.) occurs in MSS. of the O. L. (Sabatier); whilst Amiat., Fuld., have *reformauit* (cf. Tisch., *Cod. Am.*, prol. p. xxviii). *Ut fiat ipsum*, which is not in the Latin versions, represents *εἰς τὸ γενέσθαι αὐτό*, the reading of all the Gk. expositors. *Secundum bonum placitum* can hardly point to a variant *κατὰ τὴν εὐδοκίαν*, of which no trace exists in the MSS. or versions. Cf., however, the rendering given by Vig. Taps.: "secundum suam uoluntatem ut possit," &c.

12. *nostras primitias ... ipsum Christum*] See on Eph. i. 8; and with this passage comp. a Latin extract from Th.'s treatise ag. the Augustinian doctrine of original sin (Migne, 1010), "sicut enim conformes Adae secundum statum praesentem sumus omnes effecti, sic Christo domino conformes efficiemur in posterum; *transfigurabit enim*, &c., et, *qualia tenemus*," &c. [Phil. iii. 21, 1 Cor. xv. 48, 49].

13. *corpus...faciens*] Lanfranc, R. of B.

15. *sed omnia renouans*, &c.] See on Eph. i. 10, Col. i. 16, sq.

17. *principatorem*] Cf. p. 40, l. 1, note.

18. *non in seruitute illa*, &c.] Chrys., on the contrary, distinctly includes the compulsory subjugation of hostile powers: *δύναμιν ἔχει (φησὶν) ὥστε τὰ πάντα*

propositum est—sed quoniam coniungit sibi per illa beneficia quae illis praebet, ita ut omnia ad illum inspiciant quasi principatorem et auctorem bonorum. tale est et illud quod ad Corinthios scriptum est: *tunc ipse Filius subditus erit;* non quia seruiet, sed manet coniunctus illi per se omnia offerens—de suscepto homine ista dicens. deinde firmat exhortationem consolatione:

itaque fratres mei carissimi et desiderantissimi, gaudium meum et corona mea, sic state in Domino, carissimi.

hoc est, 'tali modo conuersamini.' ostendit in his, quoniam multum eos diligebat et uenerabatur quasi industrios, 'carissimos et desiderantissimos' fratres nuncupans eos, et 'gaudium suum et coronam' eos esse pronuncians; et omnibus illis adiciens iterauit *carissimi.*

Euodiam rogo et Syntychen obsecro idipsum sapere in Domino.

†euidens est, quoniam et ipsae aduersus alterutram decerta-

δῆλον ὅτι καὶ αἵται πρὸς ἀλλήλας ἐστασίαζον περὶ πρωτείων

6 consolationem *H* [et consolationem in sequenti capite *r*] 7, 8, 10, 13 karissimi, karissimos *C H* 7 et (*bef* gaud.) *add C* (*corr*) | meum (*aft* gaud.) *om C*: *txt H r* 12 adicens *H* 14 Euchodiam, Sinticen *C* Synticen *H* 15 quo (*for* quoniam) *H* | alterutrum *C* alterum *H*: *txt r* 16 sq. Coisl. 204, f. 135 a [Cr. vi. 281, Fr. 140] ἄλλος δέ φησιν· δῆλον, κ.τ.λ.

ὑποτάξαι, ὥστε καὶ τὴν φθορὰν καὶ τὸν θάνατον· μᾶλλον δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς δυνάμεως καὶ τοῦτο ποιεῖ.

3. *tale est illud...ad Corinthios*] 1 Cor. xv. 28. *Subditus* (*subiectus*, Vulg.) is the reading of Sabatier's MSS. Th.'s own comment on 1 Cor. *l. c.* is lost; the following is Thdt.'s: τὰ ἡμέτερα οἰκειοῦται, ἐπειδήπερ αὐτοῦ χρηματίζομεν σῶμα, αὐτὸς δὲ ἡμῶν ὀνομάζεται κεφαλή· οὕτως καὶ...ἡμῶν μετὰ τὴν τῆς φθορᾶς ἀπαλλαγὴν ὑποτασσομένων αὐτὸς λέγεται ὑποτάσσεσθαι.

7. *desiderantissimi*]=desiderandissimi; cf. Rönsch, *Itala*, pp. 456—7. So Am., Fuld.

13. *iterauit* carissimi] Th.'s text thus certainly contained the second ἀγαπητοί, which is wanting in some of the Latin authorities. Cf. the remark of Grotius (cited by Meyer): "περιπαθὴς haec uocis huius ἀναφορά."

14. *rogo...obsecro*] παρακαλῶ... παρακαλῶ. The Vulg. also attempts to correct the tautology: "rogo...deprecor."

15. *ipsae aduersus alterutram*, &c.] Meyer on c. iv. 2 remarks: "Theodore of Mopsuestia quotes the opinion that the two were husband and wife." The mistake is due to the fact that in Cramer's catena Th.'s comment on v. 3 (see below, p. 246) is followed without break by the words τινὲς δὲ Εὐοδίαν φασὶν εἶναι τὴν γυναῖκα τοῦ δεσμοφύλακος, Συντύχην δὲ τὸν ἄνδρα. This sentence however is none of Theodore's, as the Latin version shews.

bant, contendentes super primatum, utpote uirtutibus adornatae, et ut fieri solet, in huiusmodi contentione prouocabantur.* unde et nominatim earum memoratus est, secundum multam reuerentiam, ita ut suaderet eis illa quae bona erant, simul ut et quod decebat personis earum redderet. hoc in loco maxime illud possibile est conspicere, quoniam nulla eo in tempore discretio uirorum erat et mulierum, quando similiter contemplatione pietatis adcelerabatur, ubi et ad omnem plebem scribens nominatim memorare has non dubitaret, plurimam illis reuerentiam in suis sermonibus adtestans; nihil pertimescens, ne aliquam sibi reprehensionem ob ipsam causam prouideret. euidens est autem quoniam neque de mulieribus dubitabat, ne quando edoleant, eo quod coram omnibus sint reprehensae. tanta erat commonitio apud illos qui tunc erant, et sic omnia apud illos in caritate fiebant, ut delectarentur potius coram omnibus reprehensae, quae tamen opus habebant ut reprehenderentur; et nemo illa quae fiebant secundum ullam incusabat rationem.

etiam rogo et te, coniugalis affectiose, adiuua eas.

quidam beatum Paulum existimauerunt hinc uxorem habuisse

ἐρίζουσαι, ἐνάρετοι οὖσαι καὶ ὡς εἰκὸς εἰς τὴν περὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἔριδα καταπίπτουσαι.

3 sed cum (*for* secundum) *C* (*corr*) *r* 6 possibile *om H* 7 ac (*for* et) *r* 11 etiam (*for* autem) *r* 12 ad (*for* de) *C** | dubitabit *C** | hae doleant *r* 14 tunt (*for* tunc) *C** 18 eos *C H*

1. *utpote uirtutibus adorn.*] Cf. p. 197, l. 11, note.

2. *prouocabantur*] Jacobi: "accuratius uertisset: *inciderunt*" (see Gk.).

6. *nulla...discretio uir. erat et mul.*] Comp. Th.'s comm. on 1 Tim. ii. 12. On the position of women in Macedonia see Dr Lightfoot's remarks, *Philippians*, pp. 54 sq.

12. *edoleant*] See vv. ll. Comp. the frequent occurrence in this translation of the compounds *edicere, edocere;* and cf. Rönsch, *Itala*, pp. 180 sq.

13. *commonitio*] "Discipline" (*παιδεία, νουθεσία*, or the like).

18. *coniugalis affectiose*] O. L., "dilectissime coniux;" Vulg., "germane compar." For the form *coniugalis* see Rönsch, *Itala*, p. 106. In 2 Tim. i. 2, Tit. i. 4, our translator renders *γνησίῳ* by *carissimo;* see, however, above, c. ii. 20.

19. *quidam b. P. exist. hinc uxorem hab.*] Clem. Alex. led the way with this interpretation (Strom. iii. 6: *καὶ ὅ γε Παῦλος οὐκ ὀκνεῖ ἔν τινι ἐπιστολῇ τὴν αὐτοῦ προσαγορεύειν σύζυγον, ἣν οὐ περιεκόμιζεν διὰ τὸ τῆς ὑπηρεσίας εὐσταλές*), in direct contradiction, as Th. points out, to S. Paul's own statement (1 Cor. vii. 8). Clement was followed by Origen (on Rom. i. 1). The error of the Alexandrians was perhaps first pointed out by

et ad illam scribere [et] rogasse, quasi Philippis commorantem; neque ad illud inspicientes, quoniam† dixit *affectiose* et non 'affectiosa,' quod uiro quidem aptari potest, mulieri autem nequaquam. quos conueniebat etiam illud cogitare, quoniam 'coniugalem' diuina scriptura nullo in loco illum qui nuptiis sociatus est dicit, sed illum qui sub eadem fide est.* nam et Dominus *iugum* uocat illam conuersationem quae sub lege est; *tollite* (inquit) *iugum meum, quoniam suaue est.* uidetur ergo ad aliquem scribere affectu et fide illis coniunctum, quem et hortatur ut ad concordiam eas suo reducat studio (de qua pace disputat illis), et consilia illis tribuat bona et omnia agat summa cum diligentia, ita ut ad unanimitatem illas faciat recurrere. et ostendens quoniam dignae sunt multae diligentiae:

quae in euangelio simul mecum decertauerunt.

τὸ ΓΝΗΣΙΕ [εἶπεν], ὃ ἄνδρι μὲν ἁρμόττει, γυναικὶ δὲ οὐκέτι. δέον αὐτοὺς κἀκεῖνο ἐννοῆσαι, ὅτι σύζυγον ἡ θεία γραφὴ οὐδαμοῦ τὸν γάμῳ συνημμένον λέγει, ἀλλὰ τὸν ὑπὸ τὴν αὐτὴν πίστιν.

1 scribere rogasse *C* scr. rogasset *H* scribens rogasse *r* 5 nuptis *C H r* 9 affectum *C H* affectus *r* 11 tribuit, agit *C* (*corr*) | cum s. d. *r* 12 illa *C**

Chrys., who was not however prepared to deny that the *σύνζυγος* of the text might have been a female: *τινὲς τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ παρακαλεῖν ἐνταῦθά φασιν ...ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστιν, ἀλλά τινα γυναῖκα ἢ καὶ ἄνδρα μιᾶς αὐτῶν.*

2. affectiose *et non* affectiosa] *γνήσιε εἶπεν ἀλλ' οὐ γνησία.* Cf. Ellicott *ad h. l.*: "the doubtful gender of *σύνζ.* (Eur. Alc. 314, 342) would certainly cause *γνήσιος* to revert to three terminations;" and so Meyer and Lightfoot. Thpht. has the same remark: *ἵνα γὰρ τἄλλα ἐάσω, ἔδει γνησία σύζυγε εἰπεῖν.*

'coniugalem' d. scr. nullo in loco, &c.] Σύνζυγος is a ἅπαξ λεγ., as far as the N.T. and the LXX. are concerned. What Th. must mean to say is that in Scripture *ζυγός* and its derivatives when used metaphorically denote, not the marriage bond, but the bond of a common rule of life or faith. In support of this statement he might, besides S. Matt. xi. 29, 30, have quoted Acts xv. 10, 2 Cor. vi. 14, Gal. v. 1. Comp. Thdt.: *σύζυγον οὖν αὐτὸν καλεῖ ὡς τὸν αὐτὸν ἕλκοντα τῆς εὐσεβείας ζυγόν.*

8. *quoniam suaue est*] *ὁ γὰρ ζυγός μου χρηστός.* Sabatier (iii. p. 67) gives instances from the Latin fathers of a similarly compendious mode of quoting these verses. *Quae sub lege* (just above) must either be a correction for "quae sub euangelio;" or by *τὴν ὑπὸ νόμον* Th. intended 'under a rule of life,' 'under the law of Christ.'

12. *ita ut ad unanimitatem,* &c.] The assistance they required (v. 3, *συνλαμβάνου αὐταῖς*) was in effecting a reconciliation; cf. Thdt.: *παρακαλεῖ ὥστε τῶν ἀρίστων γυναικῶν συνεργὸν γενέσθαι, καὶ τὴν συμφωνίαν βραβεῦσαι.*

13. *dignae ... diligentiae*] For exx. of *dignus* c. gen. cf. Rönsch, *Itala*, p. 413.

14. *simul mecum decertauerunt*] *συνήθλησάν μοι.* O. L. and Vulg., "mecum

euidens est quoniam alicubi iter eius secutae sunt, et ministrauerunt ei implenti doctrinam pietatis. et ut ne uideatur puram quandam dicere decertationem:

cum Clemente et ceteris cooperariis meis, quorum nomina sunt in libro uitae.

hoc est, 'similiter sicut illi conlaborauerunt mihi ad doctrinam pietatis.' euidens est enim hinc etiam illud quoniam quando dicit ad Corinthios: *numquid non habemus potestatem sororem mulierem circumducere?* non quia numquam circumduxerit dicit, sed quia non semper; quod et cautius nobis notatum est et ostensum est in expositione ipsius epistolae. et iterum orat pro illis:

gaudete in Domino semper; et iterum dico, gaudete.

hoc est, 'semper uobis talia adsint a Deo, pro quibus gaudio possitis impleri.' deinde et ad exhortationem uertitur, quae inaptari poterat illi exhortationi quae humilitati fuerat facta:

modestia uestra nota fiat omnibus hominibus.

'sicut et uos uolo esse modestos, ita ut omnes super uestram modestiam de uobis gratulentur.' et quoniam modestia frequenter solet noceri adiecit:

Dominus prope est; nihil solliciti sitis.

'licet nociuitatem sustinetis, nolite solliciti esse; prope est Deus, qui uobis nocitis ferat auxilium, qui et potens est eos qui nocent uos punire.' quid ergo conuenit facere eos nocitos?

2 impletae *H* 8 numquam *H* | sororem *om r* 14 assint *H* 15 quem aptari *C** quae apt. *C (corr)* 16 humilitate *r* 19 modestis (*for* modestia) *C (corr)* modesti, solent *r* 20 adicit *C r* 22 sustineatis *r* 23 indigentibus (*for* nocitis) *r* 24 quibus nocetur (*for* nocitos] *r*

laborauerunt." On *cooperariis* (Vulg., "adiutoribus") see p. 228, l. 14, note.

8. *numquid non habemus*, &c.] 1 Cor. ix. 5. O. L. and Vulg., *circumducendi*; the Gk. however is simply περιάγειν. Th.'s exposition of the words has disappeared, but Thdt. *ad l.* remarks: τινὲς οὕτως ἡρμήνευσαν ὅτι καθάπερ τῷ κυρίῳ εἵποντο γυναῖκες πισταί...οὕτως καὶ τισὶν τῶν ἀποστόλων ἠκολούθουν τινές, θερμοτέραν ἐπιδεικνύμεναι πίστιν, καὶ τῆς τούτων διδασκαλίας ἐξηρτημέναι, καὶ τῷ θείῳ συνεργοῦσαι κηρύγματι. The catenist in Cramer, after extracting this passage, adds, τοῦτο καὶ Θεόδωρος—meaning, it would seem, that this was Theodore's view.

16. *inaptari*] See vv. ll. The form seems to be an ἅπ. λεγ. for *adaptari*.

20, sq. *noceri, nocitos, nocent uos*] Cf. p. 67, l. 1, note.

sed in omni oratione et postulatione cum gratiarum actione postulationes uestrae innotescant ad Deum.

'tantum uos per omnia gratias agite Deo, postulantes ab eo tristitiae solutionem quae est huius rei merces.'

et pax Dei quae supereminet omnem intellectum custodiat corda uestra et sensus uestros in Christo Iesu.

hoc est, 'ipse uobis praestet perfectam pacem qui ab omnibus plus potest.' nam pacem Dei supereminere dixit omnia, ut dicat 'Deum.'

de cetero, fratres, quaecunque sunt uera, quaecunque pudica, quaecunque iusta, quaecunque casta, quaecunque dilectionis, quaecunque bonae opinionis, si qua uirtus, et si qua laus, haec cogitate; quae et didicistis et accepistis, et audistis et uidistis in me, haec agite, et Deus pacis erit uobiscum.

'ueritatis (inquit) diligentiam adhibete, pudicitiae, iustitiae, castitatis;' ut dicat: 'abstinete uos a prauis negotiis (sicuti et alibi dixit: *in omnibus uos comprobastis castos esse in negotio*), ut ageretis illa quae omnibus placent;' hoc est, illa quae ab omnibus cognoscuntur esse bona. 'nam et apud omnes similis est bonorum confessio, ex quibus operibus bona uos opinio subsequi

3, 4 tantum—merces *om r* 16 ibi *for* alibi *C H* 18 cogeretis (*for* ag.) *H*

1. *postulatione...postulationes*] τῇ δεήσει...τὰ αἰτήματα. Both O. L. and Vulg. have employed distinct nouns; so that our translator for once cannot escape the charge of carelessness. For *ad* (πρός) *Deum*, the Latin versions have *apud D.*

5. *supereminet*] Cf. p. 235, l. 17. For *intellectum...sensus*, the Vulg. has *sensum...intellegentias.* The error *custodiat* runs through nearly all the Latin authorities, and strangely enough finds an apparent support in the comments of the Gk. expositors; cf. Chrys. (followed by Thpht.): ὡσανεὶ ἔλεγεν· ὁ ῥυσάμενος ὑμᾶς οὕτως...αὐτὸς διαφυλάξειεν καὶ ἀσφαλίσαιτο. Thdt.: τὴν εἰρήνην ἐπηύξατο. And so Th.: "ipse...praestet."

7. *ab omnibus plus potest*] Cf. Rönsch, *Itala*, pp. 452, 453.

11. *quaecunque casta*] ὅσα ἁγνά. The Latin versions less exactly render "quaecumque sancta." For *dilectionis* (προσφιλῆ) they have *carissima* (O. L.), *amabilia* (Vulg.). Most of the Latin authorities add *disciplinae* (ἐπιστήμης) after *laus.*

16. *sicuti et alibi dixit*] See vv. ll. The first syllable of *alibi* appears to have been merged in the preceding *et.*

17. *in omnibus uos compr. castos*] 2 Cor. vii. 11, where ἁγνός bears the same sense, 'free from complicity in sin;' cf. Thdt. *ad loc.*: ἐδείξατε σαφῶς ὅτι οὐ συνήσθητε τοῖς κακῶς ὑπ' ἐκείνων γεγενημένοις· τοῦτο γὰρ λέγει ἁγνοὺς εἶναι. For *comprobastis* the Latin versions give *exhibuistis;* for *castos* the Vulg. has *incontaminatos.*

19. *similis est bonorum confessio*] The moral *creed* of all men, heathen and

poterit. quaecunque sunt uirtutum opera, quaecunque laudem uobis ab omnibus prouidere possunt, hoc uidentes in nobis, hoc docti a nobis, haec agite, et habebitis semper Deum uobiscum profundam uobis suam pacem praebentem.' consummans uero omnia illa quae exhortationis fuerunt, scribit ultra de his quae missa fuerant sibi ab illis:

gauisus sum autem in Domino magnifice, quoniam tandem aliquando refloruistis, ut pro me saperetis; in quo et sapiebatis, tempus uero non habuistis.

bene quia dixit *in Domino*, ut non uideretur ob pecuniam directam sibi laetari, sed ob propositum illorum qui miserunt. dicit enim quoniam 'laetatus sum pro quibus pertinuit uobis de me; sciebam etenim quoniam et dudum uobis pertinebat, tempus uero non habebatis, ut faceretis illud quod uolebatis.' nam †quod dixit, *tempus non habuistis*, hoc dicit: 'hoc prohibiti estis, tempus non habentes ut faceretis quod uolebatis.'* et caute confirmans eos, ut ne existimarent eum propter datas pecunias haec dicere:

non quia secundum minorationem dico, ego enim didici in quibus sum sufficiens esse; scio et humiliari, scio et abundare, omnia et in omnibus imbutus sum, et saturari, et esurire, et abundare, et minorari.

τὸ ἠκαιρεῖσθε φησὶν ἀντὶ τοῦ 'ἐκωλύεσθε καὶ οὐκ εἴχετε τοῦτο ποιῆσαι ὅπερ ἐβούλεσθε.'

2 prouideri *H* 3 in uobis (*for* a nobis) *C H*: *txt r* 8 per me *C* 11 ob *om C* H r* 13 et (*bef* dudum) *om r* | pert. uobis *H* 14—18 nam quod dixit—haec dicere *om r* 15 prohibuistis *H* 17 ut me *C** uti ne *C* (*corr*) 21 abundari *C* H* 23 sq. Coisl. 204, f. 136 b [Cr. vi. 285, Fr. 140] Θεόδωρος. ἄλλως δέ· τὸ ἠκαιρεῖσθε φησὶν ἀντὶ τοῦ, κ.τ.λ.

Christian, is the same in its broad outlines, however wide the difference of their moral characters. "Video meliora proboque; deteriora sequor."

7. *magnifice*] μεγάλως. So Aug., Ambrstr.; Vulg., *uehementer*. *Ut saperetis* = τὸ...φρονεῖν. Similarly Ambrstr., "ut...sentiatis;" Vulg., "sentire." *Tempus non habuistis* (ἠκαιρεῖσθε), O. L.; Vulg., "occupati eratis."

10. *dixit* in Domino ... *qui miserunt*] Lanfranc, R. of B.

12. *pro quibus pertinuit uobis de me*] ἀνθ' ὧν ἐμέλεν ὑμῖν περὶ ἐμοῦ. Cf. Rönsch, *Itala*, p. 375.

19, 22. *minorationem, minorari*] Cf. pp. 19, l. 12, note; 97, l. 14, note. Vulg., *penuriam, penuriam pati*. *Omnia* for *in omni* of the O. L. (=*ubique*, Vulg.) is strange, and possibly corrupt, since the

'hoc dico (inquit) non quia inopiam fero grauiter; in consuetudinem enim me ipsum constitui, ut sufficiens sim illis quae inueniuntur in praesenti.' et quoniam nulla ex parte conturbatur ex illis quae sibi accidebant, suscipiebat uero et illa quae requiei erant et illa quae tristitiae prudenti ac sobrio intellectu; et in duris quidem rebus consueuerat non illa ferre grauiter, in prosperis uero non laxari deliciis, sed disponere illa quae erga se erant per omnia conuenienter. et ut ne uideatur magna de se sapere haec dicens:

omnia praeualeo in eo qui me confortat, Christo.

'ipse (inquit) est qui praestat mihi sic posse, ut et requiem conuenienti arbitrio abutar et tristitias forti animo feram.' et ut ne aestimetur contempnere illa quae ab illis missa fuerant, tale habens institutum, adiecit:

uerumtamen bene fecistis communicantes tribulationi meae.

'uos quidem omni laude estis digni, pro quibus communicastis tribulationibus meis, mittentes sumptus subleuantes necessitatem meam; ex quibus necesse est, ut et mercedis uobis adsit communio.'

scitis et uos, Philippenses, quoniam in principio euangelii, quando exii a Macedonia, nulla mihi ecclesia communicauit in ratione dati et accepti, nisi uos soli; quoniam et Thessalonicae et semel et bis ad usus meos misistis.

deinde dicit quoniam 'et quando inprimis uobis praedicaui pietatem cum ceteris Macedonibus, et exinde sum egressus, neque dedit mihi quis alter, neque suscepi ab altero, nisi a uobis solis; etenim et Thessalonicae commoranti mihi et semel et bis

1 haec *C* haec inq. (*om* dico) *r* 6 in (*bef* duris) *om H* 7 diuitiis *H* | his ponere (*for* disp.) *C* H r* 11 est *om H* 13 talem *C H* 14 adicit *C r* 16 estis *om r* 18 mercedes *r* | assit *H* 22 nisi soli uos *H* 26 qui saltem (*for* quis alter) *C** quis saltem *C* (*corr*) *r*

Gk. (*ἐν παντί*) is without variant. *Saturari* is given by Ambrstr. *ad h. l.*; Vulg., *satiari.*

3. *et quoniam*, &c.] The construction is: "et quoniam ... ut ne ... dicens" (=dicit); *et* (l. 8) breaks the thread.

5. *requiei*] On this rare form of the gen., see the lexx. Cf. *requiem*, l. 11.

10. *Christo*] Omitted by the Latin versions.

12. *et ut ne...adiecit*] Cited by Lanfranc and R. of B. in the form: "hoc adiecit, ut tale habens inst. non existimetur," &c.

21. *exii*] *ἐξῆλθον.* O. L., Vulg., *profectus sum. Ad usus meos, εἰς τὴν χρείαν μοι.* Cf. p. 228, l. 16, note.

illa quae ad usus necessabantur misistis.' nam quod dixit *communicastis in rationem dati et accepti*, hoc dicit, non quia aliqua quidem ipse dedit, alia uero illi, sed quod illi quidem dederunt, ipse uero acceperit. 'communionem dati et accepti' hoc dixit, eo quod illi quidem dederunt, ipse uero accepit. et iterum ostendens, quoniam non pro illis quae data sibi fuerunt ista dicit:

non quia requiro datum, sed requiro fructum, qui abundat in rationem uestram.

'hoc dico (inquit) non propter illa quae data sunt, sed institutum uestrum conlaudo, cuius euidentes sunt et fructus. dantes enim multam uobis mercedum retributionem prouidistis.' deinde adiecit:

habeo autem omnia et abundo; repletus sum, suscipiens ab Epaphrodito quae a uobis missa sunt, odorem suauitatis, sacrificium acceptabile, bene placens Deo.

'quoniam omnia recepi quae a uobis missa sunt; magis autem et ampliora suscepi, quae per Epaphroditum a uobis fuerant missa.' ostendens quoniam et multas illis refert gratias pro quibus dederunt, propositum illorum plus praehonorans quam illa quae missa sunt. orat autem pro illis, ut sacrificium boni odoris illa ipsa ante Deum adpareant, quorum recepit quidem propositum, retribuit uero eis illam quae a se erat gratiam:

Deus autem meus repleat omnem necessitatem uestram secundum diuitias suas in gloria in Christo Iesu.

orat pro illis, ut et secundum praesentem uitam omnis illorum

1 necessaria habebantur *C* (*corr*) necesse habebantur *r* | missistis *C* (*corr*) | numquid (*for* nam quod) *r* 4 acciperit *C** acciperet *r* 11 mercede *C** mercedis *C* (*corr*) mercedem *H r* | et (*aft* mercedem) *add r* 12 adicit *C* 17 ab Ephafroditum a uobis missa fuerant *H* 19 praehonoras *C** 21 recipit *r*

1. *necessabantur*] See vv. ll. and cf. *supra*, p. 229, l. 5. Venant. Fortun. *de v. S. Martini* ii. 412: "nisi quod natura necessat."

2. *non quia aliqua quidem ipsa*, &c.] Th. thus rejects the interpretation of Chrys. (ἐκοινώνησαν εἰς λόγον δόσεως τῶν σαρκικῶν, καὶ λήψεως τῶν πνευματικῶν) and Pelag. ("dantes carnalia spiritualia accepistis").

7. *qui abundat*] τὸν πλεονάζοντα. Vulg., "abundantem."

11. *mercedum retrib.*] τὴν ἀντιμισθίαν (*s.* μισθαποδοσίαν).

14. *sacrificium acc. bene placens*] Vulg., "hostiam acceptam, placentem." For *acceptabilis* see Rönsch, *Itala*, p. 109. *Necessitatem* (χρείαν); Vulg., *desiderium*.

25. *sec. praes. uitam*] Thdt., on the contrary: τὸν ἐπουράνιον αὐτοῖς ἀντιδέδωκεν πλοῦτον.

necessitas a Deo impleatur, nullam minorationem hisdem sustinentibus.

Deo autem et patri nostro gloria in saecula saeculorum. amen.

quoniam pro omnibus Deo et Patri gloriam referre dignum est.

salutate omnem sanctum in Christo Iesu. salutant [*uos qui mecum sunt fratres. salutant*] *uos omnes sancti, maxime autem qui ex Caesaris domo sunt.*

salutat quidem omnem sanctum apud illos; salutat etiam eos et ab illis fratribus qui secum sunt, et ab omnibus qui Romae sanctis, ut dicat 'fidelibus;' et [ab illis qui] sunt de Caesaris domo; erant enim qui exinde crediderant. et super omnibus adiecit sibi consuetum finem epistolis inponens:

gratia domini Iesu Christi cum omnibus uobis.

1 iisdem *r* 3 et *om r* 6 uos—salutant *om C H*: *txt r* 10 sunt (*aft* Romae) *add r* 11 ab illis qui *om C H r* 13 adicit *C r* | cum sibi suetum *C* H*

11. *ut dicat 'fidelibus'*] Thdt.: *οὐ πᾶς ὁ ἑαυτὸν ἅγιον ὀνομάζων ἅγιός ἐστιν, ἀλλ' ὁ τῷ κυρίῳ Ἰησοῦ πιστεύων καὶ κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοῦ πολιτευόμενος νόμους.*

13. *sibi consuetum*] See vv. ll. *Consuetum* has first been written *cumsuetum* and then broken up by the error of a scribe; comp. *cum crucifigi* (p. 34, ll. 2, 12, vv. ll.). Cf. Thdt.: *τὴν συνήθη εὐλογίαν τῷ τέλει προστέθεικεν.* Thpht.: *τὸ σύνηθες αὐτῷ, εὐχῇ κατακλείει τὴν ἐπιστολήν.*

14. *gratia domini I. Chr.*] The omission of *nostri* may be due to the influence of the Latin versions; *ἡμῶν* is found in the text of Chrys., Thdt., &c. Th., with Chrys., &c., read *μετὰ πάντων* for *μετὰ τοῦ πνεύματος.*

THEODORUS MOPSUESTENUS

IN EPISTOLAM B. PAULI

AD COLOSSENSES.

ARGUMENTUM.

SCRIBIT Colossensibus beatus Paulus sicut scripsit Ephesiis quos antequam scriberet non uiderat. ostendit autem hoc ipse in suis scriptis, quando quidem dicens: *audientes fidem uestram in Christo et caritatem quam habetis in omnes sanctos;* quando uero scribit: *uolo autem uos scire, quale certamen habeam pro uobis et his qui in Laodicia sunt et quotquot non uiderunt faciem meam in carne.* est autem argumentum epistolae tale. consuetudo illi

4 quandoquidem uero *C* (*corr*) 6 laetitia (*for* laodicia) *C H*

1. *Scribit Colossensibus*, &c] 'Argument. The Colossians, like the Ephesians (*supra*, p. 112, l. 2, note), were personally unknown to S. Paul at the time when he wrote his Epistle. According to his custom in such cases, the Apostle begins by magnifying the Person and Work of Christ; a course to which in the present instance he was further impelled by the necessity of counteracting the false teaching of the legalists, against whom he proceeds to warn the Colossian Church in express terms. The Epistle ends with exhortations to the fulfilment of sundry Christian duties.'

2. *ostendit autem hoc ipse*] Col. i. 4, ii. 1; in the latter passage our translation is not quite consistent; see below, p. 282, ll. 7, 18, note. Thdt., who had rightly rejected Th.'s view as to S. Paul's want of personal acquaintance with the Ephesians (p. 112, l. 2, note), again declines to follow him here, where Th. is on safer ground; and meets the argument derived from c. ii. 1 by regarding ὅσοι as exclusive: τισὶς μέντοι φασὶν μηδέπω τοὺς Κολοσσαεῖς τεθεαμένον τὸν θ. ἀπόστολον γράψαι πρὸς αὐτοὺς τὴν ἐπιστολήν, καὶ τοῦτο συνιστάνειν ἐκ τῶν ῥητῶν ἐκείνων ἐπιχειροῦσιν [citing ii. 1]. ἕδει δὲ συνιδεῖν τῶν ῥητῶν τὴν διάνοιαν· βούλεται γὰρ εἰπεῖν ὅτι 'οὐ μόνον ὑμῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν μὴ τεθεαμένων με πολλὴν ἔχω φροντίδα. Chrys., Oec. and Thpht. concur with Th.

3. *quando quidem...quando vero*] Cf. p. 74, l. 3, note.

est, ubicunque uel ad quoscunque scribit quos ante non uiderat, illa quae secundum Christum sunt extollere, et ostendere illorum magnitudinem quae per eum directa sunt; eo quod nec possibile erat aliter magnum quid et utile ostendi illis, qui illam sectantur fidem quae in eum est. hoc uero in loco non solum secundum hunc modum necessariam sibi hanc esse perspiciebat rationem, sed propter illos qui ex circumcisione erant, qui omni in loco peragrantes illos qui ex gentibus crediderunt persuadere properabant ut cum illa fide quam in Christo habent etiam legis custodirent decreta; quia ergo et ad Colossenses uenerant et paulo minus aliquibus eorum suaserunt ut legitimis inseruirent decretis. nam dum ostendit illorum eminentiam quae a Christo directa sunt, infirmam utique ostendebat esse legem, superfluam simul et uanam eius diligentiam et custodiam esse ostendens. utraque ergo ex causa ita scribit, una quod apta illi esse poterant talia inprimis scribenti, altera quod illorum causa qui erant ex circumcisione extollere illa properabat quae sunt secundum Christum, sicut et conueniens erat, magnitudinem eorum quae sunt gesta explicans. deinde et post hoc euidenter exhortatur ut non suadeantur ab illis qui talia eos docere pertemptant, omni ex parte pronuntians quod non sit illis ultra necessaria legis custodia; et post hoc ad exhortationem egressus super multis et necessariis rebus omnibus illis loquitur. inchoabimus uero in subsequentibus eam facere narrationem, quae per partes esse uidetur; eo quod illa quae ad argumentum epistolae pertinebant, in his sufficienter patefacta sunt.

3 qui per e. directi sunt *C H r* 9 et (*for* ut) *C* r* 15 poterat *r* 20 suadantur *C* H* suadentur *r* | non *om r* | praeceptant (*for* pertempt.) *r* 25 uidentur *C* H r* | quae *om H*

2. *illorum...quae per eum directa sunt*] =τῶν δι' αὐτοῦ κατορθωθέντων: cf. pp. 52, ll. 2, 27; 279, ll. 18, 25. The reading of the MSS. (see vv. ll.) may be due to a misapprehension on the part of the translator.

7. *qui omni in loco*, &c.] Cf. the arguments to the three preceding Epistles. Chrys., Oec., Thpht., recognize a Greek as well as a Jewish element in the false teaching at Colossae; παρατηρήσεις εἶχον πολλὰς καὶ Ἰουδαϊκὰς καὶ Ἑλληνικάς. Thdt., like Th., speaks only of the latter.

12. *ostendit...custodiam*] Abbreviated by Lanfranc.

20. *suadeantur*] Cf. vv. ll.; and for exx. of the use of the third conj. for the second, see Rönsch, *Itala*, p. 283. As the reading is doubtful here, I have followed the Corbic corrector.

22. *et post hoc...illis loquitur*] Lanfranc.

Paulus apostolus Christi Iesu per uoluntatem Dei, et Timotheus frater, his qui sunt Colossenses sanctis et fidelibus fratribus in Christo Iesu; gratia uobis et pax a Deo patre nostro.

hanc consuetam epistolae praescriptionem faciens incipit hoc modo:

gratias agimus Deo patri domini nostri Iesu Christi, semper pro uobis orantes, audientes fidem uestram in Christo Iesu et caritatem quam habetis in omnes sanctos.

sic et illam epistolam quam ad Romanos scripsit a gratiarum actione inchoauit scribere eis. adicit autem in hac *pro uobis orantes,* ostendens quoniam non pro quibus crediderunt tantum gratias agit, sed et pro residuo tempore orat. quae est autem oratio eius?

propter spem quae reposita est uobis in caelis.

'ita ut adsequi possitis caelestia bona, quorum custoditur uobis spes firma, si tamen illa quae a uobis sunt concurrerunt.' et ostendens quoniam non aliud quid dicit praeterquam illam quam cognouerunt:

quam ante audistis in uerbo ueritatis euangelii, quod uenit in uobis.

4 consuetae *r* | ep. *om H* 9 in illa epistola *C* (*corr*) 11 non *om H* 18 agnouerunt *H* 19 qui (*for* quod) *C H*

2. *qui sunt Colossenses*] A singular departure from the literal rendering of the Latin versions ("qui sunt Colossis"). *Iesu* is probably from the Latin, since Chrys. Thdt. &c., omit Ἰησοῦ.

4. *consuetam praescriptionem*] sc., χάρις ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη: cf. p. 118, l. 19 sq., and below, on 1 Thess. i. 1.

6. *Deo Patri*] τῷ θεῷ τῷ πατρί. So Chrys. *ad h. l.*

9. *sic et illam ep. quam ad Rom.*, &c.] Cf. Rom. i. 8., and see pp. 120, l. 4, note, 201, l. 7.

12. *pro residuo tempore orat*] Chrys.: οὐ διὰ τῆς εὐχαριστίας μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τῆς διηνεκοῦς εὐχῆς τὴν ἀγάπην δείκνυσιν.

12. *quae est autem oratio*, &c.] Th. connects διὰ τὴν ἐλπίδα with προσευχόμενοι. Cf. Lanfranc: "ordo est: orantes pro nobis propter spem, &c.; id est, ut assequi possitis c. b."

16. *si tamen*, &c.] A characteristic safeguard. Cf. p. 91, l. 3, note.

19. *quam ante audistis*] So Aug., Ambrstr. The Vulg. takes no notice of πρό. *Qui* (vv. ll.) is probably a scribe's error; or (as Jacobi seems to think) the translator has misunderstood the Gk.: ἐν τῷ λόγῳ...τοῦ εὐαγγ. τοῦ παρ. *In uobis*, εἰς ὑμᾶς: just below the same rendering serves for ἐν ὑμῖν (p. 256, l. 16). See on Col. i. 20.

'dico autem ista quae cognouistis cum ueritate euangelii suscipientes doctrinam.' et ad maiorem exhortationem eorum ostendens quoniam non soli illi ista praeter ceteros cognouerunt homines; alioquin et magis eos continere in fide poterat, quod illa pietas quae ab omnibus in commune tenetur etiam ab his teneatur:

sicut in omni mundo.

et rei magnitudinem ostendens:

et est fructificans et crescens.

'non solum (inquit) cognitum est illis qui in omni sunt orbe, sed et augmentum suscipit per singulos dies.' deinde ut ne uideatur euangelii quidem cognitio communis illis esse cum omnibus, sicut dixit 'in omnibus'—ne ergo illi aestimarent, quod euangelium non et augmentum apud omnes consequitur, adicit:

sicuti et in uobis ex qua die audistis et cognouistis gratiam Dei in ueritate.

2 et *om r* 5 in communi *C (corr)* 9 et *om C* H* quae (*bef* est) *add C (corr)*: *txt r* 11 euangelium (*for* augm.) *r* | suscepit *C r* 13 cum omn. (*for* in omn.) *C H*: *txt r* 14 ad (*for* et) *r*

3. *non soli illi...praeter ceteros*] παρὰ τοὺς λοιποὺς: see p. 142, l. 6, note. Cf. Thdt.: οὐχ ὑμῖν δὲ μόνοις [ἀπαγγέλλεται], ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις.

4. *magis eos continere in fide poterat*, &c.] So Chrys.: ἐπειδὴ μάλιστα οἱ πολλοὶ ἐκ τοῦ κοινωνοὺς ἔχειν πολλοὺς τῶν δογμάτων στηρίζονται, κ.τ.λ.

8. *et rei magn. ostendens*] Thdt.: εἶτα δείκνυσιν καὶ τοῦ κηρύγματος τὴν ἰσχύν.

9. *et est fructificans et cr.*] See vv. ll. The comm. seems to shew that Th., with Chrys. and Thdt., read καὶ ἔστιν καρπ. *Quae*, inserted by the Corbie corrector (vv. ll.), is without authority. *Est fruct.* (Aug., Ambrstr.) is toned down in the Vulg. into *fructificat.*

11. *ut ne uideatur*, &c.] Dr Jacobi brackets the words *non solum—in omnibus* as being both confused and in great part superfluous. But there is no occasion to suspect any error. Th. says: 'The Apostle had stated that the Gospel (1) had reached the Colossians as it had reached the rest of the world; and (2) was continually yielding fruit and making increase. To the latter statement he immediately adds, καθὼς καὶ ἐν ὑμῖν, to prevent the inference that whilst the knowledge of the Gospel was shared by all nations alike, its fruitfulness was confined to the Colossians. The construction is broken and the sentence thrown into some confusion by the clause "ne ergo illi aestimarent quod"...; the true sequence is: "ut ne uideatur euangelii quidem cognitio communis illis esse cum omnibus, euangelium [autem] non et augmentum apud omnes consequi."

16. *ex qua die*] ἀφ' ἧς ἡμέρας. So Aug., Ambrstr. Vulg., "ex ea die qua."

'cognouistis (inquit) uos pietatem, sicut et omnes; augmentum etiam suscipit omni in loco per singulos dies, sicut et apud uos. sic omni in loco euangelium uim suam obtinet, et augmentum per singulos accipit dies, et apud uos et apud omnes qui sunt in orbe terrarum.' hoc autem sufficiens erat hos et adhortari et suadere ut in fide manerent, si tamen cum consensu omnes haec uera esse cognouissent. deinde indicat et a quo sint docti:

sicut didicistis ab Epaphra carissimo conseruo nostro, qui est fidelis pro uobis minister Christi; qui et nunciauit nobis uestram caritatem in Spiritu.

euidenter enim in hisce ostendit quoniam ab Epaphra euangelium susceperunt, quem et iusta ratione laudauit, uenerabilem illis exhibens, quem etiam commendauit illis, eo quod nota sibi fecisset illa quae de illis erant; sciens quoniam necessarium quidem et utile est ad plenum, ut uenerabilis et desiderabilis sit discipulis magister. maxime autem erga hunc aptissime illud fecisse uidetur, ita ut doceat eos cum multo affectu persistere in eius doctrina. in his et sequestrata lege tradiderat illis euangelium. itaque non laudasset eius doctrinam, si non hoc modo fuisset effecta; qui enim fieri poterat ut is qui docebat illa non deberet custodire? deinde quod dixit *semper pro uobis orantes*, et cetera, resumens dicit:

2 suscepit *C r* 7 esse *om H* 10 uobis (*for* nobis) *C** 16 uenerabis et diserabilis (*sic*) *H* 18 deceat *r* 19 eo quod (*for* et) *C* (*corr*) 21 non (*bef* fuisset) *add H* | affecta *r* | quibus (*for* qui enim) *H* quo *r* 22 debere *C H r*

6. *si tamen*] Cf. p. 172, l. 13, note.

9. *sicut didicistis*, &c.] Unless the omission of *et* be due to the Latin versions, Th. seems to have read *καθὼς ἐμάθετε*. Chrys. and Thdt., who had *καθὼς καί* in their text, are less clear as to the position which Epaphras held in the Colossian Church; Chrys. merely observing, *τοῦτον εἰκὸς ἐκεῖ κεκηρυχέναι*: Thdt., *ἔφη δὲ αὐτοὺς παρὰ τούτου μεμαθηκέναι τὸν πανταχοῦ γενόμενον τοῦ κηρύγματος δρόμον*. Comp. Bp. Lightfoot, *Colossians*, p. 29, note 1.

13. *quem et iusta ratione laudauit*] Thdt.: *πολλοῖς δὲ αὐτὸν ἐκόσμησεν ἐγκωμίοις...ἵνα αὐτοῖς πλείονος ἀξιώτερος γένηται*. Cf. Chrys. (on c. iv. 12): *τὸ γὰρ ἀδέσιμον εἶναι τὸν διδάσκαλον μαθητῶν ὠφέλεια*.

19. *in his*] *I.e.* in his teaching. Or read: *doctrinam. his* (= *iis*), &c. *Itaque* seems to be a slip for *namque*. For *sequestrare* see Rönsch, *Itala*, p. 169.

22. *deberet*] MSS. *debere*—an instance of *ut* w. inf. (Rönsch, p. 445); unless we suppose that *illa* refers to the rites of the

pro quo nos ex qua die audiuimus non cessamus pro uobis orantes et postulantes, ut impleamini cognitione uoluntatis eius in omni sapientia et intellectu spiritali; ambulare uos digne Deo ad omne bonum placitum, in omni opere bono fructificantes et crescentes in cognitione Dei, in omni uirtute confortati secundum potentiam gloriae eius in omnem patientiam et longanimitatem cum gaudio.

per omnia optasse illis bona uidetur, sub specie orationis edocens eos illa quae eis conueniebant. dicit autem quoniam 'ex quo illa quae de uobis sunt audiuimus, sine dilatione oramus ita ut omni sensu spiritali repleti cognoscere possitis Dei uoluntatem, digne ei conuersantes et per omnia placere ei properantes; ita ut boni actus multiplicentur in uobis per singulos dies cum et Dei cognitione, qui poterit uos secundum suam potentiam respicientes ad se sua replere patientia, ita ut possitis ferre patienter uniuersa illa quae tristitiae sunt; ita ut gaudium habeatis in illis, propter illam mercedem quae uobis in futuro saeculo pro his est retribuenda.' hoc quidem, ut dixi, optasse se eis dixit; et in eo, dum dicit illa quae orationis sunt, docet eos diligentiam conuenientium adhibere. sumens uero et gratiarum actionem quam pro eis impleuerat, initium sumit doctrinae, sicut in Ephesiorum fecit epistola, ubi sub specie gratiarum actionis illa quae sunt dogmatum eos uisus est instruxisse; propter quod dicit:

gratias agentes Patri, qui dignos uos habuit in partem sortis sanctorum in lumine.

'haec (inquit) postulamus ante omnia, gratias agentes Deo

2 agnitione *H* 6 pacientia *H* 9 orabamus *r* 10 ita ut et *C* (*corr*) ut *r* 13 et (*aft* cum) *om C* (*corr*) *r* 17 ei (*for* eis) *C* H r* 19 adhibere conu. *H* 21 epistolam *C** 25 agens *C H*: *txt r*

law, and that something has been lost after *custodire*—"legitimis ipse intenderet," or that *laudaretur* has been omitted and *non* added to save the sense.

3. *ambulare*] περιπατῆσαι: O. L. and Vulg., "ut ambuletis." *Ad omne b. placitum;* so Ambrstr., but omitting *bonum*. The Latin versions prefer a periphrasis. On the other hand they are nearer to the original in their rendering of διὰ τοῦτο ("propter hoc," "ideo").

20. *sicut in Eph. fecit ep.*] Cf. p. 120, l. 4, note.

23. *gratias agentes*] See vv. ll. The sing., of which there is no trace in the MSS. and versions of the Epistle, or (apparently) in the other Fathers, is probably a copyist's error. "Dignos *uos* habuit," is confirmed by its repetition in the comment (p. 259, ll. 1, 4); so Thpht. and Ambrstr.

pro uobis, quoniam dignos uos per suam cognitionem sanctorum collegio esse pronuntiauit, cum essetis alieni a pietate et idolorum eratis sectatores.' nam quod dixit *in lumine*, ut dicat 'per suam cognitionem;' et quod dixit *qui dignos uos habuit*, hoc est, 'dignos esse pronuntiauit.' et quod illud est lucrum? ut sanctorum iungantur collegio.

qui eripuit nos de potestate tenebrarum et transtulit in regnum filii caritatis suae.

'non solum (inquit) abstulit uos ab errore et daemonum potentia, sed et participes uos pronuntiauit regni esse Christi.' nam quod dicit *transtulit in regnum filii caritatis suae*, hoc dicit sicut et in alio loco: *si sustinemus, et conregnabimus.* unde bene quia †non dixit *filii* tantum, sed filii *caritatis suae.* nec enim participes regni Dei Verbi efficimur—qui enim fieri potest,

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οὐκ εἶπεν τοῦ υἱοῦ, ἀλλὰ τοῦ γιοῦ τῆς ἀγάπης αὐτοῦ· οὐ γὰρ κοινωνοὶ τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ θεοῦ λόγου γινόμεθα, ἀλλὰ τοῦ

1 agnitionem *H* 7 uos *C* (*corr*) | trantulit (*sic*) *C*[*] 14 quo (*for* qui) *r* 15 sq. Coisl. 204, f. 143 a [Cr. vi. 302, Fr. 141] ἀλλ' ὁ ἀνόσιος θεόδωρος τούτοις ἀντιφθεγγόμενος, ἵνα σκοπὸν ἔχων Ἰουδαϊκῶς καὶ βλασφήμως τὰς θείας γραφὰς ἑρμηνεύειν τὰς δεικνύσας τοῦ χριστοῦ τὴν θεότητα, καὶ τὴν προκειμένην χρῆσιν οὕτως ἐξηγήσατο· οὐκ εἶπεν (φησὶν), κ.τ.λ. ..... τοῦτων τί ἂν εἴη ἀσεβέστερον τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσιν καταλείψω σκοπεῖν. Cf. Coisl. 26, f. 279 a, ἀλλ' ὁ ἀνόσιος θεόδωρος ὁ μόψου ἑστίας βλασφήμως κενολογῶν· οὐκ εἶπεν (φησίν, κ.τ.λ. ..... ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἐρρέτω μετὰ τῆς ἀσεβείας αὐτοῦ· ἡ δὲ ἀλήθεια ἐχέτω τὸ βέβαιον.

3. *ut d.*, *'per suam cognitionem'*] Cited by Lanfranc. So Oec. (after Chrys.): τουτέστιν, ἐν τῇ γνώσει τοῦ θεοῦ. Thdt. connects ἐν τῷ φωτί with κλήρου: κοινωνοὺς ἀπέφηνεν τοῦ τῶν ἁγίων φωτός. The interpretation given to τῷ ἱκαν. (*i. e.* τῷ ἀξίους ἡμᾶς ἀποφήναντι) is inadequate. Comp. Chrys.: οὐ μόνον ἡμῖν ἔδωκεν τὴν τιμήν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἰσχυροὺς πρὸς τὸ λαβεῖν ἐποίησεν. Thpht.: διπλασιασμὸς δὲ τιμῆς τὸ καὶ ἐπιτηδείους κατασκευάσαι πρὸς τὴν δωρεάν.

9. *non solum.....sed et*, &c.] Cf. Chrys.: μέγα μὲν οὖν καὶ τὸ τοῦ σκότους ἀπαλλάξαι· τὸ δὲ καὶ εἰς βασιλείαν εἰσαγαγεῖν πολλῷ μεῖζον.

12. *in alio loco*] 2 Tim. ii. 12 (q. v.)

14. *qui enim fieri potest*, &c.] Jacobi: The parallel is quoted also by Chrys. (ὃ καὶ ἀλλαχοῦ φησίν), and by Thdt. (τοῦτο καὶ ἐν τῇ πρὸς Τιμόθεον ἔφη). Dr Jacobi denies that the words *hoc dicit—unde bene quia* are Theodore's, urging that they break the sequence of the thought. But their occurrence in both MSS. of the Latin version as well as in Rab., leaves little room for doubting their genuineness. The connexion is: 'Our translation into the Kingdom of the Son means our participation in His future reign. Hence the propriety of the qualifying words τῆς ἀγάπης αὐτοῦ, which limit the reference to the *homo susceptus*.'

ut uniuersitatis Opifici iungamur?—sed suscepto homini dicit, cui et participabimus honoris propter naturae similitudinem, quando affectum erga eum ipsis operibus ostendere ualuerimus. unde et 'filium caritatis' eum uocauit, eo quod non secundum naturam Patris est filius, sed caritate filiorum adoptionem est adsecutus.* per omnia enim propositum habet illa quae secundum Christum sunt ostendere magna, sicut et in argumentum prae-

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ἀναληφθέντος ἀνθρώπου, ᾧ κοινωνοῦμεν τῆς τιμῆς διὰ τὴν φυσικὴν ὁμοίοτητα, ὅταν πρὸς αὐτὸν διάθεσιν ἐπὶ τῶν ἔργων ἐπιδειξώμεθα· ὅθεν καὶ υἱὸν ἀγάπης αὐτὸν ἐκάλεσεν, ὡς οὐ φύσει τοῦ πατρὸς ὄντα υἱὸν ἀλλ' ἀγάπῃ τῆς υἱοθεσίας ἀξιωθέντα.

1 opificii *C* 2 cuius *r* | participauimus *H* | honori *C H* 3 effectum *C H* | uoluerimus *H* 5 patris *om r* | caritatem *r* | adoptionis *r* 7 argumento *C* (*corr*) *r* 11 ἀξιωθέντα τούτων edd.: ἀξιωθέντα· τούτων, κ.τ.λ. cod.

"verba...genuina esse possunt; mouet tamen suspicionem quod textus graecus ea non praestat." But it is the habit of the catenist to omit whole sentences; and the sentiment of this clause is thoroughly Theodorean.

1. *susc. homini*] Dat. of reference; cp. p. 11, l. 10, note.

2. *cui et part. honoris*] MSS., *honori*. The last letter of the gen. has fallen out (cf. Gk.); or, possibly, we should read *honore;* cf. p. 59, l. 16. For the idea, see the comm. on Eph. i. 14.

4. *eo quod non sec. nat. Patris est filius*] Meyer's note ("Theod. of Mops. finds in the expression [τῆς ἀγάπης αὐτοῦ] the contrast that Christ was the son of God οὐ φύσει, ἀλλ' ἀγάπῃ τῆς υἱοθεσίας") is misleading; and still further from the truth is the remark of Cramer's catenist (p. 259). Th.'s οὐ φύσει is not a denial of the consubstantiality of the Word, or of Christ, on the side of His preexistent nature; it refers solely to the ἀναληφθεὶς ἄνθρωπος, as a glance at the context is enough to shew. His view is, however, to some extent an anticipation of Adoptianism (Jacobi: "satis constat e talibus sententiis Adoptianorum dogmata profecta esse;" cf. Dorner, ii. 1. pp. 249, 251—2, and the introduction to this comm.). See above, p. 63, l. 1 note. In this interpretation of τῆς ἀγάπης αὐτοῦ Th. stands, I believe, alone among the Gk. commentators. Chrys. regards the phrase as simply = τῷ ἀγαπητῷ, and so also Oec., Thpht. Thdt. explains: οὐ γὰρ ἀγάπης υἱός, ἀλλ' ἀγαπητὸς υἱός, τουτέστιν γνήσιος —where οὐ γάρ, κ.τ.λ., seems like an indirect disavowal of Th.'s view. Comp. also Severianus (Cramer. vi. 302): υἱὸν οὖν ἀγάπης λέγει ἐπειδὴ ὡς υἱὸς ἀγαπᾶται, οὐκ ἐπειδὴ τῆς ἀγάπης τοῦ θεοῦ ἐστιν· οὐδὲ γὰρ οἱ υἱοὶ τῆς ἀπειθείας ταύτης υἱοὶ φύσει...ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ εἰσὶν ἀγαπώμενοι δοῦλοι, ὁ δὲ υἱὸς ὡς υἱὸς ἀγαπᾶται, εἶπεν 'τοῦ υἱοῦ τῆς ἀγάπης αὐτοῦ.' Dam. indeed refers to the especial love with which the Incarnate Son was regarded by the Father, but without distinguishing between the *homo susceptus* and the preexistent Word. It is remarkable that Th.'s great contemporary in the West assigns to τῆς ἀγάπης a meaning the exact opposite of that which Th. finds in the words: Aug. *de Trin.* xv. 19, "filius caritatis eius nullus est alius quam qui *de eius substantia* est genitus."

7. *sicut et in arg. praediximus*] Cf. p. 253, l. 7, sq.

diximus, et comprobare properat illorum magnitudinem quae ab eo correcta sunt. unde et de suscepto homine disputat, quasi de primitiis nostris, et quia prouisor nobis bonorum extiterit multorum. unde et adiecit:

in quo habemus redemptionem, remissionem peccatorum.

'per ipsum enim omnem peccatorum securitatem sumus adsecuti.' dicit autem futurum statum, in quo per resurrectionem effecti, natura nostra inmortali extante, peccare ulterius non poterimus. tale est et illud quod ad Ephesios dictum est: *ita ut simus sancti et immaculati.* deinde dicit et illam dignitatem quae erga eum est:

qui est imago Dei inuisibilis.

bene *inuisibilis* adiecit, non quod sit et uisibilis Deus, sed ad ostensionem magnitudinis; si tamen in isto quasi in imagine inuisibilem illam naturam uidemus, eo quod copulatus est Deo Verbo et iudicabit omnem orbem terrarum, adparens ipse secundum suam, ut fas est, naturam, in futuro saeculo cum multa gloria ueniens de caelo. imaginis ordinem nobis retinet,

4 adicit *C r* 8 incorruptibiles (*aft* effecti) *add C* (*corr*) 13 adicit *C r* 14 imaginem *C* H* 15 Dei *H* 16 omnem *om H* 17 magna (*for* multa) *r* 18 in magnis *C* H r: txt C* (*corr*) *l* | ordinem *om H*

1. *quae ab eo correcta sunt*] i. q., "directa"=τὰ παρ' αὐτοῦ κατορθωθέντα. Cf. pp. 52, ll. 2, 27; 254, l. 2.

2. *quasi de primitiis nostris*] On Christ as the ἀπαρχή, see above, p. 125, l. 18.

5. *redemptionem, remissionem*] The text which Th. followed omitted διὰ τοῦ αἵματος αὐτοῦ. Thdt. *ad h. l.* inserts these words.

7. *dicit...futurum statum*] Comp. the comm. on Eph. i. 7, and notes there. In both places Th. has overlooked the tense of ἔχομεν, which at least implies an incipient possession of the ἄφεσις or ἀπολύτρωσις in the present life. Cf. Chrys.: εἰ γὰρ μὴ ἀφείθημεν τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων, οὐκ ἂν μετέστημεν. Thdt.: ταύτην ἡμῖν διὰ τοῦ σωτηρίου βαπτίσματος ἐδωρήσατο.

9. *ad Ephesios*] c. i. 4 ("esse nos," &c.)

13. *non quod sit et uisibilis Deus*] Cf. the comm. on Philipp. iii. 3.

14. *in isto quasi in imagine*, &c.] Lanfranc: "in homine Christo quasi in imagine inuisibilem illam uidemus naturam; nam apparens in futuro imaginis nobis ordinem retinebit, quoniam in eo quasi in imagine quandam diuinam continemus naturam."

18. *imaginis ordinem nobis retinet*] τάξιν ἐπέχει ἡμῖν εἰκόνος (cf. p. 183, ll. 28, 29). *I.e.*, the *homo susceptus* is the visible expression of the invisible glory of the Divine Nature with which He is united in the Person of Christ. Chrys.'s interpretation of εἰκών as applied to Christ differs from this in two important respects. (1) In common with nearly all the orthodox patristic writers he regards the term

euidenter quoniam omnes in eum quasi in imaginem quandam diuinam conicimus naturam, in qua refertur magnitudo illorum quae efficiuntur, non uisibili natura iudici auctoritatem reputantes. demiratus sum autem illos, qui in diuinam naturam hoc susceperunt; qui primum quidem non uiderunt, quoniam et beatus Moyses de homine dicit, quoniam *in imaginem Deus fecit eum;* et beatus Paulus: *uir quidem non debet uelare caput, imago et gloria Dei extans,* quod numquam de hominibus dictum fuisset, si diuinae naturae proprium erat. deinde neque illud prospexerunt, quoniam omnis imago, dum ipsa uidetur, illud ostendit quod non uidetur. fieri ergo [non] potest ut talis fiat imago, quae non uidetur, cum sit euidens quoniam imagines propter hoc fieri consuetae sunt apud illos qui aut honoris aut

1 in eo quasi in imagine *C* (*corr*) 2 continemus *l* 3 uisibilis *C* (*corr*) | naturae *r* 11 non *om C H r: txt conj. Jacobi.*

as having reference to the Divine Nature of the Word; (2) in common with the majority of the Fathers, he argues "that as the archetype is invisible, so the image must be invisible also" (Lightfoot, *Colossians*, p. 211). Both positions are directly contested by Th. ("demiratus sum autem illos, &c....deinde neque illud prospexerunt," &c.). In this attack on the Catholic view of the εἰκών, he had been anticipated by Marcellus [cited by Euseb. *c. Marc.* ii. (Migne 24, 805)]: *οὐκοῦν πρόδηλον ὅτι πρὸ τῆς τοῦ ἡμετέρου σώματος ἀναλήψεως ὁ λόγος καθ' ἑαυτὸν οὐκ ἦν εἰκὼν τοῦ ἀοράτου θεοῦ. τὴν γὰρ εἰκόνα ὁρᾶσθαι προσήκει, ἵνα διὰ τῆς εἰκόνος τὸ τέως μὴ ὁρώμενον ὁρᾶσθαι δύνηται...αἱ γὰρ εἰκόνες τούτων ὧν εἰσιν εἰκόνες καὶ ἀπόντων δεικτικαί εἰσιν· ὥστε καὶ τὸν ἀπόντα δι' αὐτῶν φαίνεσθαι δοκεῖν.*

2. *conicimus*] Jacobi: "forte *conspicimus.*" See vv. 11.

9. *si diuinae naturae proprium erat*] 'The passages Gen. i. 27 (*κατ' εἰκόνα θεοῦ ἐποίησεν αὐτόν*) and 1 Cor. xi. 7 (*ἀνὴρ...εἰκὼν καὶ δόξα θεοῦ ὑπάρχων*) are sufficient to prove that the term εἰκών is not necessarily to be referred to the Divine Nature of Christ.' Comp. Bp. Lightfoot's remark *ad h. l.*: "the idea of perfection does not lie in the word itself, but must be sought from the context (*e.g.* πᾶν τὸ πλήρωμα ver. 19)"—where, however, Th. altogether fails to find it; see his comm. on i. 19. The substitution of *Deus* for *Dei* in Gen. *l. c.* is scarcely a copyist's mistake. Th. is quoting *memoriter*, and has blended (cf. pp. 54, l. 6, note; 81, l. 4, note) the two members of the verse (*καὶ ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον· ΚΑΤ' ΕΙΚΟΝΑ θεοῦ ΕΠΟΙΗΣΕΝ ΑΥΤΟΝ.*).

12. *imagines propter hoc fieri consuetae sunt*, &c.] Comp. the Latin fragm. in Migne, 991—2: "secundum duas rationes locum imaginis obtinet. qui enim amant quosdam, post mortem tamquam in imagine aspicientes putant uidere...sed etiam illi qui per ciuitates habent imperatorum imagines, tamquam praesentes et uidendos honorare uidentur eos qui non sunt praesentes cultu et adoratione imaginum. ista autem utraque per illum adimplentur." On the second point Th. elsewhere remarks (Mai, *scr. uet. nou. coll.* vii., p. 73): *ἐμφανῆ δὲ λοιπὸν τὴν τιμὴν τῆς βασιλείας διὰ πάντων κομίζεται [ἡ εἰκών·* or perhaps, *ὁ ἀναληφθείς]· ἓν μὲν γὰρ λοιπὸν τὸ ἀξίωμα τῆς εἰκόνος καὶ τοῦ ταύτην προστησαμένου θεοῦ, μία δὲ ἀμφοῖν*

affectus gratia easdem faciunt, ita ut recordatio sit eorum qui non uidentur, illis qui tamen uidere possunt. deinde adiecit:

primogenitus totius creaturae.

hinc maxime quidam ualde prudentium de diuina natura dici illud quod dixit, *imago Dei inuisibilis*, adstruxerunt, quasi quia non possit *primogenitus* erga humanitatem aut uideri aut recipi; cum conueniens esset eos perspicere, quoniam non potest hoc uel maxime aptari diuinae naturae. si enim sicut creatura *primogenitus* esset, 'primocreatus' debuerat utique dici; si autem genitum aiunt, multa dicti ipsius diuersitas esse uidebitur, si tamen is, qui non est creatus, creaturarum primogenitus esse dicatur. nam primogenitus qui dicitur, illorum utique dici poterit primogenitus, qui similitudinem illam quae ad eum est necessario saluare uidentur; et hoc ostendit apostolus euidenter, dicens ad Romanos: *quoniam quos praesciuit, et praeordinauit*

1 affectu *C r* | gratiae *r* 2 adicit *C r* 7 est (*for* esset) *C* 9 aut (*aft* autem) *add C H*: *txt r* 14 seruare *r* 15 praedestinauit (*for* praeord.) *H*

ἡ ἐνέργεια. Cf. Joh. Philop. *de creat. mundi* vi. 9, 10.

2. *illis qui tamen*, &c.] Jacobi corrects *videri*, remarking, "agitur de imagine visibili." The Gk. may have been: ἵνα γένηται ἀνάμνησις τῶν ἀοράτων τοῖς γε ὁρᾶν δυναμένοις.

3. *totius creaturae*] So Aug. O. L. and Vulg., *omnis cr.*; cf. infra, p. 267, l. 4.

4. *quidam ualde prudentium*, &c.] 'It has been pleaded that εἰκὼν τοῦ θ. τοῦ ἀοράτου cannot possibly be referred to the Human Nature, since the term πρωτότοκος, which immediately follows, does not admit of such an application. I reply that, at any rate, πρωτότοκος is wholly inapplicable to the pre-existent Nature. If, as the Arians hold, the Word were a creature, πρωτόκτιστος should have been used; if the Word is not created but begotten, then the addition of πάσης κτίσεως is misleading. It is the *homo susceptus* therefore to whom πρωτότοκος refers; and the word must be taken simply in the sense of *preeminent* without relation to time. Such is in fact the meaning which it bears in other passages of Scripture, *e.g.* Exod. iv. 22; Ps. lxxxix. 27; Heb. xii. 23.'

9. '*primocreatus*' *debuerat utique dici*] Thdt.: οὐδὲ πρωτόκτιστον αὐτὸν εἶπεν ὁ θεῖος ἀπόστολος, ἀλλὰ πρωτότοκον, τουτέστιν πρῶτον. Basil. *c. Eunom.* IV. 2: εἰ πρὸ τῆς κτίσεως ὁ υἱὸς οὐ γέννημά ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ κτίσμα, πρωτόκτιστος ἂν ἐλέγετο καὶ οὐ πρωτότοκος. Primas. *ad. h. l.* Cf. Suicer, *s. v.* πρωτόκτιστος.

10. *multa dicti ipsius diuersitas*] 'The use of πρωτότοκος in such a context will involve a confusion of thought, for it will place the γέννημα in the same category as the κτίσματα. Unless indeed we are prepared to abandon the Nicene faith, and accept the Arian interpretation: πρ., ὡς ἀδελφὴν ἔχων τὴν κτίσιν.'

14. *saluare*] = seruare, tenere; cf. Ducange and Carpentier, *s. v.*

15. *dicens ad Romanos*] Rom. viii. 29 (cited above, p. 58, where see context

conformes fieri imaginis filii sui, ut sit ipse primogenitus in multis fratribus, euidenter fratrem eum primogenitum esse dicens eorum; et qui conformes illi sunt propter similitudinem illam quam a Deo habent, iusta ratione eum sibi adscribunt primogenitum, utpote supereminentem secundum hanc rationem. etenim illic non dixit *conformes filii*, sed *imaginis filii*, imaginem filii uisibilem naturam euidenter dicens. sed interrogant, quemadmodum susceptus homo *primogenitus* potest uideri *totius creaturae*, cum non sit ante omnem creaturam, sed ut esset in nouissimis accepit temporibus; non intellegentes, quoniam †primogenitus non tempore dicitur solum sed et praehonoratione frequenter, eo quod primogenitus dicitur ueraciter illorum, qui post illum geniti fuerint. ille tamen qui prior fuerit natus, hunc sequitur necessario ut et praehonoretur, sicuti et naturae ratio et

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15 τὸ πρωτότοκος οὐκ ἐπὶ χρόνου λέγεται μόνον, ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ ἐπὶ προτιμήσεως πολλάκις, ὡς τὸ· ἐπικαλέσεταί με, πατήρ μου

2 eum fr. *H* 3 et *om C* (*corr*) 4 adscribit *C* 6 illud (*for* illic) *H* 15 sq. Coisl. 204, f. 145 a [Cr. vi. 306, Fr. 142] θεόδωρος δέ φησι· τὸ πρωτότοκος, κ.τ.λ. [Coisl. 26, f. 280 a].

and notes). Thdt.'s commentary on this text appears to have been based on Th.'s, which is lost: ἀκριβῶς δὲ πάντα φθεγγόμενος οὐκ εἶπεν συμμόρφους τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ τῆς εἰκόνος τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ... τουτέστιν τοῦ σώματος τοῦ υἱοῦ...πρωτότοκος γὰρ ὡς ἄνθρωπος ὀνομάζεται...ὡς δὲ ἄνθρωπος, ἀδελφοὺς τοὺς πεπιστευκότας καλεῖ. But Thdt. is far from coming to Th.'s conclusion that in the present context πρωτότοκος is to be similarly understood; πρ. τοίνυν ἐστὶν τῆς κτίσεως (he observes) οὐχ ὡς ἀδελφὴν ἔχων τὴν κτίσιν, ἀλλ' ὡς πρὸ πάσης κτίσεως γεννηθείς.

praeordinauit] *Praedestinauit* (vv. ll.) is from the O. L. and Vulg.

8. *quemadmodum susceptus homo*, &c.] Even S. Athanasius (*c. Arian.* ii. 62) had sought to escape from the Arian interpretation of πρωτότοκος by drawing a parallel between Col. i. 15 and Rom. viii. 29, and referring to the συγκατάβασις of the Word in creation and in the Incarnation. Marcellus ventured further, and denied that the preexistent Word was in any sense πρ. πάσης κτίσεως (Euseb. *c. Marc.* ii. 31, Migne 24, 798, sq.): οὐ τοίνυν οὗτος ὁ ἀγιώτατος λόγος πρὸ τῆς ἐνανθρωπήσεως πρ. πάσης κτίσεως ὠνόμαστο (πῶς γὰρ δυνατὸν τὸν ἀεὶ ὄντα πρωτότοκον εἶναί τινος;)· ἀλλὰ τὸν πρῶτον καινὸν ἄνθρωπον εἰς ὃν τὰ πάντα ἀνακεφαλαιώσασθαι ἐβουλήθη ὁ θεός, τοῦτον αἱ θεῖαι γραφαὶ πρ. π. ὀνομάζουσιν κτίσεως.

11. *non tempore d. s. sed et praehonoratione*] On the other hand Chrys.: τὸ γὰρ πρωτότοκος οὐχὶ ἀξίας καὶ τιμῆς, ἀλλὰ χρόνου μόνον ἐστὶν σημαντικόν. Theodore's view is given by Pelagius and Sedulius Scotus: "*primogenitus* secundum assumpti hominis formam non tempore sed honore, iuxta illud: *filius meus primogenitus Israel*." So Primasius: "omnis rationabilis creaturae secundum carnem primus effectus."

lex diuinae egit scripturae. est quidem quando et in tempore utitur nominis huius translatione, saepe autem et honoris causa. etenim beatus Dauid promissa Dei quae ad se facta fuerant commemorans, in quibus promisit illos qui ex successione eius sunt ad familiaritatem suam recipere, quasi ipso Deo dicente, ita ait: *ipse inuocabit me, pater meus es tu...et ego primogenitum ponam eum;* non hoc dicente Deo quoniam 'unumquemque eorum ceteris tempore priorem faciam,' sed quoniam 'plurimum illis feram auxilium.' apostolus uero ad Hebraeos manifeste hoc idem ostendit, sic dicens: *sed accessistis Sion monti et ciuitati Dei uiui, Hierusalem caelesti et denis millibus angelorum nundinae et ecclesiae primitiuorum adscriptorum in caelo;* ut

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εἶ σύ, καὶ ἐγὼ πρωτότοκον θήσομαι αὐτόν, οὐ τοῦτο εἰπόντος τοῦ θεοῦ, ὅτι 'ἕκαστον αὐτῶν πρότερον ποιήσω τῷ χρόνῳ τῶν λοιπῶν,' ἀλλ' ὅτι 'περὶ πολλοῦ ποιήσομαι' λέγει δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Δαβίδ, τῶν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπαγγελιῶν τοῦ θεοῦ μνημονεύων, ὡς ἂν ὑποσχομένου τοὺς ἐξ αὐτοῦ κατὰ διαδοχὴν οἰκειώσεσθαι. ὁ δὲ ἀπόστολός φησιν τό [ἀλλὰ προσεληλύθατε σιὼν ὄρει καὶ πόλει θεοῦ ζῶντος ἱερουσαλὴμ ἐπουρανίῳ καὶ μυριάσιν ἀγγέλων πανηγύρει καὶ] ἐκκλησίᾳ

4 ex *om r* 6 inuocauit *C* 10 Syoni *H* | ciuitatem *C H* (ad Syon montem et ad civ., &c. *r*) 12 nundinam *C H* 15 λέγει δὲ ταῦτα (φησὶν) ὁ Δ. cod.; Cr.: om. φ. Fr. 18—20 ἀλλὰ...καὶ om. cod. edd.

2. *translatione*] τῇ ἀναφορᾷ.

6. *ipse inuocabit*, &c.] Ps. lxxxix (lxxxviii) 27, 28, the words θεός μου καὶ ἀντιλήπτωρ τῆς σωτηρίας μου being omitted as irrelevant to the present purpose. Theodore appears to have interpreted these verses in reference to *the successors of David in general.* On the other hand they were held to be a direct prophecy of Christ by S. Athanasius (ἐνταῦθα οἰκονομικῶς ὁ σεσαρκωμένος θεὸν ἑαυτοῦ τὸν πατέρα καλεῖ), S. Cyril Alex. (θήσει δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ θεὸς καὶ πρωτότοκον (citing Rom. viii. 29, Col. i. 15, 16), and Thdt. (ταῦτα μέντοι οὔτε ἐπὶ τοῦ Δαβὶδ οὔτε ἐπὶ τοῦ πολυθρυλλήτου Σολομῶντός τετύχηκεν πέρατος. οὔτε γὰρ...Σολομὼν ἢ Δαβὶδ... πρωτότοκος ὠνομάσθη θεοῦ.). Even Diodore (Corder. *caten.* ii. 835) seems to have held the exclusive reference to Christ.

8. *plurimum*, &c.] Jacobi: "uersio minus accurata τοῦ· περὶ πολλοῦ π."

10. *sed accessistis*, &c.] Heb. xii. 22, 23. The perplexing interchange in the MSS. of dat. and acc. seems to be due to the influence of the Latin versions, which gave *accessistis ad*, &c. (cf. Rab. M.). *Denis millibus, nundinae* (μυριάσιν...πανηγύρει) are peculiar to this version; cf. "multitudinem...frequentem," O. L.; "multorum millium...frequentiae," Vulg. Ambr. has, however, "decem millibus laetantium angelorum," and Aug., "ad millia ang. exultantium." For *accedere* c. dat. of place, *deni* = decem, and *nundina* = nundinae, see lexx.

12. *ut dicat 'ill. qui multo,'* &c.] Cf. Thdt. on Hebr. *l.c.*: πρωτοτόκους δὲ

dicat, 'illorum qui multo honore digni habiti sunt.' non enim uult dicere aliquos anteriores esse aliorum filiorum. et alibi: *filius meus primogenitus Israel,* hoc est 'honorabilis mihi.' nam et erant et alii ante Israel qui filiorum Dei nuncupatione digni fuerant habiti; de quibus Moyses dicit: *uidentes filii Dei filias hominum quoniam bonae sunt, acceperunt sibi ab omnibus quibus elegerunt.* sic et hoc in loco quod dixerat: *primogenitus totius creaturae;* hoc est, 'super omnem creaturam honorabilis.' si quidem dixisset absolute *primogenitus,* 'honorabilem' tantummodo dicebat. nam quia adiecit *omnis creaturae,* illum designauit qui ab omni honoratur creatura.* nam is qui secundum

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πρωτοτόκων ἀπογεγραμμένων ἐν οὐρανοῖς· ἵνα εἴπῃ, 'τῶν πολλῆς ἄγαν ἠξιωμένων τῆς τιμῆς.' καὶ τό· γιὸς πρωτότοκός μου ἰσραήλ· ἀντὶ τοῦ 'τίμιος ἐμοί.'

οὕτως φησὶν κάνταῦθα· πρωτότοκος πάσης κτίσεως· ἀντὶ τοῦ 'παρὰ πᾶσαν τὴν κτίσιν τιμώμενος.'

6 erant pulchrae (*for* bonae sunt) *r* | quas (*for* quibus) *r* 12 τὸν...ἠξιωμένων cod. Cr.: txt conj. Fr. 16 for. leg. πάσης τῆς κτίσεως. Cf. l. 11, supra, and p. 222, l. 26, note.

τοὺς ἐκλεκτοὺς κέκληκεν, ἐπειδὴ διπλοῦν κλῆρον κατὰ τὸν νόμον ἐλάμβανον οἱ πρωτότοκοι· ταῦτα δὲ εἴρηκεν καὶ τὴν ὑπεροχὴν τούτων δεικνύς, κ.τ.λ. And *ad h. l.*: ἐκκλ. πρ. τὸν τῶν ἁγίων σύλλογον [cf. "sanctorum collegio" *bis* p. 259] ὁ θεῖος ἀπόστολος προσηγόρευσεν· οὐκ ἐπειδὴ φύσει πάντες ἔλυσαν πρῶτοι τὰς τῶν μητέρων ὠδῖνας, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ πλείων τις ἀφώριστο τοῖς πρωτοτόκοις κατὰ τὸν νόμον τιμή, τὸ τίμιον αὐτῶν διὰ τῆσδε τῆς προσηγορίας δεδήλωκεν.

3. *filius mihi primog. Israel*] Exod. iv. 22, υἱὸς πρωτότοκός μου Ἰσραήλ. Comp. the explanation given by Chrys. (Migne 56, 467): πρ., ἐπειδὴ ἐν τῷ ἐκείνῳ καιρῷ πρῶτος ἦν λαὸς ἐπεγνωκὼς τὸν θεόν.

5. *uidentes filii Dei,* &c.] Gen. vi. 2. The version is a blending of O. L. and Vulg.; *uxores* is omitted through the carelessness of the translator or scribe, perhaps of Th. himself. In the absence of any direct evidence it may be assumed that Th.'s interpretation of the passage is reflected by Thdt. (*quaest. in Gen.* vi): ἐμβρόντητοί τινες καὶ ἄγαν ἠλίθιοι ἀγγέλους τούτους ὑπέλαβον...οἱ ἐκ τοῦ Σὴθ τὸ γένος κατάγοντες...ὡς ἀρετῆς ἐπιμελούμενοι υἱοὶ θεοῦ ἐχρημάτιζον.

11. *nam is qui sec. carnem,* &c.] 'Thus the primary sense to be attached in this place to πρωτότοκος is that of *preeminence.* But understanding the *homo susceptus* to be the subject of the sentence, and the 'creation' of which S. Paul speaks to be the new creation of the Church, the appellation holds true also in its temporal meaning. Christ as Man was born into the world before the Church; the Nativity preceded the gift of regeneration.'

In interpreting πάσης κτίσεως of the new creation, Theodore again follows Marcellus; Euseb. *c. Marcell.* i. 2: τῆς καινῆς κτίσεως πρωτότοκον αὐτὸν ὁ ἀπόστολος εἶναί φησιν· καὶ τὰ προϋπάρχοντα ἔν τε οὐρανοῖς καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἐν αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν καινὴν κτίσιν ἐκτίσθαι συμβαίνει. Photius maintains the same

carnem est Christus, et tempore primogenitus dicitur ueraciter totius creaturae quae in illum facta est, de qua beatus Paulus hoc in loco uidetur dixisse. unde et illud quod dixit: *primogenitus totius creaturae* interpretans adiecit:

quoniam in ipso creata sunt omnia.

†non dixit *per ipsum*, sed *in ipso*. nec enim de prima dicit creatura, sed illam creaturae reparationem quae in eo facta est, secundum quam omnia dudum dissoluta in unum sunt consensum perducta; sicuti et alibi dicit: *recapitulare omnia in Christo, quae in caelis sunt et quae super terram.**

propter hominum etenim malitiam omnis, ut ita dixerim, creatura disrumpi uidebatur. auertebant enim se a nobis angeli et

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οὐκ εἶπεν δι' αὐτοῦ, ἀλλ' ἐν αὐτῷ· οὐ γὰρ τὴν πρώτην λέγει κτίσιν, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐν αὐτῷ γενομένην ἀνάκτισιν, καθ' ἣν τὰ πάντα διαλελυμένα εἰς συμφωνίαν ἤχθη μίαν, ὡς καὶ ἀλλαχοῦ φησίν· ἀνακεφαλαιώσασθαι τὰ πάντα ἐν Χριστῷ, τά τε ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς.

1 est *om H* 4 adicit *C* addit *r* 7 separationem *C* H r* 9 recapitulari *r* 13 sq. Coisl. 204, f. 146 b [Cr. vi. 308, Fr. 142] *Θεόδωρος δὲ καὶ ταύτην πλημμελῶς ἐξηγεῖται τὴν ῥῆσιν φάσκων· οὐκ εἶπεν, κ.τ.λ.....ὅτι δὲ ταῦτα παύλου τοῦ σαμοσατέως φησὶν εἶναι ὁ μακάριος ἰωάννης, φθάσαντες παρεθέμεθα.*

view, *Amphil.* 162: *τῆς ἀνακαινισθείσης κτίσεως λέγει πρωτότοκον τὸν Χριστόν.* Meyer, from whom I borrow the reference to Ph., remarks that the Socinian interpreters follow Theodore herein, as well as in understanding *πρωτότοκος* of simple preeminence.

5. *omnia*] Vulg. *uniuersa* (*τὰ πάντα*).

6. *non dixit 'per ipsum,' sed* in ipso] Thpht. on the contrary: *τὸ ἐν αὐτῷ ἀντὶ τοῦ 'δι' αὐτοῦ,' ὡς αὐτὸς ἐφεξῆς δείξει*—referring to *τὰ πάντα δι' αὐτοῦ ἔκτισται* below, where see Th.'s comment and note. Consistently with the distinction which he here draws, Th. rejects the connexion *ὃ γέγονεν ἐν αὐτῷ* in S. John i. 3 (cf. Migne, 729).

7. *reparationem quae in eo facta est*] For *reparatio*, see lexx. *s. v.*; and for Th.'s doctrine of the new creation cf. Sachau, p. حدث (14), and the comm. on the text (Eph. i. 10) to which he refers just below, where see notes.

9. *recapitulare*] See p. 128, l. 6, note. *Quae super terram* (*τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς*); so Iren.$^{int.}$, Victorin. Above (p. 128) our translator follows the Vulg. ("quae in terra").

12. *auertebant enim se*, &c.] Comp. Th.'s comm. on Rom. viii. 19 (cited in part above p. 129, l. 14, note): *ἐπειδὴ παραβὰς θνητὸς ἐγένετο διὰ τῆς ἀποφάσεως, ἐχωρίζετό τε ὡς εἰκὸς ἡ ψυχὴ τοῦ σώματος, καὶ ὁ μηχανηθεὶς διὰ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου σύνδεσμος τῆς κτίσεως διελύετο· τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ ἐσκυθρώπαζον αἱ νοηταὶ φύσεις ἐπὶ τοῖς γιγνομένοις.....ὡς δὲ καὶ τοῦ χρόνου προϊόντος οἱ καθεξῆς ἄνθρωποι μειζόνως ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον προβαίνοντες ἐπέσφιγγον ἑαυτοῖς τοῦ θανάτου τὴν ἀπόφασιν, πάντα*

omnes inuisibiles uirtutes, propter indeuotionem nostram quam erga Deum exercebamus. insuper etiam et nos ipsi morte soluimur, ex qua accidebat animam separari a corpore; etenim et omnis connexio creaturae hinc soluebatur. fictus est enim a principio homo quasi aliquod animal cognatione omnibus iunctum, eo quod corpus quidem generaliter ex omnibus consistebat, id est, ex quattuor elementis; anima uero ad inuisibiles uirtutes propinquitatem habere uidebatur. una uero quaedam uniuersorum copulatio exhinc fieri uidebatur, propter eam propinquitatem quam ad hominem cuncta habere uidebantur, omnibus in idipsum concurrentibus, ita ut et uno consensu Deo redderent debitam culturam cum cauta sollicitudine; omnes etiam illis quae illius legibus consentanea erant obtemperare properabant. quia propter peccatum facti sumus mortales, anima etiam a corpore separabatur, soluebatur hinc propinquitatis copulatio, ita ut nec ultra existimarent inuisibiles uirtutes aliquam sibi nobiscum esse communionem secundum corporis nostri diligentiam; adiecto illo quod et odibiles Deo eramus contemplatione peccati, qui etiam et auertebat se a nobis. unde et hi, qui insistebant uisibilibus naturis, et commouebant eas pro nostra utilitate secundum positum sibi terminum, nolebant ultra ea implere, si non promissione Dei percepissent quod omnia aspera soluerentur. cessabit etiam mors et corruptio, omnibus ad unum

2 ipse C^*: *corr* ipsa 3 accedebat C | separare C^* *r* 5 coniunctum *H* 6 consistebat C^* *H* 9, 10 propter...uidebantur *om r* 10 in unum (*for* in idips.) *H* 12 illas *H r* 15 exhinc (*for* hinc) *H* | propinquitas C^* 23 cessauit *C H r*

μὲν τὰ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἀπεγίνωσκον, μεῖζον δὲ καθ' ἡμῶν ἀπεδέχοντο τὸ μῖσος· ὅθεν οὐδὲ πράττειν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἐβούλοντό τι λοιπόν, τοῦτο μὲν ὡς ἀλλοτρίους ἑαυτῶν ἀποστρεφόμενοι, τοῦτο δὲ ὡς ἐχθροὺς τοῦ θεοῦ μυσαττόμενοι.

1. *indeuotionem*] Cf. Rönsch, *Itala*, p. 221. Ducange, *s. v.*

9. *exhinc*] This rare form occurs as a variant in Lucr. iii. 16, and occasionally in post-classical Latin, e.g. in Apuleius; see De Vit, *s. v.*

propter eam propinquitatem, &c.] See on Eph. i. 10. The clause *propter... uidebantur* is omitted by Rab. M. The ambiguity of Pitra's reference has led Jacobi to insert it after *disrumpi uid.* (p. 267, l. 12); but the above is the position which it holds in both our MSS.

14. *facti s. mortales*] Cf. p. 25, l. 17, note.

17. *sec. corp. n. diligentiam*] 'in the way of caring for our bodily wants.' *Deo odibiles* (*θεοστυγεῖς*): Rönsch, *Itala*, p. 113.

19. *qui insistebant...et commouebant*] See on Eph. i. 10, ii. 2.

21. *nolebant...si non promissione*, &c.] Cf. Th. on Rom. *l. c.*: *οὐδὲν ἔτι ποιεῖν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν οἱ ἄγγελοι ἀνεχόμενοι, διὰ τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν ταύτην εἵλοντο πάντα ποιεῖν.*

consensum redintegratis, sicuti ad Romanos scribit: *uanitati enim creatura subiecta est non uolens, sed propter eum qui subiecit, in spe quoniam et ipsa creatura liberabitur a seruitute corruptionis in libertatem gloriae filiorum Dei.* in nostra igitur renouatione secundum quam et omnium redintegratur connexio, cuius primitiae sunt is qui secundum carnem Christus, in quo optima quaedam et ut ita dixerim compendiosa omnium recreatio efficietur (sicut beatus Paulus dicit, *si qua in Christo noua creatura, antiqua transierunt, et ecce omnia facta sunt noua*); omnium enim ultra existentium in incorruptibilitatem omnibus saluabitur consensus et concordia et connexio, et ultra diligent nos etiam inuisibiles uirtutes utpote familiares Dei. bene ergo dixit: *in ipso creata sunt omnia*, non solum quia per illa, quae erga eum facta sunt, futurorum adsecuti sumus promissionem; sed quoniam et perfecta omnibus copulatio in illo custodietur propter inhabitationem diuinae naturae, ita ut nihil possit scissum ultra habere ex illis, quae communia nobis sunt. una quidem ex parte diligentibus eum omnibus propter familiaritatem illam quam ad eum habere poterunt quasi ad hominem, ex uisibili natura et inuisibili consistente eo; altera uero, cum multo timore ad eum conuersis omnibus propter inseparabilem Deum Verbum qui inest ei unitus. unde dicens *omnia* adiecit:

2 eum (*aft* subi.) *add r* 8 his, Christi *r* 16 scisum (*sic*) *C* (*corr*) | haberi *C* (*corr*) 19 potuerunt *r* 20 Deo (*for* eo) *r* 21 Dei V. quod i. eis iunctum *r*

1. *ad Romanos scribit*] c. viii. 20, 21 (Vulg., nearly). A reference to Th.'s comm. on Rom. *l. c.* shews that he regarded the invisible creation as included in the scope of the passage: πῶς δὲ πᾶσαν ἔφη (he asks) τοῦτο ὑπομένειν τὴν κτίσιν; τὰς μὲν ἀοράτους ὡς εἰκὸς ἅτε δὴ λογικὰς καὶ τῶν γινομένων ἐχούσας τὴν αἴσθησιν· τὰς δὲ ὁρατὰς τῇ κοινωνίᾳ τοῦ πράγματος. So Thdt., who cites S. Luke xv. 7, adding: εἰ δὲ χαίρουσιν ἐπὶ τοῖς μετανοοῦσιν ἁμαρτωλοῖς, καὶ ἀθυμοῦσιν (δηλονότι) τὰς ἡμετέρας παρανομίας ὁρῶντες (cf. Th., *l. c.*)

5. *cuius primitiae sunt*, &c.] The *homo susceptus*, risen from the dead, is the ἀπαρχή of the new creation (1 Cor. xv. 20, Col. i. 18).

7. *comp. o. recreatio*] Cf. p. 130, l. 4.

8. *si qua in Christo*, &c.] 2 Cor. v. 17. Cited above on Eph. ii. 10, where see notes.

9. *omnium enim ... existentium*] Cf. Rönsch, *Itala*, p. 436. The construction is broken by the parenthesis *cuius—noua; omnium enim* takes up the thread of *in nostra igitur*.

21. *propter inseparabilem D. V.*, &c.] See the comm. on Gal. iii. 28; Eph. i. 10; Phil. ii. 11. *Ei* may be taken with either *inest* or *unitus;* cf. p. 271, ll. 17, 18.

quae in caelis sunt et quae super terram.

et quia incertum erat illud quod in caelis erat, et quod super terram, utrum de uisibilibus diceret aut de inuisibilibus, eo quod sunt et in caelo quae uidentur, utpote sol et luna et stellae (*posuit* enim *illa in firmamento caeli*), manifestam faciens ipsam diuisionem adiecit:

uisibilia et inuisibilia.

hoc est, illa et ista omnia coniuncta sunt ulterius et conligata in ipso, siue uero propter cognationem, siue et propter dignitatem. et quoniam illa quae uisibilia erant magis certa esse uidebantur, utpote manifesta extante familiaritate illa quae erat ad ipsum hominem, qui uidetur, praetermittens hoc ad inuisibilia transit, eo quod de illis dictum maius esse uidebatur; euidenter habens hic magnitudinis illorum probationem quae per Christum sunt directa, [eo quod] et inuisibiles naturae in illo acceperunt recreationem:

sedes siue dominationes, principatus siue potestates.

unde non est memoratus 'angelorum,' eo quod hoc nomen ministrationis magis significantiam habere uideretur; sed 'sedes et dominationes et principatus et potestates' dixit, quae et ipsae uocantur quidem sic a functione illa quam implere uidentur; habent autem et aliquam significationem dignitatis illius quae est ad illos, eo quod susceperunt ut inuisibiles immineant. et alii

3 uti cum (*for* utrum) *C H r* 9 cognitionem *H r* 15 eo quod *om C H r* 17 siue (1°) *om H* 18 minoratus (*for* mem.) *H* 19 magis *om H* | uidetur *H** 20 quia et ipse *r* 22 qui (*for* quae) *C** 23 emineant *r*

3. *utrum...aut*] See vv. ll., and compare Thdt.: *ἐπειδή ἐστιν καὶ ἐν οὐρανοῖς ὁρατά, ὡς ὁ ἥλιος καὶ ἡ σελήνη καὶ οἱ ἀστέρες, διδάσκει σαφέστερον τίνα καλεῖ οὐράνια, εἴτε ὁρατά, εἴτε ἀόρατα.*

5. *posuit enim illa in firmamento caeli*] Gen. i. 17: *ἔθετο αὐτοὺς ὁ θεὸς ἐν τῷ στερεώματι τοῦ οὐρανοῦ.*

10. *et quoniam illa quae uisibilia*, &c.] Thdt.: *εἶτα ὡς τῶν ὁρατῶν δήλων ἅπασιν ὄντων...ταῦτα καταλιπὼν τὸν τῶν ἀοράτων κατάλογον διεξέρχεται.* Similarly Chrys. and Thpht.

17. *sedes*] So Ambr., Aug. Vulg., "throni." The omission of *siue* before *sedes* and *principatus* seems to be due to carelessness; just below (p. 271, l. 10) the verse is quoted even more loosely, whilst above, p. 191, ll. 4, 5, the Gk. text is exactly represented.

19. *ministrationis*, &c.] Cf. Heb. i. 14. The title *ἄγγελοι* denotes a *διακονία* (*ministratio*); *θρόνοι*, *κ.τ.λ.*, sets forth a *λειτουργία* (*functio*, p. 226, l. 13).

quidem imminent aeri, alii uero soli, alii autem lunae, alii uero stellis, alii etiam aliis aliquibus, ut commoueant omnia secundum inpositum sibi a Deo terminum ad hoc ut omnia consistere possint. *principatus* et *potestates* hinc dicebantur, eo quod principare et potestatem exercere alicuius negotii acceperant potestatem; sicut et Ephesiis scribens de diabolo dicit: *secundum principem potestatis aeris spiritalis;* et apud Daniel: *princeps Persidis restitit mihi,* et *princeps uester*—illum angelum qui pro illis sollicitudinem expendit sic euocans. unde dilatauit sensum, *sedes dominationes* et *principatus* et *potestates* dicens, idem ipsud uarie dicens. 'si (inquit) est aliquid quod dominetur, siue dominium sibi uindicet, siue principatum teneat, siue potestatem exerceat, quomodocunque quis dicere uoluerit de tributa illis a Deo potestate, *in ipso sunt omnia creata.* taediantes etenim primum propter homines et suum opus pro nobis perficere nolentes, nunc cum alacritate omnia proficiunt, proprietatem illam naturae nostrae quae ei unita est uenerantes, quam neque adorare dubitant propter eam quae inest ei naturam in futuro saeculo, eo quod omnia copulatione quadam in se redigens conligauit, eo uel maxime tempore quo omnis soluetur corruptio et mors.' et quoniam uidebatur insuadibile esse quodammodo

1 eminent *r* 2 stellis (*for* aliis) *r* | aliiquibus *C* reliiquibus *H* 6 dicens *C* H r* 7 Danihel *H* 10 id est (*for* idem) *r* 11 ipsum C* 14 Dei *r* 15 uolentes *C** 18 in *om r* 19 copulationem quandam *C H* | rediens *C* H r* 20 solueretur *r*

4. *principare*] Rönsch, *Itala*, p. 168.

6. *secundum principem p. a. spiritalis*] Eph. ii. 2, where see comm. and notes. *Spiritalis* seems to be an attempt to interpret τοῦ πνεύματος as if=τῆς πνευματικῆς—probably on the part of the translator.

7. '*princeps Persidis restitit mihi,*' *et* '*pr. uester*'] Dan. x. 13, 21, &c., ὁ ἄρχων βασιλείας Περσῶν εἱστήκει ἐξ ἐναντίας μου.....ὁ ἄρχων ὑμῶν. Vulg. "pr. regni Persarum." Th. probably wrote τῆς Περσίδος from memory, his mind running on c. xi. 2, τρεῖς βασιλεῖς ἀναστήσονται ἐν τῇ Περσίδι.

8. *illum angelum,* &c.] Thdt. (on Dan. x. 13): οἱ δὲ ἀρχάγγελοι τὰς τῶν ἐθνῶν ἐπιστασίας ἐνεπιστεύθησαν, ὡς ὁ μακάριος ἐδίδαξεν Μωϋσῆς [Deut. xxxii. 8].

11. *uarie dicens*] Cf. p. 214, l. 13.

14. *taediantes*] Cf. Rönsch, *Itala*, p. 158. Here the verb is the equivalent of ὀκνεῖν (cf. Th. on Rom. viii. 29, πράττειν ἅπαντα ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν οὐκ ὤκνουν), or possibly of σκυθρωπάζειν (p. 267, l. 12, note).

18. *in futuro saeculo*] See p. 58, l. 13.

21. *insuadibile*] Cf. p. 96, l. 26, note.

de homine dicto, quod in eo sint creata omnia, confirmans illud adiecit:

omnia per ipsum et in ipso creata sunt.

'nolite mirari (inquit); non enim ex se illi est ista dignitas, sed propter inhabitantem naturam, per quam omnia facta sunt, ad quam etiam omnia respiciunt quaecunque facta sunt, suum eundem dominum esse existimantes.' et amplius illud augens:

et ipse est ante omnes, et omnia in ipso consistunt.

ut dicat: 'ipse ante omnes extans omnia produxit, et in eius uirtute omnia ut consistant habere uidentur.' non est autem demirandum, si quasi de homine disputans ab humanis rebus ad doctrinam deitatis transiuit. hoc enim ostendimus fecisse apostolum et Philippensibus scribentem, ubi dicit *qui in forma Dei extans* et cetera; euidenter ibi apostolus a diuinis ad humanam transiuit, et quidem quasi de uno eodemque omnia dicens. sed ad Hebraeos itidem dicens: *locutus est nobis in filio quem posuit heredem omnium*, euidenter de homine id dicens, cuius et loquelam audiuimus, qui suscepit eorum quae erant dominationem, quam ante non habebat. transiit uero ad diuinam ut exinde

1 creata sint *H* 2 adicit *C r* 4 mirare *C** 6 quaeque *C r*
11 mirandum *r* 12 ostendemus *C H r* 18 suscipit *C* H r*

1. *dicto*] *For. leg.* dictum.

5. *per quam omnia facta sunt*] By the expedient of referring δι' αὐτοῦ to God the Word, whilst he interprets ἐν αὐτῷ of the *homo susceptus*, Th. is able to pass from the ἀνάκτισις to the δημιουργία, and to explain τὰ πάντα...συνέστηκεν of the work of the Son in creation and providence. Thdt. on the other hand brings in the Incarnation and the new creation at this point, connecting them with εἰς αὐτὸν ἔκτισται, and in illustration of these last words cites three of the texts which Th. had worked into his comment on ἐν αὐτῷ ἐκτίσθη (viz: Rom. viii. 19, 2 Cor. v. 17, Eph. i. 10).

13. *et Philippensibus scribentem*] Cf. p. 219, l. 1, sq. *Ostendemus* (see vv. ll.) can hardly be correct. I have ventured to admit into the text Jacobi's conjecture. In ll. 14, 19, p. 273, l. 1, the true reading is possibly *humana, diuina, humana;* so Jacobi.

15. *sed*] ἀλλὰ γάρ, cf. p. 80, l. 11, note.

16. *locutus est*, &c.] Heb. i. 2. Vulg., "constituit heredem uniuersorum"; O. L., as in this version. Th.'s comm. on the verse is lost; but from his remarks here it is clear that he interpreted ἐν υἱῷ of the *homo susceptus*. Cf. the fragments on Heb. i. 6 (Lagarde, *Analect. Syr.* p. 108; Fritzsche, p. 161).

19. *transiit uero ad diuinam*] Heb. i. 2, 3, 8, 10, δι' οὗ καὶ ἐποίησεν τοὺς αἰῶνας... ὢν ἀπαύγασμα τῆς δόξης, κ.τ.λ....ὁ θρόνος σου, ὁ θεός, εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τοῦ αἰῶνος...σὺ κατ' ἀρχάς, κύριε, τὴν γῆν ἐθεμελίωσας. On the other hand, verses 1, 4, 6, 9, 13, would relate, according to Th., to the *homo susceptus*.

horum confirmaret magnitudinem; et iterum recurrit ad humanam, et quidem quasi de uno omnia in illa parte epistolae dicens. hoc et in euangeliis eundem Dominum saepe fecisse inueniet quis, in illis sermonibus quae de se dixisse uidetur; quod et cautius quis recognoscere poterit, si interpretationem nostram decurrere uoluerit in illam partem euangelii Iohannis, quam super paralytico curato ad Iudaeos locutus fuisse uidetur. sic et hoc in loco memoratus est diuinae naturae, ut ab illa magnitudinem illorum confirmet quae erga hominem sunt. exinde uero iterum recurrit ad hominem dicens:

et ipse est caput corporis ecclesiae.

hoc est: 'istum in quo omnia creata sunt, caput adscribit sibi in commune ecclesia, corpus eius per spiritalem regenerationem effecta, quae formam habet futurae resurrectionis, secundum quam communicare ei sperantes et participes eius fieri inmortalitatis baptizati [sumus], quasi formam quandam illorum implentes, quorum princeps ipse nobis extitit. ea ergo ratione et caput illum adscribimus nobis.' unde adicit:

qui est [principium,] primogenitus ex mortuis,

3 inuenietur *r* 4 qui (*for* quis) *r* 8 in hoc in loco *C** | magnitudine *C H r* 9 erga hominum *C H* ergo hominum *r* 13 in communi *C* (*corr*) 16 sumus *om C H r*

6. *quam super paralytico*, &c.] c. v. 17—47. The extant fragments of Th.'s comm. on this passage (see Fritzsche, p. 26) do not bear upon the subject. His remarks may have been based on vv. 18, 23, 26—7. In describing the impotent man at Bethesda as a *paralytic*, Th. exceeds the words of the Gospel, and departs from the heading of the κεφάλαιον, which was simply περὶ τοῦ [τὰ] τριάκοντα καὶ ὀκτὼ ἔτη ἔχοντος ἐν τῇ ἀσθενείᾳ (cf. v. 5); περὶ τοῦ παραλυτικοῦ appears, indeed, among the τίτλοι of each of the first three Gospels (Mt. ix. 2=Mc. v. 3=Luc. v. 18), but in connection with a different incident. Th. does not, however, stand alone in his view of the case; comp. S. Chrys. and S. Cyril Alex. *ad h. l.* and Apollinarius ap. Corder. *caten.*, p. 143. In the Eastern Church the 3rd S. after Easter is known as ἡ κ. τοῦ παραλύτου, from this lection (Neale, *H.E. Ch.* I. 734, 750: Matthaei, i. 537).

12. *istum in quo*, &c.] 'The *homo susceptus* is the Head of the Church, which has become His Body through the spiritual regeneration of Baptism, a type of its future participation in His immortal life.' On *spiritalem regenerationem* cf. Th's. comm. on S. John iii. 5: τὸν τρόπον ἐξηγήσατο τῆς διὰ τοῦ βαπτίσματος ἀναγεννήσεως, τοῦ μὲν ὕδατος ἐν ᾧ πληροῦται τὸ ἔργον εἰπών, τοῦ δὲ πνεύματος ἐν τῷ ὕδατι τὴν οἰκείαν πληροῦντος ἐνέργειαν...τὸ ὕδωρ ἐν τάξει τῆς μητρὸς [μήτρας?] λαμβάνεται, τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα ἐν τάξει τοῦ διαπλάττοντος δεσπότου.

19. *qui est...primogenitus*] The omission of *principium* before *primog.* is probably accidental, and due to the

hoc est: 'ante omnes resurgentes primus in illa uita renatus.' nam quoniam 'primogenitum ex mortuis' susceptum hominem uocat, manifestum est; sed et quia quasi de uno disputat et illa quae in superioribus sunt, et ista dicta. et hoc euidenter ex ipsis est perspicere sermonibus. †qui autem uerba apostoli non recte interpretari adtemptant, et illud quod dixit: *qui est imago Dei inuisibilis, primogenitus totius creaturae* in diuinam suscipiunt naturam, nullomodo nostram interpretationem calumniis poterunt innodare, [pro] quibus diximus eum a diuina natura ad humanam transire, aut iterum ab humana ad diuinam; idipsum enim eos facere necessitas conpellit. illa enim quae in superioribus dicta sunt in diuinam accipere eos naturam res ipsa conpellit. nam hoc quod dixit *primogenitus ex mortuis*, licet ad omnia improbi contendere sciant, nequaquam id in diuinam poterunt suscipere naturam.* apostolus uero euidenter ostendens, quoniam et in superioribus dixerat: *primogenitus totius creaturae*, de hoc ipso iterum dixit: *primogenitus ex mortuis;* unde et adiecit:

ut fiat in omnibus ipse primatum tenens.

οἱ δέ γε παρερμηνεύειν βουλόμενοι τὰ ῥητὰ καὶ τό ὅς ἐστιν εἰκὼν τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ἀοράτου, πρωτότοκος πάσης κτίσεως ἐπὶ τῆς θείας ἐκλαβεῖν ἐπιχειρήσαντες φύσεως, οὐδαμῶς συκοφαντῆσαι τὴν ἑρμηνείαν ἡμῶν δυνήσονται ἀπὸ τῆς ἀπὸ τῶν θείων ἐπὶ τὰ ἀνθρώπινα μεταβάσεως, ἤτοι τῆς ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων ἐπὶ τὰ θεῖα· τὸ γὰρ αὐτὸ καὶ αὐτοὺς ποιῆσαι ἀνάγκη, τὰ μὲν ἀνώτερα ἐπὶ τῆς ἄνω ἐκλαμβάνοντας φύσεως, τὸ δέ· πρωτότοκος ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν, εἰ τὰ πάντα ἀναισχυντοῖεν, οὐδαμῶς ἐκλαβεῖν ἐπὶ τῆς θείας δυναμένους φύσεως.

3 sed quia quasi C^* : *corr* sed quia et quasi : *txt r* 4 hic *r* 6 interpretare C^* 9 pro *om C H r: for. leg.* qua 11 accipere (*for* facere) *H* 13 haec *H* 14 consciant *r* 17 unde et adicit *C r* unde adiecit *H* 19 sq. Coisl. 204, f. 146 b [Cr. vi. 309, Fr. 142] ἐναντιούμενος δὴ συνηθῶς πᾶσιν τοῖς ἁγίοις πατράσιν, καὶ ταῦτα ἐπιφέρει· οἱ δέ γε, κ.τ.λ. προφανῶς τοίνυν κἀν τούτοις ἀπεδείχθη θεόδωρος τὴν πρὸς τοὺς ἁγίους πάντας ἀράμενος μάχην. 25 *el μή* Fr.: txt cod. Cr.

similarity of the first five letters in the two words. At the same time it is strange that so noteworthy a word as ἀρχή is passed over in the comm. without remark.

2. *primogenitum ex m. susc. h. uocat*] Thdt. silently corrects this statement: ὡς ἄνθρωπος, πρωτότοκος ἐκ νεκρῶν.

9. *innodare*] A late word used by Sidonius, Ammianus Marcellinus, &c.

18. *ut fiat*] ἵνα γένηται. So Ambr. Ambrstr., Sedul. Scot. Vulg., "ut sit."

nam quod dixit *ut*, non causam dixit, sed illa quae sequebantur consuete sibi edixit. uult enim dicere quod est per omnia ipse primus, non solum quia inchoasse resurrectionem uidetur, sed quod sit et per omnia primatum tenens. 'omnia' enim, illa quae in creaturis nominantur, quasi maiorem honorem tribuens. et quasi interpretans illa quae superius dixerat, et aperte illud quod dixerat ostendere cupiens ait, *quoniam in ipso creata sunt omnia* et cetera, quia in illa parte epistolae de humanitate fuerant dicta; unde et adicit:

quoniam in ipso complacuit omnis plenitudo inhabitare.

'plenitudinem Dei' et ecclesiam uocat, necnon et omnia, quasi quia et in omnibus sit et omnia impleat; et hoc est euidenter discere ex illis quae ad Ephesios scribens dixisse uidetur: *et ipsum dedit caput super omnem ecclesiam, quae est corpus eius,*

1 ut non ut causam *C (corr) H* 6 perte (*sic*) *C* 9 quia—adicit *om r* 11 et (1°) *om r* 12 qui *r*

1. *non causam dixit*, &c.] Cf. pp. 44, l. 3—5, 98, l. 20, 26; and add Th.'s comm. on S. John x. 17 (Migne, 760): *τὸ δὲ 'ἵνα πάλιν λάβω αὐτὴν' οὐκ ἐπὶ αἰτίας εἶπεν.....ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸ ἰδίωμα τὸ γραφικὸν ὡς αἰτίαν τὸ ἑπόμενον ἔφη.* Lanfranc cites this clause in the form "non causam dicit, sed illud quod consequebatur." Robert of B.: "quod autem ait *ut sit*, non c. d., sed illud quod consequitur."

6. *et quasi...adicit*] Either the translator or a copyist has thrown this sentence into confusion, by adding *ait* and *unde et*. Th. wishes to say that verse 19, rightly explained, corroborates his view as to the reference of v. 16 to the *homo susceptus*.

10. *complacuit omnis plenitudo*] So Cod. Clarom.; Vulg., "omnem plenitudinem." The comm. (p. 276, l. 2) shews that Th. himself regarded *ὁ θεός* as the nom. to *εὐδόκησεν*. Cf. Thdt. (cited in the next note).

11. *plen. Dei et ecclesiam uocat*, &c.] Thdt.: *πλήρωμα τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐν τῇ πρὸς Ἐφεσίους ἐκάλεσεν, ὡς τῶν θείων χαρισμάτων πεπληρωμένην. ταύτην ἔφη εὐδοκῆσαι τὸν θεὸν ἐν τῷ Χριστῷ κατοικῆσαι, τουτέστιν αὐτῷ συνῆφθαι...* Severianus (Cramer vi. 310): *ηὐδόκησεν οὖν ὁ θεὸς τὸ πλήρωμα αὐτοῦ, τουτέστιν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τὴν πεπληρωμένην αὐτοῦ, ἐν τῷ Χριστῷ οἷα ἐν κεφαλῇ ἰδίᾳ οἰκῆσαι.* Coisl. 26: *ἄλλος δὲ πλήρωμα τὴν ἐκκλησίαν λέγει.* Cf. Th.'s comm. on Eph. i. 23, Col. ii. 9; and notes there. Chrys., *ad h. l.*, starts upon a wholly different track, in which he is followed by Thpht., Oec.: *περὶ τῆς θεότητος εἴρηκεν καθάπερ ὁ Ἰωάννης* (c. i. 16). So even Pelagius: "in Christo...tota diuinitas habitavit... summaliter."—Lanfranc cites this passage, but alters the sense by omitting *necnon et omnia—adimplet* and *habitare*.

14. *super omnem ecclesiam*, &c.] Eph. i. 22, where see note. In Eph. *l. c. adimpletur* not only stands in the text, but is defended in the comm. (p. 141, l. 1, sq.); so that the reading of the MSS. in this place must be an error due either to the translator or to the scribes, probably to the latter.

plenitudo eius qui omnia in omnibus adimplet. hoc ergo dicit, quoniam complacuit Deo in eo, hoc est in Christo, omnem habitare plenitudinem—ut dicat: 'omnem creaturam quae ab eo repleta est probauit illi coniungere.' et hoc idem latius dicens:

et per eum reconciliare omnia in ipso, pacem faciens per sanguinem crucis eius; per ipsum, siue illa quae in terris sunt, siue illa quae in caelis sunt.

'omnia (inquit) in sua morte (hoc enim dicit 'sanguinem' et 'crucem'), reconciliauit, et coniunxit et illa quae super terram erant et quae super caelos, eo quod et mortuus est et resurrexit; exsurgens uero commune omnibus praestitit promissum resurrectionis et inmortalitatis. omnia autem hinc connectuntur ad concordiam, sicut et in superioribus diximus, et ad illum inspiciunt, ut puta concordiae auctorem;' hoc enim dicit *in eum.* optime dixit quoniam per mortem eius omnia coniunxit, et in pace constituit per eam quae erga se est copulationem. euidenter

1 implet H^* 2 placuit Deo meo H 5 reconciliari C (*corr*) 11 communem C 13 incipiunt $C\,H\,r$ 14 ut puto $C\,H$

5. *reconciliare*] The corrector of the Corbie MS. has followed the O. L. rendering of Hil. and Aug. in preference to the Vulg., with which our text agrees. For *in ipso* = εἰς αὐτόν, cf. Rönsch, *Itala*, pp. 406—7; below (l. 14) we have *in eum*. In repeating δι' αὐτοῦ before εἴτε τά, κ.τ.λ., Th. is at one with Chrys., Thdt., and apparently Oec.; the Latin authorities seem to be unanimous in omitting the words. *In terris* (ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς: cf. "super terram," p. 270, l. 1) is from the Vulg.

10. *eo quod...et resurrexit*] See above on c. i. 14. From Th.'s point of view the Death of Our Lord was our redemption chiefly as being the way by which as man He passed into the better life; cf. Migne, 645 (on Gen. xlix. 10): ἵνα εἴπῃ, ὅτι δέξεται τὸ πάθος οὐκ ἐπὶ τιμωρίᾳ ὡς οἱ λοιποί, ἀλλ' ὡς πολὺ λαμπρότερος ἐξ αὐτοῦ φανῆναι, ἀθάνατος καὶ ἄφθαρτος γεγονώς. *Ib.* 1010: "mortem utpote naturae tributum postremo suscipit, ut.. moriens et a mortuis diuina uirtute resurgens, initium cunctis hominibus...fieret ut a mortuis surgant." Contrast the comm. of Thdt. *ad h. l.*: αὐτὸς ἐπραγματεύσατο τὰς ἡμετέρας συναλλαγάς, τὸ σωτήριον ὑπομείνας πάθος, καὶ τὸ αἷμα ἐκχέας καὶ τὴν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν θυσίαν προσενεγκών.

13. *sicut et in superioribus*] Cf. p. 267, sq.

inspiciunt] The almost certain conjecture of Dr Jacobi; cf. pp. 243, l. 16; 244, l. 2.

14. *ut puta*] Cf. Rönsch, *Itala*, p. 344; here simply = *ut pote* (ὡς or ἅτε). *In eum* = εἰς αὐτόν (v. 20); see note on l. 5, above. It will be seen that Th. regards εἰς αὐτόν as referring to Our Lord. So Chrys.: ἵνα μὴ νομίσῃς ὅτι ὑπηρέτου τάξιν ἀνέλαβεν 'εἰς ἑαυτὸν' φησίν—a remark repeated by Thpht. and Oec.

illud quod dixerat: *in ipso creata sunt omnia, quae in caelis sunt et quae super terram*, hoc in loco iterasse uidetur; et caute comprobauit quoniam de eodem etiam illic uerbum fecisse uidetur, de quo etiam et hoc in loco dixisse uisus est, quem et *primogenitum ex mortuis* nominans, manifestum est hominem susceptum a Patre sic uocasse. in his igitur et illa quae erga Christum sunt ostendens magna et supereminentia et multo maiora quam humana sibi uindicat natura, et quidem et magnitudinem illorum quae per eum sunt confecta ex illis quae generalia sunt sufficienter edocuit. conuertit uero ultra uerbum ad eorum personam, eo quod potiti fuissent illud beneficium quod in commune omnibus conlatum est, ita ut non solum ex communione eos ad reuerentiam adduceret ut ab illa fide quae in Christo est non discederent, sed et de illis quae secundum eos sunt, siquidem et ipsi magnis sunt beneficiis cum ceteris sublimati:

et uos aliquando cum essetis alienati et inimici intellectu in operibus malis, nunc uero reconciliauit in corpore carnis suae per mortem, ut exhiberet uos sanctos et immaculatos et inreprehensibiles coram se.

similiter sequentiam illorum quae in Ephesiorum epistola scripserat, etiam hic seruasse uidetur; nam et in illis illa quae de Christo sunt primitus magnifice referens, dein adiciens illam ecclesiae copulationem quae ad eum facta est, ad illa quae specialia sunt transiens, memoratus est personas illorum ad quos epistolam scribebat, dicens: *et uos mortui cum essetis delictis et peccatis uestris, in quibus aliquando ambulastis secundum saeculum mundi huius*, et cetera. sic et hoc in loco referens illa quae secundum Christum sunt, sicuti et referri conueniebant, deinde adiciens illam ecclesiae copulationem quae ad eum facta

2 comprobabit *C** 7 multa *C** 8 et (2°) *om C (corr)* 15 magni *C** 27 in hoc loco *r*

2. *hoc in loco iterasse uidetur*] *I.e.*, the new creation [ἀνάκτισις] in Christ referred to in v. 16 is identical with the reconciliation through Him and to Him described in v. 20. Both embrace *things in heaven* as well as *things on earth*, and in both it is the *homo susceptus* who is the centre and sphere of the work. *Susc. a Patre* is a singular phrase, and possibly an error for *susc. a Verbo*.

15. *sublimati*] Cf. Rönsch, *Itala*, p. 169.

16. *intellectu*] τῇ διανοίᾳ. Vulg., "sensu." *Ut exhiberet;* Vulg., "exhibere" (παραστῆσαι).

25. *et uos mortui*, &c.] Eph. ii. 1.

est, ad specialia transit, id est, ad personam Colossensium, hoc dicens, quoniam 'talia quidem sunt illa quae erga Christum facta sunt; magna etiam bona et uos potiti estis. alienos enim uos extantes a Deo et in parte inimicorum illi constitutos, ob illam quam erga prauitatem habebatis diligentiam, reconciliauit uos Deo per suam mortem, auferens quidem a uobis mortalitatem, inmortalitatem uero uobis donans; in qua ultra constituti ab omni estis peccato securi effecti, et nihil agere potestis ex illis quae non conueniunt. permanetis autem nullam sustinentes incusationem, sed secundum omnem scrupulositatem illi placite conuersamini.' hoc enim in omnibus epistolis notauimus, quoniam de futuris apostolus magnitudinem illorum ostendit quae erga nos a Christo facta sunt; et quoniam omnis eius correctio in promissionibus posita est, quae est renouatio futura in futuro saeculo, idipsum et Ephesiis scribentem dixisse ostendimus. et quoniam transiuit ulterius ad suam personam, designans quod suasi fuissent ab illis qui suadebant eis diligentiam adhibere super custodiam legis:

si tamen permanetis in fide fundati et stabiles et non commoti a spe euangelii quod audistis, et reliqua.

et sicut in illis in quibus firmiter eos credere hortabatur, gratias agens pro illis commemoratus est quoniam et per omnem orbem euangelii gloria uim suam uindicat; sic et hoc in loco designans quasi quia seducti fuerant ab illa gloria, quae apud omnes firma esse uidetur. quod et memoratur, ut maius eos erubescere faciat:

2 et (*for* sunt) *C* (*corr*) 3 sunt facta *r* 4 illic *C H r*: *txt conj. Jacobi* 15 Efesis *C* 17 essent *H* 19 permanentis *C** 21 inquit (*for* in quibus) *H* 24 designat *C* (*corr*) | reducti *H* | fuerint *r*

1. *ad specialia transit*] Thdt.: τὰ κοινῇ πᾶσιν παρασχεθέντα διηγησάμενος ἀγαθὰ πρὸς αὐτοὺς μεταφέρει τὸν λόγον.

11. *illi placite*] Cf. *consuete sibi* (p. 275, l. 2).

in omnibus epistolis notauimus] See Th.'s comm. on Gal. iii. 23; Eph. i. 4., ii. 7.

13. *omnis eius correctio*, &c.] πᾶσα ἡ κατόρθωσις αὐτοῦ ἐν ἐπαγγελίαις κεῖται.

17. *quod suasi fuissent*] Cf. Rönsch, *Itala*, p. 441.

19. *et non commoti*] καὶ μὴ μετακινούμενοι. O. L. and Vulg., 'immobiles.' *Et reliqua:* a superfluous gloss, for the text is taken up without a break, p. 279, l. 1.

21. *sicut in illis in quibus*, &c.] *i.e.*, c. i. 3—6; comp. especially v. 6 with v. 23.

quod praedicatum est in omni creatura quae sub caelo est.

graue admodum erat ut discederent ab illa re, quae in communi ab omnibus bona esse conclamabatur. euidentius facere cupiens illud quod dicit, adiecit:

cuius factus sum ego Paulus minister.

† hoc enim erat opus eius, ut praedicaret euangelium in gentibus, excepta legitimorum obseruantia*; sicut beato Petro ceterisque diuidit praedicationem, sicut ipse Galatis scribens memoratus est. et ostendens, quemadmodum conscius sibi sit quod bona doceat:

nunc gaudeo in passionibus pro uobis et suppleo minorationes tribulationum Christi in carne mea, pro corpore eius quod est ecclesia; cuius factus sum ego minister.

† 'itaque et delector patiens pro uobis; [et] quoniam praeueniens ad conferendum uobis beneficium passus est Christus, ut corpus suum uos per resurrectionem esse pronuntiaret, illa quae deerant tribulationum eius ab illis quae pro uobis erunt adimpleo ego. quid erat quod deerat? ut discentes, quae sunt

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τοῦτο γὰρ ἦν ἔργον αὐτοῦ, τὸ κηρύττειν εἰς τὰ ἔθνη τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ἔξω τῆς τῶν νομικῶν παρατηρήσεως.

'ὥστε (φησὶν) ἥδομαι καὶ πάσχων ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν· καὶ ἐπειδὴ προλαβὼν ὑπὲρ τῆς ὑμετέρας εὐεργεσίας ἔπαθεν ὁ Χριστός, ὥστε σῶμα ἑαυτοῦ ὑμᾶς ἀποφῆναι διὰ τῆς ἀναστάσεως, τὰ προσλείποντα ταῖς θλίψεσιν αὐτοῦ ταῖς ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἀναπληρῶ.' τί δὲ ἦν τὸ προσλεῖπον; τὸ μαθόντας ὑμᾶς τίνα ἐστὶν τὰ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν κατορθω-

3 commune *r* | clamabatur *l* conclamatur *b* 4 adicit *C r* 5 minister *om H* 7 obseruantiam *C** 10 edoceat *H* 11 nam *H* qui nunc *r* 13 ego *om H* 14 et *om C H r*: *txt Jacobi* 16 uobis *C H r*: *txt conj. Jacobi* 18 discente *C* H* 19 sq. Coisl. 204, f. 148 b [Cr. vi. 312, Fr. 142]. *Θεόδωρος φησὶν τοῦτο, κ.τ.λ.* 21 sq. Coisl. 204 l. c. [Cr. Fr.]

2. *graue...conclamabatur*] Lanfranc, R. of B.; cf. vv. ll.

8. *sicut ipse Galatis scribens*, &c.] Gal. ii. 9.

11. *suppleo minorationes trib. Chr.*] *ἀνταναπληρῶ τὰ ὑστερήματα τῶν θλίψεων τοῦ Χρ.* Vulg., "adimpleo ea quae desunt passionum Chr." *Suppleo, tribulationum*, are from the O. L.; the expression *minorationes* is peculiar in this place to our translation. Cf. pp. 19, l. 12, note; 97, l. 14, note.

18. *quid erat quod deerat?*] '*Christ* suffered, to procure your redemption by His resurrection. *I* suffer, to convey to you the tidings of this redemption, and

illa quae correcta sunt pro uobis, suscipiatis de illis promissionem. hoc autem sine labore et tribulationibus fieri nequaquam potest. pro his ergo patior circumiens et praedicans omnibus illa quae sunt directa, ita ut uos credentes affectu animi propinquitatem illam quae ad eum est accipiatis; horum enim ego extiti minister*.' et ut ne uideatur alta sapiens sibi ipsi ministerii adscribere directionem:

secundum dispensationem Dei quae data est mihi in uobis, adimplere uerbum Dei, mysterium quod absconditum est a saeculis et a generationibus; nunc uero manifestum est sanctis eius, quibus uoluit Deus notum facere quae sunt diuitiae gloriae mysterii huius in gentibus.

haec quidem etiam ipsis sermonibus in illam epistolam quam Ephesiis scripserat posita esse quis inueniet, eo quod et illam et istam ad illos qui se non uiderunt scribebat; ideo et multos sensus

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θέντα παρ' αὐτοῦ, δέξασθαι τὴν περὶ αὐτῶν ἐπαγγελίαν· τοῦτο δὲ ἄνευ πόνων καὶ θλίψεων γενέσθαι οὐδαμῶς οἷόν τε ἦν· ὑπὲρ δὴ τούτων πάσχω, περιιὼν καὶ κηρύττων ἅπασιν τὰ κατορθωθέντα, ὥστε ὑμᾶς πιστεύσαντας τῇ διαθέσει τῆς ψυχῆς τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν οἰκείωσιν δέξασθαι· τούτων γὰρ ἐγὼ κατέστην διάκονος.'

1 sunt correcta *r* 8 inquit (*aft* disp.) *add r* 13 illa epistola *C* (*corr*) *r* 14 quis *om C H* | inuenies *C* (*corr*)

to lead you to the faith by which you become partakers of its benefits. The preaching of the Gospel is necessary to your salvation as well as the Passion of the Cross; the latter would have been lacking in effect without the former. This *ὑστέρημα* it has been given me to supply.' Thdt. repeats this explanation in other and clearer words: *καὶ ὁ δεσπότης Χριστὸς τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐκκλησίας κατεδέξατο θάνατον.....καὶ ὁ θεῖος ἀπόστολος ὡσαύτως ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς ὑπέστη τὰ ποικίλα παθήματα.....ἀνταναπληροῦν δὲ ἔφη τὰ ὑστ., κ.τ.λ., ὡς τὸ λειπόμενον πληρῶν καὶ τῶν ὑπὲρ τούτου παθημάτων ἀνεχόμενος. ἐλείπετο δὲ τὸ κηρῦξαι τοῖς ἔθνεσιν.* Meyer strangely confounds this view with the perfectly distinct idea of Chrys.: *οὐ γὰρ βούλεται αὐτοῦ εἶναι, ἀλλ' ἐκείνου τὰ πάθη...ἃ ἐγὼ πάσχω, δι' ἐκεῖνον πάσχω, φησίν· ὥστε μὴ ἐμοὶ χάριν ὁμολογεῖτε, ἀλλ' ἐκείνῳ· αὐτὸς γὰρ πάσχει ταῦτα.*

8. *in uobis*] *εἰς ὑμᾶς.* O. L., Vulg., "in uos." Cf. p. 276, l. 5, note. *Notum facere quae sunt diuitiae=γνωρίσαι τίς ὁ πλοῦτος.* Vulg., "notas facere diuitias."

13. *ipsis sermonibus*] *αὐτοῖς ῥήμασιν.* The reference seems to be to Eph. iii. 2—6.

15. *ideo et multos sensus*, &c.] Cf. p. 116, l. 5, note. Thdt. again (cf. p. 253, l. 2, note) refuses to take Th.'s view as to S. Paul's want of personal acquaintance with the Colossians, and

et in illa epistola et in ista similiter posuisse uidetur. dicit ergo quoniam 'ministerium hoc commissum est mihi a Deo ita ut omnes doceam illud quod olim omnibus erat incertum, nunc uero sanctis eius est cognitum.' quid illud tale? quod ob multam suam bonitatem et gloriae liberalitatem etiam et gentibus similiter eorum praebuit fruitionem. nam antiquis temporibus omnis pietas in Iudaeorum genere circumscripta habebatur, gentibus uero nulla ad eos erat societas; euangelium uero communem omnibus futurorum promisit donationem, quod et *mysterium* uocat, eo quod olim erat occultum, nunc autem est manifestum. nam quia dixit: *sanctis eius quibus uoluit Deus*, de apostolis dixit et illis qui tunc erant praepositi; de quibus et Ephesiis scribens euidenter dixisse uisus est. et quoniam dixit: *quae sunt diuitiae gloriae mysterii*, adiecit:

quod est Christus in uobis spes gloriae.

† hoc est magnae diuitiae, id est, Christus, et ut in illum credamus; hic enim est futurae gloriae spes, qui et causa nobis bonorum extitit, donans nobis ut illa expectemus.*

quem nos adnuntiamus, admonentes omnem hominem, et docentes omnem hominem, in omni sapientia, ut exhibeamus omnem hominem perfectum in Christo Iesu.

'hunc (inquit) praedicamus, omnem hominem docentes ut in eum affectum habeant, ut in futurum adsequi possint perfec-

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οὗτος ὁ μέγας πλοῦτος, ὁ Χριστὸς καὶ τὸ ἐπ' αὐτῷ πιστεύειν· οὗτος γὰρ ἡ τῆς μελλούσης δόξης ἐλπίς, ὁ καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν ἡμῖν τοῦ προσδοκᾶν ἐκεῖνα χαρισάμενος.

1 et in illa et in ista epistola *r* 4 cogn. est *r* | quod (*for* quid) *C r* 11 manifestatum *C* (*corr*) 14 adicit *C r* 17 hinc *H* 23 effectum *C* H* 24 sq. Coisl. 204, f. 150 a [Cr. vi. 316, Fr. 143]. *Θεόδωρος. καὶ ἄλλως ὁμοίως· οὗτος, κ.τ.λ.*

draws from this verse an opposite conclusion: *δῆλον τοίνυν κἀντεῦθεν, ὡς θεασάμενος αὐτοὺς ἔγραψεν τὴν ἐπιστολήν.*

10. *mysterium...manifestum*] Cf. Th.'s comm. on Eph. iii. 3., and note there.

12. *de apostolis dixit*] As in Eph. iii. 5: *νῦν ἀπεκαλύφθη τοῖς ἁγίοις ἀποστόλοις αὐτοῦ καὶ προφήταις.* So Thdt.: *τουτέστιν, τοῖς ἀποστόλοις καὶ τοῖς διὰ τούτων πεπιστευκόσιν.*

19. *admonentes*] Vulg., "corripientes;" Ambrstr., "monentes."

tionem per illam quae in eo est fidem.' 'perfectionem' etenim futurum statum uocat et in illa epistola quam ad Galatas, et in ista quam ad Ephesios scripsisse uidetur; cui statui nihil boni deesse uidebitur. et quoniam omnia ista ad illud retitulat quod dixerat: *nunc gaudeo in passionibus pro uobis*, resumit iterum illud:

in quo et laboro in agone positus secundum operationem eius, quam operatus est in me in uirtute.

'pro his (inquit) et laborare cupio, omnimodo decertans propter tributam mihi ad hoc uirtutem de caelo.' inueniet autem quis et hoc per omnia simile esse secundum sensum illius epistolae, quam ad Ephesios scripsisse uidetur, ubi dixit: *huius rei gratia ego Paulus uinctus Christi Iesu*, et cetera. et quoniam ostendit euidenter sibi competere pro his doctrinam, siquidem gentium ministerium commissum habere uidetur et in hoc a Deo creatus est, satisfacere properat eis, quoniam nondum uenerat ad eos:

uolo enim uos scire, qualem agonem habeam pro uobis et illis qui in Laodicia sunt, et quotquot non uiderunt faciem meam in carne.

4 retulit (*for* retit.) *r* 7 et *om H* 8 operatur esse (*for* operatus est) *H* operatur *r*

1. *perfectionem...uidebitur*] Lanfranc, R. of B. Both omit *et in illa...uidetur*.

perfectionem...fut. statum uocat] Gal. iii. 26, iv. 1—7; Eph. iv. 13 (pp. 61, 62, 169).

4. *retitulat*] See vv. ll. The word, if genuine, =*recapitulat* (ἀνακεφαλαιοῦται). For *titulare* see Tert. *adu. Marc.* i. 25. Th.'s meaning is: 'εἰς ὅ (v. 29) = εἰς τὸ ἀνταναπληροῦν, κ.τ.λ. (v. 24); verses 25—28 are in parenthesis.'

7. *in agone positus*] ἀγωνιζόμενος. The Latin versions have *certando*, and below (c. ii. 1) for *agonem*, *certamen* (cf. *supra*, p. 253, l. 5) or *sollicitudinem*. On *agon* as a Latin word, see p. 113, l. 8, note.

8. *quam operatus est*] τὴν ἐνεργουμένην. Cf. p. 162, l. 6, note. In this place the Latin versions partly led the way to the error, by rendering "quam operatur." Ambrstr., however, correctly gives *quae operatur*, here as well as in Gal. v. 6; Eph. iii. 20.

11. *et hoc per omnia simile*, &c.] i.e., Col. i. 29—ii. 3 corresponds closely with Eph. iii. 1, 14 sq.; both passages shew S. Paul's earnest desire for the perfection of converts whom he had never seen.

18. *et illis qui in Laodicia sunt*] καὶ τῶν ἐν Λαοδικείᾳ. O. L. and Vulg., "Laodiciae." *Quotquot* (ὅσοι): so Ambrstr.; Vulg., "quicumque." Cf. Gal. iii. 27.

'nec enim illud uolo (inquit) uos ignorare, quoniam etsi non uidi uos, sed ualde et de uobis agonem sustineo; nec enim minus de uobis sum sollicitus, quam de illis quos uidi.' quid autem est illud, quoniam agonem pro illis pateris?

ut consolentur corda eorum instructa in caritate et in omnibus diuitiis perfectionis prudentiae.

'ut et uos in illam caritatem quae erga Christum est conuenientes, firmo intellectu illorum bonorum quae expectantur adsequamini fruitionem.'

in cognitionem mysterii Dei Patris et Christi, in quo sunt omnes thesauri sapientiae et scientiae absconditi.

' et ut inenarrabilibus bonis communicetis, quae a Deo donata sunt nobis, quae etiam absconsa sunt nunc in Christo; cum quo, cum adparuerit in futuro saeculo, et illa quae erga nos est liberalitas in ipsis tunc uidebitur operibus.' †'mysterium' etenim, sicut frequenter diximus, uocat illam gratiam quae erga gentes est, eo quod et ignota erat primitus; *cognitionem* uero *mysterii* participationem eius edicit esse. absconsos uero omnes thesauros sapientiae et scientiae esse in Christo edicit, utpote cum

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μυστήριον δὲ καλεῖ τὴν περὶ τὰ ἔθνη χάριν, ὡς ἂν ἄδηλον οὖσαν τοῖς πρὸ τούτου, ἐπίγνωσιν δὲ μυστηρίου τὴν μετουσίαν αὐτῆς. ἀποκρύφους δὲ πάντας τοὺς θησαυροὺς τῆς σοφίας καὶ τῆς γνώσεως εἶναι ἐν τῷ Χριστῷ λέγει, ὡς ἂν τῶν μετὰ

12 dona C^* 17 erant $C r$ 20 sq. Coisl. 204 *l. c.* (p. 281). 22 sq. Coisl. 204, f. 150 b [Cr. vi. 317, Fr. 143] *θεόδωρος. ἄλλοι δέ φησιν. ἀποκρύφους, κ.τ.λ.*

1. *non uidi uos*] Cf. p. 252, l. 2, note.

5. *corda.....instructa*] The reading seems to have been *συμβιβασθέντες*, which our translator has ungrammatically connected with *καρδίαι*. The Latin versions presuppose the same reading, but correctly treat it as a *nom. pendens*. *In omnibus diuitiis*=*εἰς πάντα πλοῦτον*: cf. p. 276, l. 5, note. *Perfectionis*=*τῆς πληροφορίας*: cf. 1 Thess. i. 5 (*satisfactione*). *Consolentur*; so Ambrstr., Aug., Vulg.

7. *illam caritatem quae erga Chr. est*] Thdt.: *ἵνα τὴν κατὰ Χριστὸν φυλάξωσιν συμφωνίαν.*

10. *Dei Patris et Christi*]=*τοῦ θεοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ*. Cf. Lightfoot, *Colossians*, p. 319. Vulg., "Dei patris Christi Iesu."

16. *sicut frequenter diximus*] Cf. pp. 127, l. 7; 155, l. 15.

18. *absconsos*] Above, in the text, we have *absconditi*. For a similar interchange of the two forms, see Hil. *de Trin.* ix. 67 (cited by Sabatier); and on *absconsus*, cf. Rönsch, *Itala*, p. 295.

multa prudentia institutos esse per Christum pro nostra utilitate, quia nunc quidem sunt incerti, uidebuntur autem tunc, cum adparuerit et ipse.*

edicens agonem quem habet pro illis, adiecit:

hoc dico, ut ne quis uos circumueniat in uersutia uerborum.

quid est autem *hoc dico?* 'et qua ratione hunc habeo de uobis agonem? timeo enim, ne quando mutabilitatem aliquam sustineatis suasoribus intendentes. tunc enim poteritis, ut dixi, adsequi uobis promissa, quando permanseritis erga pietatem firmi.' et ostendens quoniam et laetitiae illorum participatur, si bene se illa quae erga illos sunt habuerint:

si enim et carne absens sum, sed spiritu uobiscum, gaudens et uidens uestrum ordinem et firmamentum fidei quae in Christo est.

'licet absens sim, sed uobiscum sum affectu animi, gaudens in uobis, si tamen firmo cogitatu in Christi fide permanere uolueritis.' et ultra incipit exhortationem facere euidenter:

sicut ergo accepistis Christum Iesum Dominum, in ipso ambulate, radicati et superaedificati in ipso, et confirmati in fide, sicut docti estis, abundantes in ea in gratiarum actionem.

πολλῆς κατορθωθέντων συνέσεως διὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἡμετέρας εὐεργεσίας νῦν μὲν ὄντων ἀδήλων, φανησομένων δὲ τότε ὅποτ' ἂν φαίνηται καὶ αὐτός.

2 qui (*for* quia) *C r* 4 edicens—adiecit *om r* | adicit *C* 11 ait (*aft* hab.) *r* 12 carnem *C* r* 14 sum *om H* 15 Christo *C** 19 habundanter *C H* 22 *φαίνεται* Cr. Fr.: txt cod.

5. *circumveniat*] So O. L.; Vulg., "decipiat." *In uersutia uerborum* (*ἐν πιθανολογίᾳ*); O. L. and Cod. Amiat. "in subtilitate (Vulg.$^{clem.}$ sublimitate) sermonum." Tert., "in subtililoquentia."

6. *quid est autem 'hoc dico'?*] Τοῦτο λέγω (Th. means) looks back to the strong assertion of v. 1 ἡλίκον ἀγῶνα ἔχω, κ.τ.λ. It was called forth, the Apostle says, by his fear for the stability of their faith. Cf. Thdt.: *τούτοις δὲ ἐχρησάμην τοῖς λόγοις παρακαλῶν ὑμᾶς τοῖς ἀπατηλοῖς μὴ ὑπάγεσθαι λόγοις.*

12. *si enim et carne*] *εἰ γὰρ καὶ τῇ σαρκί.* The Latin versions more exactly render, *nam etsi corpore.*

15. *cogitatu*] Rönsch, *Itala*, p. 308.

19. *docti estis*] *ἐδιδάχθητε.* O. L. and Vulg., "didicistis." *Ab. in ea; περισσεύοντες ἐν αὐτῇ.* So Chrys., Thdt., Dam., Oec., Thpht. Vulg.$^{clem.}$ "in illo"; Aug., as above. Am., Fuld., omit the pronoun.

per omnia haec illa dicere uoluit: 'in illis manete quae accepistis, secundum illa conuersantes'; ita ut manifestum sit, quoniam extra obseruantiam legitimorum illa ab Epaphra susceperunt. propterea et laudauit traditionem eius in principio. bene autem quia et *in gratiarum actionem* adiecit, ostendens quoniam sic bona est doctrina ita ut gratias agere conueniat eos, pro quibus eam cognouerunt. deinde et aduersarios improbans dicit:

uidete ne quis uos depraedetur per philosophiam et inanem seductionem.

philosophiam dicit uerborum pomposam doctrinam, quae ab aduersariis cum quadam simulatione fieri solebat ad seductionem audientium. inde et ostendens quoniam non uera erat philosophia, sed seductionis uerba ad deceptionem auditorum et excogitata erant et adinuenta:

secundum traditionem hominum, secundum elementa mundi et non secundum Christum.

secundum elementa mundi dicit dierum et temporum obseruantiam, eo quod ab elementis mundi perficiuntur ista. 'elementum' enim 'mundi' solem dicit et lunam, ex quibus dierum quoque et temporum cursus effici uidentur; sic enim illud et Galatis scribens dixit. *traditionem* autem *hominum* non ipsam legem uocauit, sed illam doctrinam illorum qui tunc erant; humanam dicens esse eo quod nec secundum Dei sententiam fiebat. unde et ostendens prauitatem eius adiecit: *et non secundum Christum.* Christi personam contrasistit ut ostendat prauitatem doctrinae, si tamen et ad alia eos adducit qui discunt, praeterquam ad Filium.

1 quoniam (*aft* uoluit) *add r* 2 illam *C* r* 3 leg. obs. *H* 4 laudabit *C* 8 docuit (*for* dicit) *C r* 12 aduersarios *H* 26 et ostendit *r* 27, 28 si tamen—filium *om r*

3. *extra obs. leg. illa ab Epaphra susc.*] Cf. *supra*, on i. 8.

9. *depraedetur*] So Cypr., Amb., Ambrstr. Vulg., "decipiat."

11. *verborum pomp. doctr.*] Cf. Thdt.: ἣν ὧν πιθανολογίαν ἐνταῦθα φιλοσοφίαν ἐκάλεσεν. Th. on 1 Cor. i. 17: καλλιλεξίᾳ καταχρωννύντες τὸ ψεῦδος. For exx. of *pomposus* see Rönsch, *Itala*, p. 127; and for *adinuenire*, *ib.* p. 207. *Philosophiam—doctr.*; R. of B.

18. *sec. elem....uidentur*] Lanfranc.

21. *sic enim illud et Galatis*] See p. 60, l. 12, note.

22. *traditionem...non ipsam legem*] Thdt.: οὐκ αὐτὸν τὸν νόμον, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἄκαιρον αὐτοῦ φυλακήν.

quoniam in ipso inhabitat omnis plenitudo diuinitatis corporaliter.

omnem plenitudinem deitatis hoc in loco iterum dicit uniuersam creaturam repletam ab eo; dicit enim illum sensum quem in superioribus posuisse uisus est, quoniam omnis creatura in eo inhabitat, hoc est, ipsi coniuncta est, et quasi quoddam corpus in se retinet aptatum, propter illam copulationem quae ad eum est. quemadmodum ergo inconueniens est intendere illi qui alia docet, praeterquam quod ille docuit, in quem omnia coaptata sunt et copulata! hoc enim est a communi consensu se ipsum extraneum facere. et euidentiorem ipsam inconuenientiam faciens adiecit:

et estis in illo repleti, qui est caput omnis principatus et potestatis.

euidenter illa, quae in superioribus dicta fuerant, compendiose iterum ait: 'etenim et uos eum habentes in uobis, digni estis habiti eius copulationi, qui et omnibus inuisibilibus uirtuti-

5 in eum *C** 6 habitat *r* 8 quia (*for* qui) *r* 9 coapta *C** 12 adicit *C* 16 aiunt *r* 17 uirt. inuls. *H*

1, 3. *diuinitatis, deitatis*] Our translator follows the Latin authorities in the text, but in the comment throws off their trammels, and represents *τῆς θεότητος* by its more precise equivalent. On *deitas*, see Aug. *de civit.* vii. 1 (cited by Trench, *Synon.* and by Lightfoot, *ad h. l.*). The word is found also in Arnobius and in S. Jerome.

3. *dicit uniuersam creaturam*] See above on c. i. 19, and notes there. Th. here prefers the wider interpretation of *πλήρωμα* (p. 275, l. 11)—'all nature as restored and reunited to God through the *homo susceptus*.' I cannot find this view in connection with the present text advanced or even alluded to by any other ancient commentator. Thdt. refers to the opinion of 'certain teachers' that *ἐν αὐτῷ* is here=*ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ*, Christ being put for His mystical Body. Chrys. quotes a nearer parallel: *ἄλλοι φασὶν ὅτι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν λέγει πεπληρωμένην ὑπὸ τῆς θεότητος αὐτοῦ* (citing Eph. i. 23). *τὸ δὲ σωματικῶς ἐνταῦθα ὡς ἐν κεφαλῇ σῶμα.* He rejects this interpretation of *πλήρωμα*, but somewhat inconsistently accepts the sense which these expositors gave to *σωματικῶς*. Th.'s explanation of *σωμ.* is similar ("quasi quoddam corpus in se retinet aptatum," l. 6), but extended, as his view of *πλήρωμα* requires, to the creation at large; cf. his comm. on Eph. i. 10, 23.

8. *quemadmodum*] Either *non* has fallen out before *inconueniens*, and the sentence is a question (*πῶς οὐκ ἄτοπον, κ.τ.λ.*); or *quemadm.*=quam (*ὡς*). *Alia docet;* cf. p. 2, l. 21, note.

16. *digni...copulationi*] Cf. Rönsch, *Itala*, p. 413.

17. *qui et omn. inuis. uirt.*, &c.] See on c. i. 16, and cf. Thdt. *ad h. l.*: *ἀγγέλων δὲ καὶ ἀρχαγγέλων κατὰ τὴν θείαν φύσιν δεσπόζει.*

bus in ordine capitis consistit, eo quod omnia ob cognationem ad illum sicut corpus coniuncta sunt.' deinde et magnitudine donationum ad uerecundiam eos adducens dicit:

in quo et circumcisi estis circumcisione non manu facta in exspoliationem corporis peccatorum carnis, in circumcisione Christi.

'in ipso (inquit) et ea quae in eo est fide ab inposita uobis mortalitate estis eruti, cum qua mortalitate etiam peccata uestra sustulit.' uult enim dicere quoniam 'inmortalitatem adsecuti estis, in qua constituti ultra non peccabitis, quod ex mortalitate sustinebatis necessitatem; itaque conuenit et propter hoc non ingratos uos uideri erga illum, qui tantorum uobis bonorum extitit prouisor.' bene autem 'circumcisionem' nominauit mortalitatis ablationem, ita ut ex comparatione ostendat eius differentiam; siquidem ibi corporis ablatio exigua est nullam habens prodificationem, hic uero tanta mortalitas aufertur in melius corpore nostro transformato. unde et 'non manu factam circumcisionem' uocauit eam, ita ut ex eo modo inoperationis eius ostendat differentiam; siquidem illic humana manus est, quae

1 cognitionem *H* 2 magnitudinem *C** magnitudo *r* 4 manifesta *H* 6 ab impositam *H* 7 mortalitatem estis eruditi *C* H r* 9 ex mortalitatis sustinebatis necessitate *C* (*corr*) | sustinebitis *r* 16 nostro *om H*

2. *magn. don. ad uer. eos adducens*] Cf. p. 277, l. 12, sq.

5. *corporis peccatorum carnis*] Th., with Chrys. and Thdt., read τοῦ σωμάτος τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν τῆς σαρκός. Comp. his comm. *infra*, l. 7. The Latin versions omit *peccatorum*.

9. *ex mortal. sust. necessitatem*] *sc.* peccandi; cf. pp. 8, l. 4 sq.; 147, l. 4, sq.

12. *mortalitatis ablationem*] With Th. the paramount thought is the removal of mortality; with most of the Gk. commentators, it is the removal of sin. Chrys. τὸν παλαιὸν φησιν βίον: similarly Oec. and Thpht. Thdt., followed by Dam., keeps both in view; see next note.

13. *ut...ostendat eius diff.*, &c.] Thdt., διδάσκει πάλιν τῆς περιτομῆς τὴν διαφοράν· οὐ γάρ ἐστιν (φησίν) σαρκική...οὐδὲ σμικροῦ σώματος ἀφαίρεσις, ἀλλὰ πάσης ἀπαλλαγὴ τῆς φθορᾶς. Dam.: αὕτη δέ ἐστιν...διὰ τῆς τοῦ σώματος ἑκουσίου ἀποδύσεως, τοῦ γηΐνου βίου ἀποτιθεμένου εἰς ἀνάληψιν τοῦ οὐρανίου, τοῦ δι' ἀναστάσεως ἡμῖν ἀποδιδομένου.

15. *prodificationem*] Jacobi adopts *modificationem*. But *prod.* stands in both our MSS., as well as in Rab. *Prodefacere* (= ὠφελεῖν) occurs in Cod. Bezae (John xii. 19), and *prodificare*, *prodificatio* are found in the ancient version of Origen's homilies on S. Matt. (v. Du Cange and Carpentier, *s. vv.*; and cf. Paucker, *add. lex. lat.*, p. 133, Rönsch, *N. T. Tert.*, p. 678, sq.). In the present passage the reading of the MSS. is confirmed by the context (*in melius* transformato).

18. *illic humana manus*, &c.] Chrys.: οὐ γὰρ χεὶρ ἐπάγει.. τὴν περιτομὴν ταύτην, ἀλλὰ τὸ πνεῦμα. So Thpht.

perfecit circumcisionem, hic uero diuina est gratia, quae inoperatur mortalitatis ablationem. necessaria uero est et adiectio quam adiecit dicens *in circumcisione Christi*, ut dicat quia 'hanc circumcisi estis circumcisionem, cuius promissum uobis praestitit Christus.' et quoniam magna erant quae dicta fuerant, necdum uero in opere erant effecta :

consepulti (inquit) *illi in baptisma, in quo et consurrexistis per fidem operationis Dei, qui suscitauit eum ex mortuis.*

'si autem necdum negotio id potiti estis, tamen iam in forma illorum effecti estis, commortui in baptismate et conresurgentes ei. euidens est quoniam baptisma adsecuti estis credentes primitus, quod potens sit ista facere Deus; et fecerit iam, ex quibus et suscitauit ex mortuis Christum, in illo communis resurrectionis primitias operatus.' multis uero in locis in apostolica doctrina inesse docuimus, quoniam probationes illorum quae secundum Christum sunt de futuris semper facere consueuit. commemoratur uero et forma illa quae ad praesens impletur, ita ut uideantur illorum quae expectantur pignora aliqua in praesente habere; hinc etenim sancti Spiritus primitias

3, 4 hac, circumcisione *r* 7 qua *C H* 8 eum *om C** 10 consurgentes *r* 19 in praesenti *C (corr) r*

3. *hanc circumcisi estis circumcisionem*] ταύτην περιτετμημένοι ἐστὲ τὴν περιτομήν. Rab. corrects the Gk. construction (see vv. ll.).

4. *cuius promissum*, &c.] Thdt.: τούτου δὲ αἴτιος οὐχ ὁ νόμος, ἀλλ' ὁ δεσπότης Χριστός. Thpht.: τοιαύτην δὲ περιτομὴν οὐχ ὁ νόμος ἀλλ' ὁ Χριστὸς περιτέμνει ἐν τῷ βαπτίσματι. Oec.: ὅρα δέ, ποτὲ πνεύματος, ποτὲ δὲ Χριστοῦ τὴν περιτομὴν λέγει (referring to Rom. ii. 29; on Chr.'s view of the latter passage, see above p. 232, l. 17, note.

7. *consurrexistis*] So several of the Latin Fathers (Ambr., Aug., &c); Tertullian (*res. carn.* 23) has *conresuscitatos* (cf. "conresurgentes," infra, l. 10, and vv. ll.). *Qua* (vv. ll.) is probably a mere clerical error; cf. "in baptismate," *ib.* Th. with Chrys. and Thdt. seems to have read ἐν τῷ βαπτίσματι, which in this version would appear indifferently as *in baptismate* or *in baptisma:* see above, p. 276, l. 5, note. *Ex mortuis:* cf. p. 137, l. 22, note.

9. *in forma*] εἰς τὸν τύπον. Cf. p. 30, l. 12, note.

11. *credentes primitus, quod*, &c.] Th. with Chrys. &c., takes τῆς ἐνεργείας as an objective gen. He is followed by Thdt., who thus expounds the clause διὰ τῆς πίστεως κ.τ.λ.: πιστεύοντες γὰρ τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ δυνάμει προσμένομεν τὴν ἀνάστασιν, ἐνέχυρον ἔχοντες τοῦ δεσπότου Χριστοῦ τὴν ἀνάστασιν.

14. *resurrectionis primitias*] See p. 125, l. 18, note; on *s. Spiritus primitias* (l. 19) cf. pp. 38, l. 1, sq.; 139, l. 15.

15. *probationes illorum*, &c.] See p. 123, l. 4, note.

in baptismate percipimus. quoniam autem dixit formam, resumit illum quod dictum fuerat a se, ut latius illam, quasi exinde est, gratiam explicet:

et uos, cum essetis mortui delictis et praeputio carnis uestrae, conuiuificauit cum ipso, donans uobis omnia delicta.

†'praeputium' hoc in loco non corporis dicit, sed sicut circumcisionem ablationem uocauit mortalitatis, sic 'praeputium' illud uocauit quod adhuc circumfert mortalitatem. hoc ergo dicit, quoniam 'mortificatos uos peccatis propter circumpositam uobis mortalitatem conresuscitauit Christo, in ipso communem resurrectionem efficiens, ex qua omnis species peccati uestri exterminabitur.'* hoc enim dicit *donans uobis omnia delicta*, eo quod constituit nos extra facilitatem peccandi per resurrectionem; etenim postquam inmortales natura extiterimus, peccare ultra nequaquam poterimus. deinde coniungit et aliud bonum, quod hinc nobis adquisitum est, quod et ad praesens argumentum sibi conuenire existimabat:

delens cautionem decretis quae erat aduersus nos, quae erat contraria nobis, et ipsam tulit de medio, configens eam cruci.

ἀκροβυστίαν ἐνταῦθα οὐ τὴν τοῦ σώματος λέγει, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ περιτομὴν τὴν ἀφαίρεσιν ἐκάλεσεν τῆς θνητότητος, οὕτως ἀκροβυστίαν τὸ περικεῖσθαι ἔτι τὴν θνητότητα. τοῦτο οὖν λέγει, ὅτι 'νενεκρωμένους ὑμᾶς τοῖς ἁμαρτήμασιν διὰ τὴν περικειμένην θνητότητα συνανέστησεν τῷ Χριστῷ, ἐν αὐτῷ τὴν κοινὴν ἀνάστασιν κατεργασάμενος, ἀφ' ἧς πᾶν εἶδος ἁμαρτίας ὑμῶν ἀφανίσθησεται.'

2 illud *C* (*corr*) | quae (*for* quasi) *C* (*corr*) quam *r* | inde *r* 9 mortificatis *r* 10 conresusc. Christum *C H* cum resusc. Christum *r* 20 sq. Coisl. 204, f. 152 b [Cr. vi. 321, Fr. 143] θεόδωρος. ἀκροβυστίαν, κ.τ.λ. 23 ἡμᾶς cod. edd.

2. *illum quod dictum f.*] Cf. p. 50, l. 5, note.

4. *mortui delictis*] Th's text like Chrysostom's seems to have omitted ἐν.

8. *quod adhuc circumfert mort.*] Rather (see Gk.) "quod adhuc circumdat nos mortalitas." Thdt. here deserts Th.'s interpretation: ἀκροβυστίαν...τὴν περιοχὴν ἐκάλεσεν.

10. *conresuscitauit Christo*] See vv. ll. For exx. of *cum* with acc. see Rönsch, *Itala*, p. 409.

12. *hoc enim dicit 'donans,'* &c.] Cf. p. 126, l. 10, sq.

18. *delens cautionem decretis*] = ἐξαλείψας τὸ...χειρόγραφον τοῖς δόγμασιν. "The translator renders χειρ. by the legal equivalent *cautionem*, while all other Latin authorities (with one partial exception) retain the Gk. unaltered"

cautionem legem dicit, cuius omnes actus implere debemus, utpote positae a Deo. quod erat durum, immo inpossibile, ut secundum legis scrupulositatem iustificaremur, quia lex qualitercumque et quandocumque peccantem punire praecepit; non pecare uero ad plenum hominem existentem ualde erat inpossibile. ex quibus fiebat ut illos qui sub lege conuersabantur securos a poena efficere minime posset. *cautionem* ergo *aduersus nos* legem uocat, eo quod *erat contraria nobis*, hoc est, non permittens justificationem adsequi propter suam scrupulositatem; et hanc cautionem deleuit *decretis*, ut dicat 'resurrectionem et inmortalitatem'—dogmata enim ista esse et Ephesiis scribens dixit, *legem praeceptorum in decretis destituens.* quare? quoniam lex necessaria erat illis qui subiacebant peccato, retinens ac prohibens eos a peccato; quia autem resurgentes effecti sunt inmortales, peccare ultra non poterunt. itaque et lex superflua est illis qui huiusmodi sunt; et 'in hoc (inquit) nos securos facit, ut ne ulterius sub lege conuersemur, unde uel maxime sub poena facile incurrebamus.' bene autem dixit, *configens illam cruci*, eo quod secundum praesentem uitam lex utilis est nobis, quando et peccare possumus; finis uero huius uitae mors est. 'confixit (inquit) illam cruci, mortuus enim finem legi dedit. nec enim in illis qui resurrexerunt locum aliquem ultra habere poterit lex. nam et nos secundum hoc extra legem efficimur, secundum quod illis quae futura sunt transimus per formam baptismatis, secun-

1 actum *C r* 6 illi *C* H r* 7 effici *r* | possit *C* H* possint *r* | chirographum (*for* caut.) *l* 11 Efesis *C** 14 sunt eff. *r* 17 facile sub poena *H* 21 mortuos *C** 24 in (*bef* illis) *add C* (*corr*)

(Hort, *Journal of Phil.* IV. no. xii. § vii. p. 307, n.). *Configens;* so again below, ll. 18, 20. O. L. and Vulg., *affigens.*

1. *'cautionem' legem dicit*] Cf. Thdt.: χειρόγραφον τινὲς τὸν νόμον ἔφασαν...ἀλλὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων χ. ἦν, οὐ πάντων ἀνθρώπων. ἡγοῦμαι τοίνυν καὶ τὸ σῶμα ἡμῶν καλεῖσθαι χ. Comp. Pelag. *ad h. l.*: "*chirogr.* maledictum legis est."

3. *scrupulositatem*] Cf. Rönsch, *Itala*, p. 55.

8. *eo quod erat contraria*] *i.e.*, ὃ ἦν ὑπ. ἡμῖν explains and amplifies τὸ καθ' ἡμῶν. Lanfranc cites this sentence.

11. *et Ephesiis scribens*] c. ii. 15; for Th.'s interpretation of ἐν δόγμασιν, τοῖς δ., see p. 151, l. 2, note. For *praeceptorum in decretis* the translator had given in Eph. *l. c. mandatorum in edictis*, although *decreta* appears in the comm. there. The same uncertainty is manifested in the Latin versions and fathers; cf. Sabatier *ad h. l.* and Ziegler (*Italafragmente*, p. 120).

15. *lex superflua est illis*, &c.] Cf. Th. on Rom. viii. 1.: τοῖς γὰρ θνητοῖς καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον ῥοπὴν δεχομένοις ἀναγκαῖος ὁ νόμος, ἀπείργων τοῦ χείρονος· ἀθανάτοις δὲ καὶ ἀτρέπτοις γεγονόσιν περιττὸς ἐξ ἀνάγκης καθέστηκεν. *Supra*, p. 42, l. 3, sq.

dum baptisma nostram conuersationem ordinantes.' et quod maius est:

exuens se principatus et potestates traduxit cum fiducia, triumphans eos in se.

†*principatus et potestates* hoc in loco contrarias dicit esse uirtutes, quae aduersus nos nullam aliquando habuissent uirtutem, si nos peccare minime potuissemus. 'nam deponere (inquit) mortalitatem, quam pro communi omnium abstulit utilitate, exuit et illos auctoritatem illam qua abutebantur aduersus nos, magnam et indubiam aduersus eos proferens uictoriam; ita ut confundantur et illi uane aduersus nos tantum sustinuisse laborem, ex quo nullum profectum habere potuerunt, in meliorem statum transeuntibus nobis, ita ut ultra nec peccare

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αἱ ἀντικείμεναι δυνάμεις οὐκ ἄν ποτε ἔσχον τινὰ ἰσχὺν μὴ ἐπιδεχομένων ἡμῶν ἁμαρτάνειν. 'τῷ οὖν ἀποθέσθαι (φησὶν) τὴν θνητότητα, ἣν ὑπὲρ τῆς κοινῆς ἀφεῖλεν εὐεργεσίας, ἀπεδύσατο κἀκείνων τὴν αὐθεντείαν, ἣπερ ἐκέχρητο καθ' ἡμῶν, μεγίστην καὶ ἀναμφίβολον τὴν κατ' αὐτῶν ἐργασάμενος νίκην, ὡς αἰσχυνθῆναι κἀκείνους μάτην τοσοῦτον ἐπιδειξαμένους καθ' ἡμῶν τὸν πόνον, ἀφ' οὗ μηδὲν αὐτοῖς ἐγένετο ὄφελος, ἐν κρείττονι τῇ καταστάσει γεγονότων ἡμῶν, ὡς μηδὲ ἁμαρτεῖν ἡμᾶς ἐπιδέχεσθαι ἔτι.'

7 deponens *C (corr)* 8 utilitatem C^* 9 quae C^* 11 ille C^* illae uanae *r* 12 in melioris tantum C^* *r* 14 sq. Coisl. 204, f. 153 b [Cr. vi. 223, Fr. 143]. ἄλλος δὲ οὕτως φησίν· αἱ ἀντικ., κ.τ.λ. 20 ὄφειλος Cr. 21 ἁμαρτάνειν edd.

3. *exuens se*] So O. L.; Vulg., *expolians*. The construction with a double acc. is repeated in the comm. below, l. 9. *Cum fiducia*, so Hil.; Aug., *fiducialiter*. Vulg., *palam*.

5. *contrarias d. esse uirtutes*] Cf. p. 191, l. 5, sq. Chrys.: τὰς διαβολικὰς δυνάμεις λέγει.

7. *deponere*]=τῷ ἀποθέσθαι. Jacobi follows the Corbie corrector, whose emendation had been given by Pitra as if *prima manu*.

9. *exuit et illos auctoritatem*] Cf. *supra*, l. 3, note. The translator, to be consistent, should have written "exuit se illorum auct." Th. would say: 'by putting off His mortality, He divested the evil spirits of their power against Himself and against mankind.' Cf. Thdt.: κατέλυσεν τῶν ἐναντίων τὴν δυναστείαν...διὰ τοῦ οἰκείου σώματος πᾶσιν ἡμῖν τὴν κατ' αὐτῶν χαρισάμενος νίκην. "The powers of evil, which had clung like a Nessus robe about His humanity were torn off and cast aside for ever. And the victory of mankind is involved in the victory of Christ. In His Cross we too are divested of the poisonous clinging garments of temptation and sin and death" (Lightfoot *ad. h. l.*, citing Th.).

possimus.'* omnia enim coniunxit resurrectione. postquam ablati a mortalitate in incorruptione sumus effecti, efficimur quidem extra peccatum, liberamur uero et a seruitute legis; securi etiam efficimur et ab omni daemonum impressione. quae cuncta sequuntur necessarie illos qui inmortales fuerint effecti, et ab omni facti fuerint peccandi conditione securi, qui etiam diuinam gratiam custodiunt in perpetuum in bonitatis affectum. et quoniam ostendit per illa quae per Christum facta sunt et a legis conuersatione nos securos effectos, adiecit:

ne ergo quis uos iudicet in esca aut potu aut parte festiuitatis aut neomeniae aut sabbatorum.

et ostendens obseruationis horum differentiam aduersus illam conuersationem quae secundum Christum est:

quae est umbra futurorum, corpus uero Christi.

propemodo nihil illud esse ostendit comparationis exemplo; in tantum illa illis quae secundum Christum sunt infirmiora esse dixit, in quantum a corpore infirmior est umbra. corpus equidem est substantia, umbra uero solummodo solet adparere; sed et ipsa umbra, si non corpus fuerit, adparere nequaquam poterit. nam ut fiat umbra aut uideatur, corpus id solet praestare. omnia ergo quae in praesenti sunt et horum obseruantia, umbra sunt, si ad illa quae Christi sunt comparentur; quoniam illa quae Christi sunt stabilita sunt, finem nullum sustinentia, eo quod inmortales et incorrupti post resurrectionem efficiemur; illa uero quae legis sunt, in comparatione futurorum tamquam umbra sunt aliqua, eo quod in praesentem uitam statum suum tantum ob-

1 resurrectioni *C* (*corr*) *r* 5 necessario *r* | facti *H* 7 in (*bef* bon.) *om r* 9 effectos *om H* | adicit *C r* 11 neomenae *C** 15 propemodum *C* (*corr*) *r* | aliud (*for* illud) *H* 16 qui *C** 18 uero *om H* | solomodo *C* 23 sustinentes *C H r* 26 in praesente uitam *C** (praesenti *C* (*corr*))

1. *omnia enim coniunxit resurr.*] Cf. p. 130, l. 6, sq. *Ablati a m.* = ἀφαιρεθέντες τὴν θνητότητα [?]. *Quidem...uero: μὲν...δέ.*

10. *ne ergo quis*] So Jerome (on Ezek.); O. L. and Vulg., "nemo [ergo]." *In esca;* O. L. and Vulg., "in cibo." *Festiuitatis;* see Rönsch, *Itala*, p. 313. O. L. and Vulg., "diei festi."

14. *quae est umbra*] = ὅ ἐστιν σκιά (?) So Tert. *adu. Marc.* v. 19; cf. Rönsch, *N. T. Tert.*, p. 711.

19. *umbra, si non corpus*, &c.] Cf. Thdt.: προλαμβάνει δὲ ἡ σκιὰ τὸ σῶμα, ἀνίσχοντος τοῦ φωτός· ὡς εἶναι σκιὰν μὲν τὸν νόμον, σῶμα δὲ τὴν χάριν, φῶς δὲ τὸν δεσπότην Χριστόν.

tinent. nam esca et potus et festiuitas et neomeniae et sabbatum ad modicum tempus custoditum pertransibit, eo quod illi qui semel mortui sunt ulterius hanc non indigent obseruantiam; Christi uero donatio, atubi semel coeperit, manet immobilis, nullam uertibilitatem umquam sustinens. quod enim dixit *umbra futurorum*, hoc dicit, quoniam in comparatione futurorum umbrae sunt ista omnia; unde ad significantiam umbrae *corpus* adiecit, hoc dicens, quoniam apud Christum ueritas est perpetuitatem habens.

nemo uos decipiat.

hoc est, 'nemo brauium uestrum tollat.' brauium tollere dicitur, si is qui uictor extitit inter illos qui uicti sunt, fuerit contra ueritatem statutus; illa ratione, quod illi qui brauia luctatoribus dare sunt directi, id soleant facere. quasi ergo in confessionem id deductum, quoniam hi qui in melioribus sunt tunc solent brauiis nudari, quando a melioribus ad deteriora deferuntur.

volens in humilitate et cultura angelorum, quae non uidit incedens, frustra inflatus ab intellectu carnis suae..

2 pertransiuit C^a *H* pertransiit *r* 3 hac, obseruantia *C (corr) r* 4 ut ubi *H r* 7 ita (*for* ista) C^a 10 aut brauium uestrum tollat (*aft* decipiat) *add C H l* 12—17 hoc est—deferuntur *om r* 14 luctoribus C^a 16 nudare C^a *H*

2. *pertransibit*] Rönsch, *Itala*, p. 209. Comp. p. 4, l. 14, note.

5. *uertibilitatem*] Cf. p. 26, l. 11, note. *In comp.—ueritas est;* Lanfranc.

7. *ad sign. umbrae*] *I.e.* to carry out the figure suggested by σκιά. *Significantia* is one of Tertullian's words (*res. carn.* 21; *adv. Marc.* ii. 19, v. 6).

10. *nemo uos decipiat*] So Ambrstr. Vulg., *seducat*. The alternative version supplied in the MSS. can hardly have belonged to the original translation. It seems to be a marginal gloss, borrowed from the comm., and added to the text by some unskilful copyist.

11. *brauium tollere dicitur*, &c.] Thdt.: καταβραβεύειν ἐστὶν τὸ ἀδίκως βραβεύειν. ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν καὶ οἱ τὰς νομικὰς παρατηρήσεις τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ παραμιγνύντες ἀπὸ τῶν κρειττόνων αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τὰ ἐλάττω μετέφερον, εἰκότως ἔφη μηδεὶς, κ.τ.λ. Meyer remarks, with some justice, that this interpretation confounds καταβραβεύειν with παραβραβ.; the *hostility* rather than the *unfairness* of the act is the prominent thought in καταβραβευέτω. For *brauium* see Rönsch, *Itala*, pp. 239, 240, and above, p. 238, l. 20.

14. *in confessionem...ded.*] 'treated as an acknowledged fact.'

18. *cultura*] θρησκείᾳ: cf. Rönsch, *Itala*, p. 311. Vulg., "religione." Comp. Aug. *Ep. ad Paulin.* (149): "'culturam angelorum,' uel sicut uestri codices habent, 'religionem ang.'" *Incedens, intellectu:* Vulg., *ambulans, sensu* (cf. p. 277, l. 16).

† eo quod per angelos lex dicebatur data esse, quasi ministrantibus illis in tempore quo lex dabatur, sicut beatus Paulus dicit: *si enim quod per angelos narratum est uerbum fuit firmum.* illi ergo qui legem custodire eos suadebant, proponebant etiam angelos indignari, si non lex fuerit custodita. deinde et humilitatem quandam simulantes ostendere properabant, quasi qui ob timorem ab obseruantia legis [non discederent, eo quod neque angeli sustinerent legis] contemptu[m]. 'nolite (inquit) intendere illis, qui humilitatem hanc ostendunt et uolunt angelos proponere;

ἐπειδὴ δι' ἀγγέλων ὁ νόμος ἐλέγετο δεδόσθαι, ὡς ἂν διακονησαμένων αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὴν δόσιν (καθὼς καὶ ὁ μακάριος Παῦλος φησίν· εἰ γὰρ ὁ δι' ἀγγέλων λαληθεὶς λόγος ἐγένετο βέβαιος)· οἱ τὸν νόμον φυλάττειν αὐτοὺς ἀναπείθοντες προεβάλλοντο τοὺς ἀγγέλους, ὡς ἂν καὶ ἐκείνων ἀγανακτούντων, εἰ μὴ ὁ νόμος φυλάττοιτο· εἶτα καὶ μετριότητά τινα δῆθεν ἐπεδείκνυντο, ὡς ἂν δέει τῆς τοῦ νόμου φυλακῆς οὐκ ἐξιστάμενοι τῷ μηδὲ τοὺς ἀγγέλους περιορᾶν τοῦ νόμου τὴν καταφρόνησιν. 'μὴ τοίνυν (φησὶν) τοῖς τὴν μετριότητα ταύτην

2 qua (*for* quo) *C* quae *H* | eo...quo (*for* in...quo) *r* 4 eis *C* (*corr*) : *om r* 5 indignare *C* (*corr*) 7, 8 ab obseruantiam legis contemptu *C** et obseruantiam legis contempti *C* (*corr*) ab obseruantia legis contemptu *H* ad obseruantiam legis contemptae *r* 10 sq. Coisl. 204, f. 154 b [Cr. vi. 325, Fr. 144] θεόδωρος. ἤ ἐπειδή, κ.τ.λ. 13 προσεβάλλοντο cod. 15 ὡς ἂν δὲ Cr. Fr.: txt cod.

2. *sicut b. Paulus dicit*] Hebr. ii. 2, cited above, p. 48, where see notes. On Th.'s belief in the Pauline authorship of the Epistle to the Hebrews, cf. p. 129, l. 12, note.

7. *ab obseruantia legis*, &c.] Cf. vv. ll., esp. the ingenious conjecture of the Corbie corrector. Jacobi, who edits after Rab., justly remarks: "patet nonnulla deesse." The omission is doubtless due to the recurrence of *legis*. I have endeavoured to supply the missing words from the Gk. in the style of the translation.

It will be observed that Th. understands θρησκείᾳ τῶν ἀγγ. to mean no more than 'out of regard for, through fear of, the Angels.' Thdt., while following in the lines of his master's interpretation, thinks that the false teachers prescribed actual worship of Angels (οἱ τῷ νόμῳ συνηγοροῦντες καὶ τοὺς ἀγγέλους σέβειν αὐτοὺς εἰσηγοῦντο, διὰ τούτων λέγοντες δεδόσθαι τὸν νόμον); adding that this error long prevailed in Phrygia and Pisidia, as the Laodicene canon (Conc. Laod. *can.* 35) witnessed, and that it was not wholly eradicated even in his own day: μέχρι δὲ τοῦ νῦν εὐκτήρια τοῦ ἁγίου Μιχαὴλ παρ' ἐκείνοις καὶ τοῖς ὁμόροις ἐκείνων ἔστιν ἰδεῖν.

8. *nolite* (*inquit*) *intendere*, &c.] Th. seems to regard θέλων ἐν ταπ., κ.τ.λ. as = τὴν ταπεινοφροσύνην ἐπιδεικνύμενος, τῶν ἀγγέλων τὴν θρησκείαν προβαλλόμενος. Comp. his comm. on ἐν ἐθελοθρησκείᾳ (v. 23); and cf. Aug. *Ep.* 59: "thelohumilis...id est, uolens humilis, affectans humilitatem." Thdt.'s view is more obscure, but hardly to be classed (as by Meyer) with Thpht.'s, who supplies ὑμᾶς καταβραβεύειν with θέλων. See Lanfranc.

elatione tamen sensus sui illa dicunt quae nesciunt,* et ostendunt quia non iuste dicunt.'

et non tenens caput, ex quo omne corpus per tactus et connexus subministratum et coaptatum crescit incrementum Dei.

'cum conueniat uos illa sectari, quae Christi sunt; in cuius affectum [dum] commune corpus continetur secundum subministratam illis illam gratiam, illud quod secundum Deum est potestis facere incrementum.' et dein ab illis quae ante erant ostensa facere properat exhortationem:

si mortui estis cum Christo ab elementis huius mundi, quid tamquam uiuentes in mundo decernitis: 'ne tangas neque gustaueris neque contrectes'?

'si ergo sic instituti estis, quasi qui iam et commortui estis Christo et consurrexistis et extra statum istius uitae estis effecti (hoc enim dicit *ab elementis mundi huius*); qua ratione quasi in praesenti uita conuersantes patimini illos qui leges uobis statuunt

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ἐπιδεικνυμένοις καὶ βουλομένοις τοὺς ἀγγέλους προβαλέσθαι προσέχητε· ὑπὸ γὰρ τύφου διανοίας λέγουσιν ἃ μὴ ἴσασιν.'

1 sensu *r* | nec sunt (*for* nesc.) *C** *r* 4 in (*bef* incr.) *add C* (*corr*) 6 effectum *C H r* dum *om C H r* 11 in mundo *om H* 13 constituti *l* 16 conuersamini *H*

1. *illa dicunt quae nesciunt*] With Chrys., Thdt., Pelag., and the later Gk. commentators, Th. read *ἃ μὴ ἑώρακεν*.

3. *ex quo omne corpus*, &c.] See notes on the parallel passage, Eph. IV. 16 (p. 170). The words *subministratum ...crescit* are common to the O. L. and Vulg.; *incrementum* (but preceded by the prep. *in*) is the O. L. rendering; *tactus* (pp. 154, l. 1, note; 170, l. 1, note) is given only by Tichonius.

5. *in cuius affectum*, &c.] See vv. ll. Something is faulty or wanting in the MSS. I have adopted Jacobi's conjecture *affectum*, and have added a conjunction, without being satisfied with either expedient. Dr J. suggests *illius gratiam;* but may not *illam* represent the article? Comp. p. 170, ll. 11, sq.

7. *quod sec. Deum est*] *τὴν κατὰ θεόν, φησὶν* (Cramer vi. 326).

10. *huius mundi*] *=τοῦ κόσμου*. So Vulg. Cf. Rönsch, *Itala*, p. 420.

11. *decernitis*] So most of the Latin authorities (Tert., *sententiam fertis*). The comm. shews that Th. rightly understood *δογματίζεσθε* as passive; cf. Thdt.: *πῶς τοίνυν τῶν ταῦτα διδασκόντων ἀνέχεσθε*; Thpht.: *διακωμῳδεῖ 'δογμ.' εἰπών. ὡς γὰρ παιδία ἀρτιμαθῆ καθῆσθε (φησὶν) δογματιζόμενοι καὶ νομοθετούμενοι τί δεῖ ποιεῖν*. And so Oec.: *οὐ γὰρ εἶπεν δογματίζετε, ἀλλὰ δογματίζεσθε, ὡς ἐν τάξει μαθητῶν καθημένων*.

ne tangas, &c.] Vulg., "ne tetigeritis," &c. *Si ergo—mundi h.;* Lanfranc.

15. *hoc enim dicit 'ab elem.'*, &c.] Cf. p. 60, l. 12, note, and on Col. ii. 8. The meaning is here somewhat amplified: 'the conditions of this present life.'

et dicunt: hoc manduca, hoc noli tangere, et alia quae huiusmodi sunt?' et arguens uanitatem traditionis eorum:

quae sunt omnia in corruptione per abusionem, secundum mandata et doctrinas hominum.

'quorum finis (inquit) corruptela est et degestio, hoc enim solet fieri in omnibus escis.' haec sunt hominum traditiones, sicut et in superioribus dixit; non legislationem dicit *mandata et doctrinas hominum*, sed nuperrima illorum.

quae sunt rationem quidem habentia sapientiae in religione simulata et humilitate, et non in parcitate corporis, non in honore aliquo ad satietatem carnis.

† obscurum quidem est dictum. uult autem dicere, quoniam

ἀσαφὲς μέν ἐστιν, βούλεται δὲ εἰπεῖν, ὅτι τὸ ταῦτα παραδιδόναι

3 abusione *H* 5 digestio *C* (*corr*) *r* 6 hae *r* 7 dixit *om H* 8 nuperrimam *C** | nup. illorum *om r* 9 sed quae *r* 12 obscure *r* 13 sq. Coisl. 204, f. 155 a [Cr. vi. 327, Fr. 144] *θεόδωρος. ἄλλος φησίν· ἀσαφές, κ.τ.λ.*

1. *hoc manduca*, &c.] See above on Phil. iii. 19. Th., with the Gk. expositors mentioned above (p. 295, l. 11, note), necessarily regarded the precepts *μὴ ἅψῃ*, *κ.τ.λ.* as those of the false teachers. On the other hand, "the Latin commentators, Hilary (Ambrstr.) and Pelagius, suppose these prohibitions to be the Apostle's own ...So too St Ambrose...We may infer from the language of St Augustine who argues against it, that this was the popular interpretation in his day...Jerome however ...had rightly interpreted the passage" (Lightfoot, *Coloss.* pp. 268—9).

3. *per abusionem*] So Ambrstr. Vulg., "ipso usu." *Abusio* is usually *καταχρήσις*—see lexx.

5. *degestio*]=digestio, see vv. ll. With Th.'s interpretation of this passage, comp. his remarks on Phil. iii. 19 (p. 242, l. 12, sq.). The same view is taken by Chrys., Thdt., Oec., Thpht.

6. *haec*] For hae (?); cf. vv. ll. See p. 79, l. 8, note.

7. *non legislationem*, &c.] 'It is not the ancient Law to which S. Paul refers, but the very modern doctrines of the false teachers.' Thdt.: *ἐντάλματα δὲ καὶ διδασκαλίας οὐ τὸν νόμον ἐκάλεσεν, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἄκαιρον τούτων διδασκαλίαν.* On the archaic superlative *nuperrimus* see the lexx.

If the reading of *C** be preferred, either *legislationem* or *doctrinam* must be supplied. Rab. has omitted the phrase *nuper. illor.*, possibly on account of its difficulty.

9. *in religione simulata*]=*ἐν ἐθελοθρησκείᾳ*. The Latin authorities give *in religione* simply, or (as Vulg.) *in superstitione*. Our translator seems to have been led into his not very happy rendering by the words *δῆθεν...βουλ. ἐπιμελ.* in Th's comm. See above on v. 18.

10. *non in parcitate corporis*] Vulg., "ad non parcendum corpori." For *satietatem* the O. L. and Vulg. have *saturitatem*.

12. *obscurum qu. est dictum*] The

ut haec tradantur uidetur quidem quod aliquam ostensionem scientiae doctorum habeat, et quasi qui humilitatem uelint studere eos qui erga talia opportune habent; ostendit uero quasi quia et corpori suo parcere nolint, et nihil honoris dignum existiment, ut ex omnibus repleant corpus, sed magis continent se a multis propter legis traditionem.* haec autem dicebat, eo quod magna sapiebant illi super abstinentia et quasi qui propter legem etiam escas contempnant. in subsequentibus arguit negotii ipsius miserabilitatem:

δοκεῖ μέν τινα τῶν διδασκόντων ἔνδειξιν ἔχειν γνώσεως· καὶ δῆθεν καὶ μετριοφροσύνης βουλομένους ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τοὺς περὶ ταῦτα ἔχοντας ἐπιδείκνυσιν, ὡς ἂν καὶ τοῦ σώματος ἀφειδοῦντας καὶ οὐ τίμιον νομίζοντας τὸ διὰ πάντων πληροῦν τὴν σάρκα, ἀλλὰ γὰρ μᾶλλον αἱρουμένους ἀπέχεσθαι τῶν πολλῶν διὰ τὴν τοῦ νόμου παράδοσιν.

1 uidentur *C H r* 2 habeant *C H r* 3 instant (*for* habent) *C* (*corr*) 4 corpore *C* | uoluit *r* 5 continens ea multis *C* H r*: *txt C* (*corr*) *g* 8 escas etiam *r* 10 *τινας* cod. edd.

comm. as represented in our MSS. is scarcely less ambiguous than the text; nor is the Gk. of the catena free from difficulty. In the latter I have ventured to change *τινὰς* into *τινά*—the following *τῶν διδασκ.* is enough to account for the catenist's substitution of the plural; whilst in the Latin, *uidentur* and *habeant*—due, I think, to the influence of the clause *ut haec tradantur*—have been conformed to the Gk. (*δοκεῖ...ἔχειν*). *Quasi qui...eos* should perhaps be read *quasi quia...ii;* or *uero* should be omitted, and the sentence run: "quasi quia...eos...ostendit; quasi, &c." But here the confusion is probably due to the translator, and I have therefore left the text of the MSS. unchanged. Th.'s meaning is: "S. Paul intends to say that the delivery of these minute precepts (v. 21) passed among the Colossians as a proof of the superior knowledge and deep humility of the false teachers."

3. *ostendit uero*, &c.] *Ut haec tradantur* is still the subject of the sentence. 'These prohibitions prove them to be self-denying persons, who, scorning to provide for the wants of the body, practise continual self-restraint in obedience to the traditions of the law.' Lightfoot: "The words *οὐκ ἐν τιμῇ τινι πρὸς πλησμονὴν τῆς σαρκός* are regarded [according to one line of interpretation] as an exposition of the doctrine of the false teachers from *their own point of view*. So Theodore of Mopsuestia...This able expositor however is evidently dissatisfied, for he introduces his explanation with the words *δοκοῦσι μέν ἐστι, κ.τ.λ.*; and his explanation has not been adopted by others. Either the sentence so interpreted becomes flat and unmeaning...or the Apostle is made to confirm the value of the very doctrines which he is combating."

9. *miserabilitatem*] Cf. p. 70, l. 15. Here *miserabilitas* seems to represent *ταπεινότης* or *τὸ ταπεινόν*; cf. p. 298, l. 18.

si ergo consurrexistis Christo, quae sursum sunt quaerite; ubi est Christus in dextera Dei sedens.

†hoc est: 'miserabilis est in comparatione uestra illa quae erga ista est sollicitudo, qui iam Christo secundum promissionem consurrexistis, quos conuenit expletis his omnibus sollicitos esse de caelestibus et illam quae in caelis est commorationem imitari,* ubi Christus in dextera Dei residere dignatus est;' ut dicat: 'magnum adsecutus est honorem.' et persistens in exhortatione ipsa adiecit:

quae sursum sunt sapite, non quae super terram.

et quoniam contrarium quodam esse modo uidebatur illis qui super terram commorabantur dicere, ut illa saperent quae in caelis sunt:

mortui enim estis et uita uestra abscondita est cum Christo in Deo.

†'mortui (inquit) estis praesenti huic uitae;' hoc enim natura sustinebit. 'sed et surrexistis.' etenim et hoc in Christo effectum

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ἀντὶ τοῦ· 'ταπεινὸν πρὸς ὑμᾶς κρινομένη ἡ περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα σπουδή, τοὺς ἤδη τῷ Χριστῷ κατὰ τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν συναναστάντας· οὓς προσήκει μικρὰ τούτων ἁπάντων φροντίζοντας τὰ ἄνω φαντάζεσθαι καὶ τὴν ἐν οὐρανοῖς ἀπομιμεῖσθαι δίαιταν.'

'τεθνήκατε (φησὶν) ἤδη τῷ βίῳ τούτῳ' τοῦτο γὰρ ἡ φύσις δέξεται. 'ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ ἠγέρθητε' καὶ γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο ἐπὶ τοῦ

4 istis *C* H* 5 expleto haec omnia *C H* expleta hoc o. *r* 6 commemorationem *C* H r* 7 habitus (*aft* est) *add C H* 8, 9 et—adiecit *om r* 9 adicit *C* 11—13 et quoniam—sunt *om H* 11 contrarium *om C* | quodam... modum *C** quendam...modum *r* 12 esse (*bef* comm.) *add C** | dicit *r* 17 sed resurrexistis *r* 18 sq. Coisl. 204 *l. c.* 22 sq. Coisl. 204 *l. c.*

1. *si ergo consurr. Chr.*] *εἰ οὖν συνῆγ. τῷ Χρ.* Cf. p. 289, l. 10. The Latin authorities give *cum* Christo.

3. *in comparatione uestra*] "For persons in your position," "as compared with your privileges."

5. *expletis his omnibus*] See vv. ll. The translator probably wrote *expleta haec omnia;* cf. p. 153, l. 15, note. The Gk. suggests "expleta horum omnium diligentia." *Sollicitos esse de cael.* is another inadequate rendering; *φαντάζεσθαι* seems to have been read as *φροντίζειν*, or understood as equivalent to it.

7. *dignatus est*] See vv. ll. The reading of the MSS. appears to have resulted from the combination of the two forms *dign. est* (*καταξιώθη*) and the more usual "dignus est habitus."

ut dicat, 'magnum,' &c.] Cf. p. 138, l. 12, sq.

est, ut et in nobis fiat; de quibus nulla poterit esse ambiguitas. sed incertum est hoc interim, eo quod nec ipsum uidemus Christum. in Dei ergo uirtute, qui et hoc ipsud perficiet, cum ipso Christo, qui horum est primitiae, qui interim non uidetur; sed nec illud uidetur, quod futurum est.* quid ergo?

cum Christus adparuerit uita uestra, tunc et uos cum ipso adparebitis in gloria.

'sed atubi ille de caelo adparuerit, qui est principatus inmortalis uitae uestrae, adparebitis et uos in iisdem, aeternae uitae et futurae gloriae fruitionem adsecuti.' sic et eiciens illam conuersationem quae sub lege est per illa quae futura sperantur, egreditur iterum ad exhortationem; et ostendens quoniam non solum inconueniens illis sit peccare, eo quod non sint sub lege, sed multo magis eis aptum sit illa quae ueritatis sunt perficere, si tamen consequentia illis agere uoluerint quae per Christum fieri sperantur:

mortificate ergo membra uestra quae sunt super terram.

quia inmortales post resurrectionem effecti, peccare ultra non poterimus; mortales uero sequitur ut peccent. sicuti ergo ex diuersis membris peccatorum compositum mortalem hominem

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Χριστοῦ, καὶ ἀμφιβάλλειν ἔσεσθαι καὶ ἐπὶ ἡμῶν οὐδαμῶς οἷόν τε. ἀλλὰ ἄδηλον τέως τοῦτο ἐπεὶ μηδὲ αὐτὸν ὁρῶμεν τὸν Χριστόν. ἐν οὖν τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ δυνάμει τοῦ κατεργαζομένου τοῦτο σὺν αὐτῷ τῷ Χριστῷ τῇ τούτων ἀπαρχῇ τέως ἐστιν ἀφανὲς τὸ ἐσόμενον.

1 in *om H* 4 in (*bef* Chr.) *add C H* (*corr*) *r*: *v. Gk.* 8 adubi *C H* ait ubi *r* | immortalitatis *r* 9 eodem (*for* iisdem) *C* (*corr*)

4. *qui interim...sed nec illud*] The translator has again missed the idea and construction of the Gk. Possibly in the original *δοράτῳ* (*s. ἀφανεῖ*) *ὄντι* preceded the second *τέως*, and the Latin should have run: "in Dei ergo uirtute qui et hoc perficiet, cum ipso Christo qui horum est primitiae, qui non uidetur, interim inuisibile est illud quod futurum est."

8. *principatus*] =principium (*ἀρχή*); see lexx.

10. *eiciens illam conuers.*, &c.] Thdt.: *ἐπειδὴ δὲ τὰς νομικὰς παρατηρήσεις ἐξέβαλεν, ἵνα μὴ νομίσωσιν ἄδειαν ἔχειν τοῦ ἁμαρτάνειν, ἀναγκαίως καὶ περὶ τούτου σοφῶς ὑποτίθεται τὰ προσήκοντα. 'νεκρώσατε οὖν,' κ.τ.λ.*

19. *mortales uero sequitur*, &c.] *τοῖς θνητοῖς δὲ ἕπεται τὸ ἁμαρτάνειν.* Cf. p. 173, ll. 7, 17.

ex diuersis membris, &c.] Cf. Severianus ap. Cramer. vi. 330: *σάρκα καλεῖ τὴν ἁμαρτίαν, ἧς καὶ τὰ μέλη καταριθμεῖ· καὶ ἀριθμήσας τὸν ἐκ τούτων τῶν*

subponit, propter quod et mortales talia agere possint. nam quod dixit: *membra quae sunt super terram,* ut dicat 'actus prauos, qui solent mortales sequi, et secundum praesentem hanc uitam, dum in terra conuersamur, adnasci.' quae sunt ergo haec membra?

fornicationem, immunditiam, passionem, concupiscentiam malam et auaritiam, et idolorum custodiam.

notandum quoniam et 'idolorum culturam' *auaritiam* uocauit, quasi quia ad similitudinem eius a Deo possit diuellere. nec enim possibile est, ut quis se a prauis abstineat negotiis qui plus habendi cupiditate tenetur. et ostendens quoniam non potest quis ista sine noxa facere:

propter quae uenit ira Dei super filios diffidentiae.

'non solum peccare nos absurdum est, sed et resurgentes, si deliquerimus, poenam necessariam expectabimus.'

in quibus et uos ambulastis aliquando, quando uiuebatis in iisdem.

'dudum quidem agebantur ista a uobis, quando cum praesenti

1 possuut C^* 3 quo (*for* qui) C^* quos C (*corr*) H *r b* 8 et *om r* 9 quasi quae a similitudine Dei eos *r* | diuelli C (*corr*) 10 abst. *om* H | negotiis abst. *r* 11 ut ostenderet *r* 12 istam C^* 14 nos pecc. *r* 15 derelinquerimus C^* H delinquerimus C (*corr*): *txt r* 18 ista *om r*

μελῶν συνεστῶτα ἀνθρωπον παρακελεύεται ἀπεκδύσασθαι τὸν παλαιὸν ἄνθρ. σὺν ταῖς πράξεσιν αὐτοῦ. ὥστε ὁ παλαιὸς ἀνθρωπός ἐστιν τὸ φρόνημα τὸ τῆς ἁμαρτίας· μέλη δὲ αὐτοῦ αἱ πράξεις τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων.

2. *ut dicat,* &c.] Robert of B.: "uel actus prauos dicit membra, quos solent mortales sequi dum in terra conuersantur." Lanfranc (in the interlinear gloss): "membra uestra, *prauos actus.*"

6. *passionem*] = πάθος. So Iren.$^{int.}$, Tichonius; thus the Vulg. renders the word in Rom. i. 26; 1 Thess. iv. 5 (q. v.).

7. *et idolorum custodiam*] Read perhaps: "[quae] est idolorum custodia." *Cust.* is in the next line exchanged for *culturam,* neither word being supported by the Latin versions, which have *seruitus* here as in Eph. v. 5.

9. *quasi quia ad sim.*, &c.] Cf. *supra,* on Eph. v. 5: "eo quod similiter a Deo potest auertere."

10. *qui plus habendi,* &c.] τὸν ὑπὸ τῆς πλεονεξίας κατεχόμενον.

13. *diffidentiae*] So O. L.; Vulg., "incredulitatis."

15. *deliquerimus*] See vv. ll., and cf. p. 200, l. 1 (vv. ll.). The form *derel.* seems to have originated in a correction of *rel.* which left the first two letters unexpunged.

poenam nec. exp.] See on 2 Thess. i. 9.

16. *quando uiu. in iisdem*] O. L., Vulg., "cum uiueretis in illis."

uita totam spem uestram demetiebatis, nihil amplius expectantes.'

nunc uero deponite et uos omnia.

'iam ultra secundum illa uiuere uos non conuenit, qui maxime in inmortalitate eritis, in qua consistere nunc in forma existimamini; sed discedendum nobis est ab his omnibus.' a quibus? illis:

iram, indignationem, malitiam, blasphemiam, turpiloquium ex ore uestro. nolite mentiri in inuicem.

non dixit 'alterutrum,' sed *in inuicem;* hoc enim uult dicere, quoniam 'non est iustum, ut cum simulatione uobis narretis, sed sincera mente.' et quoniam *membra* nominauit actus seipsum sequentes, adiecit:

exspoliantes uos ueterem hominem cum actibus suis.

'ex integro (inquit) conuenit uos mortalem deponentes hominem deponere etiam et actus consequentes illum.'

et induentes uos nouum, qui renouatur in agnitionem secundum imaginem eius qui creauit eum.

'consentanea agere debetis huic nouo quem induti estis,

1 dimetiebatis *C* (*corr*) *r* demecieratis *H* (*corr*) *r* 3 deponere *H* 6, 7 a quibus illis *om r* 9 mentire C^* | in *om H* 11 simulationem C^* 12 sed ipsum sequens C^* id ipsum persequens *C* (*corr*): *txt H r* 13 adicit *r* 17 et *om H*

1. *demetiebatis*] = demetiebamini (dim.). Comp. Rönsch, *Itala*, pp. 297, sq.

8. *turpiloquium*] So O. L.; Vulg., "turpem sermonem." See Rönsch, *Itala*, p. 222.

10. *non dixit 'alterutrum'*] οὐκ εἶπεν μὴ ψ. ἀλλήλους, ἀλλ' 'εἰς ἀλλήλους' [?]. *Inuicem* is our translator's rendering of ἀλλήλων in 14 out of the 17 places where it occurs in the text of these Epistles, *Alteruter* is used in Gal. v. 26; Eph. iv. 32; 2 Thess. i. 3. Here he varies the rendering, perhaps to avoid monotony, and thus draws the reader's attention off from the real point of contrast [between ψεύδεσθαι τινα and ψ. εἰς τινα].

12. *actus seipsum*, &c.] ἐπειδὴ δὲ μέλη ἐκάλεσεν τὰς ἑαυτῷ ἐπομένας πράξεις..."The Apostle having designated sinful courses a man's 'members,' proceeds to speak of the person to whom they belong." See p. 300, l. 2, and just below, l. 16; and cf. Thdt. *ad h. l.*: οὕτως διδάξας τίνα ἐκάλεσεν τοῦ σώματος μέλη, δείκνυσιν καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ σῶμα, οὗ ταῦτα τὰ μέλη.

19. *quem induti estis*] = ὃν ἐνεδύσασθε, See lexx. s. v. *indui*.

renouati et facti secundum imaginem eius, qui istius recreationis uobis auctor extitit;' ut dicat, 'Christi.'—'itaque enim inconuertibiles manere uos in bono per omnia conuenit, hoc enim uobis in futuro aderit, pro possibilitate in praesenti uita.' deinde et ostendens huius recreationis bonum:

ubi non est gentilis et Iudaeus, circumcisio et praeputium, barbarus et Scytha, seruus et liber, sed omnia et in omnibus Christus.

'atubi (inquit) in illa transformatione constiterimus, ultra non erit discretus Iudaeus et gens. nam circumcisionis et praeputii discretio interempta est, eo quod inmortales sumus effecti, ita ut neque barbarus neque liberi neque serui poterint ulterius perspici, Christo in omnibus adparente, ad cuius similitudinem inmortalitate potiemur.' illos ergo qui hunc modum induti sunt hominem et in illo sunt effecti secundum formam, quae conueniunt obseruare?

induite ergo uos ut electi Dei, sancti et dilecti, uiscera misericordiae, benignitatem, humilitatem, mansuetudinem, patientiam.

per omnia ista suasit, ut illam quae inuicem est caritatem in nobis custodiamus; caritatis enim opera sunt ista. et permanens in hisdem adicit:

sufferentes in inuicem et donantes uobis ipsis, si aliquis ad aliquem habet querelam.

et hoc exemplo illis suadere cupiens adiecit:

sicut et Christus donauit uobis, ita et uos.

3 hic C^* H: *txt* C (*corr*) 7 scitta C schita H 9 gentilis C (*corr*) r 13 hoc modo C (*corr*) huiusmodi r 15 obseruare *om* H conuenit obseruari C (*corr*): *txt* C^* r 18 in *om* H^* 23 hoc *om* r | adicit C ait r

1. *recreationis*] See above, on Col. i. 15, 16.

2. *ut dicat 'Christi'*] Chrys.: κατ' εἰκόνα Χριστοῦ· τοῦτο γάρ ἐστιν 'κατ' εἰκ. τοῦ κτίσ. αὐτόν.' Similarly Thdt., citing Rom. viii. 20; Phil. iii. 21.

inconuertibiles] ἀτρέπτους. See Rönsch, *Itala*, p. 115. Cf. p. 26, l. 11, note.

9. *gens*]=gentilis. With the comm. cf. pp. 57, l. 14, sq.; 150, l. 6, sq.

11. *poterint*] Cf. p. 163, l. 24, note.

13. *hunc modum*] Read perhaps *hunc nouum* (cf. p. 301, l. 19); or possibly *nouum* may have fallen out after *modum*.

17. *mansuetudinem*] πραΰτητα. Cf. Gal. v. 23, *supra*. Vulg., "modestiam."

21. *sufferentes*] So Sedul. Scot. O. L. and Vulg., "supportantes."

24. *Christus*] So Ambrstr. Vulg., "Dominus." ὁ Χριστός is the reading of Chrys., Thdt.

deinde ad instaurationem dictorum :

super omnia haec caritatem.

compendiose dicere uult : 'caritatis habete diligentiam, ex qua horum directio efficitur.' et ostendens caritatis utilitatem adiecit :

quae est uinculum perfectionis.

'etenim in futuro (inquit) saeculo atubi constiterimus, in illud quod praeceptum est adhuc (id est, caritatem) conligati in inuicem permanebimus, nullam separationem ulterius sustinentes; tenebimur uero in concordia illa quae erga alterutrum est.' idipsum aliter :

et pax Dei uigeat in cordibus uestris.

sciens enim beatus Paulus quoniam caritate manente omnia facile diriguntur, illis uero quae contraria sunt tenentibus nihil efficitur ex illis quae conueniunt; omni loco de caritate multum facere uidetur sermonem. et ostendens exhortationis utilitatem adiecit :

in qua et uocati estis in uno corpore ; et grati estote.

'unum quoddam corpus per regenerationem facti sumus; euidens est autem quoniam in pace sumus uocati, eo quod nec

1 staurationem *H* confirmationem *r* 2 omnem hanc *C H r* 3 hebete *C** | et (*aft* dilig.) *add C* H* 4 caritatem *H* | adicit *C r* 6 inquit in fut. *r* | adubi *C* H* ubi *C* (*corr*) *l* 7 caritati *C* 10 alterutrum (*for* aliter) *r* 15 uidetur *om H* 16 adicit *C r*

1. *ad instaurationem d.*] *Ad confirmationem* (see vv. ll.) is a manifest but probably correct gloss. The original may perhaps have been καὶ ἐπισφίγγων τὰ λεγόμενα. *Super omnem hanc* must be a copyist's error; cf. Eph. i. 23, where a similar confusion has found its way into the O. L.

3. *ex qua h. directio eff.*] ἐξ ἧς τούτων γίνεται ἡ κατόρθωσις. Cf. p. 51, l. 9, note.

5. *quae est uinc. perfect.*] ἥτις ἐστὶν σύνδεσμος τῆς τελειότητος. So Chrys. (*ad h. l.*), Thdt., &c. The Latin versions represent the reading ὅ ἐστιν, κ.τ.λ. Ambrstr. gives "unitatis" (ἑνότητος). *Perfect.*, the resurrection state; see p. 282, l. 2, note.

6. *in futuro...sustinentes*] Cited by Lanfranc.

11. *et pax Dei*] So Ambrstr.; the other Latin authorities have "Christi." *Vigeat*, βραβευέτω; Vulg. "exsultet"—renderings almost equally unsatisfactory. See on ch. ii. 18.

14. *de caritate multum*, &c.] Cf. Gal. v. 6, vi. 2; Eph. iv. 2, &c.

18. *unum quoddam corpus*, &c.] Cf. p. 164, ll. 2, 7; 170, ll. 20—1.

corpus sibi ipsi umquam scit dissentire. ita conuenit uos, ob hanc ipsam uocationem operibus gratos habitu uos ostendi, custodientes illam erga alterutrum integram uocationem.'

uerbum Dei inhabitet in uobis ditissime.

'sit (inquit) in uobis larga Christi doctrina.' quemadmodum?

in omni sapientia docentes et admonentes uos ipsos.

'sic illorum assiduam habete memoriam, ut semper uideamini uos ipsos docere et admonere, consequentem ei doctrinae conuersationem ostentantes. sic enim erit ditissima in uobis eius doctrina, si semper haec eadem cogitantes in uestro sensu eam custodire uolueritis.' nam quod dixit, *in omni sapientia*, 'sapientiam' uocauit illum intellectum qui de istis est.

psalmis hymnis et canticis spiritalibus, in gratia cantantes in cordibus uestris Deo.

'semper (inquit) in sensu uestro gratias agite Deo pro quibus talia praestitit uobis.'

et omne quodcumque facitis in uerbo aut in opere, omnia in nomine domini Iesu, gratias agentes Deo et Patri per ipsum.

'et quodcumque (inquit) aut dicitis aut agitis, intuentes in Christo, debitam gratiarum actionem Deo et Patri referre properate pro illis quae per Christum uobis sunt praestita.' etenim

1 uos *om* *C* (*corr*) 4 domini *C* Christi *r* | habitet in u. abundanter. Ditissime sit, &c. *r* 7 ipsos *om* *H* 9 eis *CHr* 16 qui (*for* pro quibus) *C* (*corr*) 21 Christum *C* (*corr*) 22 in (*aft* etenim) *add r*

1. *conuenit uos...oper. gratos habitu uos ost.*] προσήκει ὑμᾶς ἐπὶ τῶν ἔργων εὐχαρίστους φαίνεσθαι τῷ τρόπῳ (?). The repetition of *uos* is possibly a copyist's error.

4. *uerbum Dei*] See vv. ll. Rab. has followed the reading of the Vulg.; of the other two readings I have preferred *Dei*, since this accords with Thdt.'s text, and the change into *dñi* would have been readily made by a scribe whose eye was used to *Christi* in this place.

ditissime] See vv. ll. In Rab. the Vulg. rendering *abundanter* has thrust itself in before *ditiss.*, and the latter word is treated as the first of the next sentence: "ditissime sit (inquit), &c." *Larga* however answers in the comm. to πλουσίως.

9. *consequentem ei doctr. conuers.*] If *eis*, the reading of the MSS., be retained, *doctr.* must be rejected as a gloss.

13. *illum intellectum*, &c.] See above, on c. i. 9.

16. *semper* (*inquit*), &c.] For a fuller exposition see p. 182, l. 5, sq.

psalmis et hymnis et canticis spiritalibus gratiarum actionem uocauit, hoc dicens quoniam 'in cordibus uestris gratias agite Deo;' aut 'quodcumque aut dicitis aut agitis, sic et dicite et agite, sicut iustum est dicere illos qui talia adsequi digni sunt habiti.' haec enim est uera gratiarum actio. deinde et in hac parte imitans illa quae ad Ephesios scripserat, uertitur ad specialem consolationem, dicens:

mulieres, uestris subditae estote uiris, sicut conuenit, in Domino.

uxores iubet subditas esse maritis.

uiri, diligite uxores uestras et nolite exacerbari ad illas.

uiros admonet diligere suas uxores, nec moleste erga illas uersari.

filii, oboedite parentibus per omnia; hoc enim est beneplacitum in Domino.

suadet filiis ut audiant parentibus.

patres, nolite exacerbare filios uestros, ut ne animo deficiant.

patribus suadet, ut non ex superfluo tristent filios suos.

serui, oboedite per omnia dominis uestris qui sunt secundum carnem, non ad oculum seruientes sicut hominibus placentes, sed in simplicitate cordis timentes Dominum; omne quodcumque facitis ex

1 psalmos et hymnis et canticis spiritalibus C^* *H* psalmos et hymnos et cantica spiritalia *C* (*corr*) 8 uestrae *C H* | conueniat *H* 10 exacerbare C^* *H* 13 fili C^* | est *om H* 15 obaudiant *C* (*corr*) *r* 16 exaceruare C^* 17 superflue (*for* ex superfluo) *r*

1. *psalmis...uocauit*] τὸ γὰρ 'ψαλμοῖς,' κ.τ.λ., τὴν εὐχαριστίαν εἶπεν.

6. *imitans illa quae ad Eph. scr.*] Cf. p. 116, l. 5, note; and on Col. i. 16, 19, 22, 25, &c. For the present parallel see p. 182, l. 19, sq. *Consol.* = παράκλησιν.

10. *exacerbari*] Vulg. "amari esse." In v. 21 the same verb has been used by our translator to represent ἐρεθίζειν (or possibly, παροργίζειν); the Vulg. paraphrases "ad indignationem provocare."

13. *beneplacitum*] εὐάρεστον. Vulg. *placitum*.

16. *ut ne animo deficiant*] A combination of the Latin versions "ne deficiant" (O. L.), and "ut non pusillo animo fiant" (Vulg.). Cf. Gk.: ἵνα μὴ ἀθυμοῦσιν.

17. *ex superfluo*] ἐκ περισσοῦ.

18. *qui sunt secundum carnem*] Vulg. "carnalibus"; cf. Eph. vi. 5. *Timentes Dominum:* so *Am.*, *Fuld.*, Ambrstr., Sedul. Scot. Thdt. reads τὸν θεόν. *Omne quodcumque* = πᾶν ὅτι ἐάν; the O. L. and Vulg. follow the reading ὃ ἐάν. *Domino enim Chr. seruientes:* the Latin versions omit the conjunction, and it has been erased accordingly by the correctors; see vv. ll. (p. 306).

animo operamini quasi Domino et non hominibus, scientes quoniam a Domino accipietis retributionem hereditatis; Domino enim Christo seruientes.

iubet et seruos oboedire suis dominis, inspicientes in illam mercedis remunerationem, quae a Deo illis tribuetur pro fideli seruitio. 'et ita facite sicut et iustum est facere eos qui a Deo mercedem sibi tribui expectant, non sicut hominibus seruientes sed sicut illi, a quo et mercedum uicem sibi tribui expectant.' quibus adicit:

qui enim nocuerit, recipiet quodcumque nocuit; et non est personarum acceptio apud eum.

quoniam etsi aliqua ratione iniuste eos domini adfligere uoluerint, non erunt innoxii, Deo scilicet nullius personam aut accipiente aut reuerente.

domini, quod iustum est et aequum seruis praebete, scientes quia et uos habetis dominum in caelis.

et dominis suadet, ut illud quod condecet seruis tribuant, humane erga eos agentes et in opere dilectionem illis praebentes, et diligentiam illorum adhibentes prout potest; et ueniam illis delinquentibus tribuant, cum eos peccare acciderit. hoc enim dicit *iustum et aequum*, non ut aequales sibi eos esse existiment; qui fieri enim potest, quando, ut seruiant serui et cum integro seruiant affectu, tanta scripsit? suadet autem et his haec custodire illa memoria, quia et ipsi sint sub domino illo qui in caelis est. et iterum ad commune uertitur:

2 enim *om* *C* (*corr*) *H* (*corr*) 5 remunerationum *C* (*corr*) | retribuetur *H* 8 mercedem uicissim *r* 14 reuertente *C** 19 possit *C* (*corr*) 20 accederit *C** 21 dicit *om* *H* 22 qui *om* *r* 23 effectu *C** *r* 25 exhortationem (*bef* uertitur) *add* *C* (*corr*) ad communionem u. et ait *r*

10. *nocuerit...nocuit*] Similarly Aug. ("nocet ..nocuit"); Vulg. "iniuriam facit...inique gessit." *Apud eum:* cf. Eph. vi. 9, vv. ll. Here the words are not represented in Thdt.'s text, whilst Chrys. reads παρὰ τῷ θεῷ. *Apud eum* seems to find place only in the Coptic (Tisch. *ad h. l.*). I have retained it in deference to the MSS.; but it is very possibly a scribe's error for *apud Deum*.

16. *in caelis*] ἐν οὐρανοῖς. So Chrys., Thdt., &c. (from Eph. vi. 9). Vulg. "in caelo" (*Fuld.*, caelis).

21. *non ut aequales*] Thdt. ἰσότητα οὐ τὴν ἰσοτιμίαν ἐκάλεσεν, ἀλλὰ τὴν προσήκουσαν ἐπιμέλειαν. Cf. Philem. *arg.*

orationi insistere, uigilantes in ea cum gratiarum actione.

praecepit sobria mente assidue orare, atque gratias agere pro illis bonis quae sibi sunt a Deo tributa.

orantes simul et pro nobis, ut Deus aperiat nobis ostium uerbi loqui mysterium Christi, propter quod et ligatus sum; ut manifestem illud, sicut conuenit me loqui.

'sed et pro nobis (inquit) orate ut cooperetur nobis Dominus et docere omnes possimus illam quae in Christum est ueritatem, pro quo et adligatus sum ad praesens.'

in sapientia ambulate ad eos qui foris sunt, tempus redimentes.

'cum prudentia (inquit) illis qui extranei sunt a fide disceptamini, praesens tempus, prout conueniens est, probe uobis adutentes;' eo quod ille qui comparat aliquid, ad usum suarum utilitatum illud comparat. hoc uoluit dicere, quoniam 'praesenti tempore, in quo mala abundant, pro uirium uestrarum qualitate illud agere properate quod uobis expedire cognoscitis; ut et mercedes uobis in futurum pro hac conuersatione prouideatis, pro quibus ita in praesenti saeculo commoramini.'

sermo uester semper in gratia sale sit conditus, scire quemadmodum uos conueniat unicuique respondere.

'properate (inquit) illa quae prudentiae semper plena sunt proloqui, considerantes quod oporteat unicuique dare responsum; conuenienter disputantes, ita ut magis donum aliquod ex uestris sermonibus perfici uideatur.' his adiecit:

5 manifestum *H* 11 cum prudentiam quit *C** 12 probe *om r* 17 pro hanc conuersationem *C** 23 aliquid *C* r* aliquot *H* 24 adicit *C*

1. *insistere*] προσκαρτερεῖτε. The Latin versions give "instate." *Cum* (for *in*) *gr. actione;* so Ambrstr.

4. *uerbi loqui*] Vulg. "sermonis" (*Fuld.*, uerbi), "ad loquendum." *Ligatus* is an O. L. rendering; Vulg. "uinctus."

9. *pro quo*] Read perhaps *pro qua.*

11. *disceptamini*]=disceptate; a deponent form to correspond with some such middle as διαλέγεσθε. Cf. p. 8, l. 4, note.

12. *praesens tempus*, &c.] Lanfranc: "pr. t. ad utilitatem nostram comparantes."

adutentes] This very rare form is supported by both our MSS. here and below on 1 Tim. v. 3. *Vobis:* "for your own purposes," "to your own advantage"; see p. 181, l. 14, note.

19. *scire*] εἰδέναι; cf. *loqui* (l. 5). Vulg. "ut sciatis"; and so the O. L. *Donum aliquod*=χάρισμά τι.

illa quae circa me sunt omnia nota uobis faciet Tychicus, carissimus frater et fidelis minister et conseruus in Domino; quem misi ad uos ad hoc ipsum, ut cognoscat ea quae circa uos sunt et consoletur corda uestra, cum Onesimo fideli et carissimo fratre qui est ex uobis. omnia uobis nota facient, quae hic aguntur.

'quoniam omnia uobis nota faciet Tychicus illa quae erga me sunt, propterea a me directus est cum Onesimo fratre, qui a uobis uenerat, ita ut nota uobis faciant quae erga nos sunt, et oblectent uos per suum aduentum, omnia quae hic aguntur manifesta facientes uobis.'

salutat uos Aristarchus concaptiuus meus, et Marcus, nepos Barnabae, de quo mandatum accepistis ut, si uenerit ad uos, suscipiatis illum.

deinde salutat eos ab Aristarcho, quem et captiuum suum edicit esse, utpote conligatum sibi; et a Marco quem nepotem dicit esse Barnabae, de quo etiam mandatum eos accepisse edicit ita ut uenientem eum recipiant. dicit autem eos accepisse mandatum non ab alio aliquo, neque a se, sed ab illo qui praedicaue-

6, 7 quoniam—sunt *om r* 8 faciet C^* faciat *H*: *txt C (corr) r* [faciet—adventum *ad calc. C*] 11 nepus *H* 14 concaptiuum *C (corr)* 18 ab (*bef* alio) *om H**

3. *ut cognoscat ea quae circa uos sunt*] ἵνα γνῷ τὰ περὶ ὑμῶν; the reading of the Vulg. But, as Dr Lightfoot has observed (*Colossians*, p. 321, note), Theodore's "comment implies the other" reading, viz. ἵνα γνῶτε τὰ περὶ ἡμῶν. See l. 8: "ita ut nota uobis faciant quae erga nos sunt" (=ἵνα γνωρίσωσιν ὑμῖν τὰ περὶ ἡμῶν).

4. *fideli et carissimo*] The Latin versions reverse the order of the adjectives.

11. *Marcus, nepos Barnabae*] Cf. l. 15. The Latin versions give "consobrinus." Our translator, who in 1 Tim. v. 4 uses *nepotes* for ἔκγονα, seems here to have employed the word in the sense of *nephew* ("sister's son," E. V.), regarding ἀνεψιός as=ἀδελφιδοῦς. Of this use of ἀνεψιός there appears to be no certain example before the beginning of the 7th cent. In the 8th century (?) the opinion that Marcus was St Paul's nephew is expressed by Sedul. Scot., who, while retaining the Vulgate rendering of ἀνεψ., explains: "filius sororis Barnabae."

Possibly however *nepos* was used by our translator as an equivalent of *consobrinus*, a sense which the word seems occasionally to have borne in late Latin; see Ducange, *s. v.* In either case its employment here appears to be an argument for assigning a late date to this translation.

14. *captiuum suum*] = concaptiuum; see text. *Conligatum sibi*=συνδεδεμένον αὐτῷ.

18. *ab illo qui praedicauerat*, &c.] i. e. Epaphras; see p. 257, l. 9, note. Thdt., true to his conviction that St. Paul was

rat eis euangelium; neque a se, quod fieri non poterat eo quod necdum uiderat eos.

et Hiesus qui dicitur Iustus, qui sunt ex circumcisione; hi soli sunt cooperarii mei in regnum Dei, qui facti sunt mihi solatium.

salutat eos et ab Hiesu, qui cognominatur Iustus. hos solos dicit de illis qui ex circumcisione crediderunt cooperarios sibi esse in euangelio; quos et solatium sibi praebuisse dixit.

salutat uos Epaphras qui ex uobis est, seruus Christi, semper sollicitus pro uobis in orationibus, ut stetis perfecti et repleti in omni uoluntate Dei. testimonium (inquit) *perhibeo ei, quoniam habet multum zelum pro uobis et pro his qui in Laodicia sunt et eis qui in Hierapoli.*

deinde salutat eos ab Epaphra qui praedicauit eis, dicens multam sollicitudinem habere eum de eis, ita ut oret ut firmi permaneant in fide. dicit enim apostolus testimonium perhibere ei, quam multam sollicitudinem de illis habet, necnon et illis qui in Laodicia sunt et in Hierapoli.

salutat uos Lucas, medicus carissimus, et Demas.

salutat eos et a Luca medico, qui euangelium conscripsit, necnon et Dema. deinde scribit eis:

salutate eos qui in Laodicia sunt fratres, et Nymphàm, et eam quae in domo eorum est ecclesiam.

1 enim *add C H r* | non *om C** 3, 5 Iesus, Iesu *r* 10 haberet *r* 11 eorum *C H* 16 eis *C H r* 17 Laodecia *C* (*corr*) 21 et (*aft* sunt) *add C H* | Nimpham *C* Nymfam *H*

personally known to the Colossians, takes exactly the opposite view: *καὶ τοῦτο δηλοῖ ὡς τεθεαμένος αὐτοὺς ἔγραψεν τὴν ἐπιστολήν. μετὰ γὰρ τὴν γεγενημένην αὐτῷ τε καὶ τῷ μακαρίῳ Βαρνάβᾳ περὶ τοῦ Μάρκου φιλονεικίαν τῇ Φρυγίᾳ καὶ τῇ Γαλατίᾳ τὴν διδασκαλίαν προσήγαγεν. εἰκὸς οὖν ὅτι τότε τὰς περὶ αὐτῶν* [v. l. *αὐτοῦ*] *δέδωκεν ἐντολάς.* Chrys. (followed by Thpht.) offers a third suggestion: *ἴσως παρὰ Βαρνάβα ἐντολὰς ἔλαβον.*

4. *cooperarii*] O.L. and Vulg., "adiutores," and for *solatium* (*παρηγορία*), "solatio."

11. *zelum*] *ζῆλον*. So Chrys., Thdt., &c. The Latin versions have "laborem," representing *πόνον*. *Pro his...et eorum* (vv. ll.) = *ὑπὲρ...τῶν...καὶ τῶν, κ.τ.λ.*

19. *qui euang. conscr.*] Thdt.: *οὗτος καὶ τὸ θεῖον συνέγραψεν εὐαγγέλιον καὶ τὴν ἱστορίαν τῶν πράξεων.*

21. *qui in L. sunt fratres*] *τοὺς ἐν Λαοδικείᾳ ἀδελφούς*. Vulg. "qui sunt Laodiciae." For *eorum* the Latin versions

'salutate (inquit) illos qui in Laodicia sunt, et Nympham cum omnibus suis, qui in domo eius sunt.' et adiecit:

et cum lecta fuerit epistola apud uos, facite ut et in Laodicensium ecclesia legatur; et quae ex Laodicia est, ut et uos legatis.

itaque hanc epistolam, postquam ab illis fuerit lecta, legi et in Laodicensium ecclesia praecipit. dicit autem eis, ut et illam quae ex Laodicia est legant; non quia ad Laodicenses scribit.

2 in do (*for* in domo) *C** | adicit *C r* 6 ecclesiam *C**

have "eius"; and αὐτοῦ is the reading followed by Chrys., Thdt., &c., and apparently by Th. himself in the comm. Possibly *eorum* is due to a copyist, who was misled by the immediately preceding *et fratres;* see vv. ll.

4. *quae ex L. est*] The Vulg. interprets rather than translates: "ea[m] quae Laodicensium est."

7. *non quia ad Laodicenses scribit*] Thdt.: τινὲς ὑπέλαβον καὶ πρὸς Λαοδικέας αὐτὸν γεγραφέναι· αὐτίκα τοίνυν καὶ προσφέρουσιν πεπλασμένην ἐπιστολήν· ὁ δὲ θεῖος ἀπόστολος οὐκ ἔφη "καὶ τὴν πρὸς Λαοδικέας·" ἀλλὰ "καὶ τὴν ἐκ Λαοδικείας." ἐκεῖνοι γὰρ πρὸς αὐτὸν περί τινων ἔγραψαν. εἰκὸς δὲ αὐτοὺς ἢ τὰ ἐν Κολοσσαῖς γενόμενα αἰτιάσασθαι, ἢ τὰ αὐτὰ νενοσηκέναι· διὸ καὶ ταύτην εἶπεν τὴν ἐπιστολὴν κἀκείνοις ἀναγνωσθῆναι. That the letter was addressed by the Laodiceans to S. Paul had been held by expositors earlier than Th.; see Chrys. *ad h. l.*: τινὲς λέγουσιν ὅτι οὐχὶ τὴν Παύλου πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀπεσταλμένην, ἀλλὰ τὴν παρ' αὐτῶν Παύλῳ. οὐ γὰρ εἶπεν "τὴν πρὸς Λαοδικέας," ἀλλὰ "τὴν ἐκ Λαοδικείας" (φησὶν) γραφεῖσαν—(a passage cited anonymously in Cramer's Catena [vi. 339], and appearing also in Oec., partly under the name of Photius). The opinion as to the Laodicean origin of the Epistle is "distinctly expressed in the rendering of the Peshito" (ܘܗ̇ܝ ܕܐܬܟܬܒܬ ܡܢ ܠܐܕܝܩܝܐ)—cf. Lightfoot, *Colossians*, p. 340, sq.

With regard to the existence of a forged Ep. to the Laodiceans at the period when Theodore wrote, cf. Hieron. *de virr. illustr.* 5: "legunt quidam et ad Laodicenses, sed ab omnibus exploditur." Dr Jacobi (*prooem. ad* Col. ii.—iv.) remarks: "Theodorus fere primus testimonium fert de subornata eiusdem tituli epistola."

The paragraph *apostolus—inferebantur* has been copied by Lanfranc, whose own comment is: "de dubitationibus suis Laodicenses epistolam ad Apostolum scripserunt, quam Apostolus Colossis legi praecipit, ut eorum Laodicensium nunc uisa dubitatione sciant quid respondeant...haec si esset apostoli ad Laodicenses, diceret non 'Laodicensium' [=τὴν ἐκ Λ.]"... Robert of B. has mixed up Lanfranc's remarks with Th.'s, adding an example of the Laodicean *dubitationes*, and assigning the whole of this medley to Ambrose: "*Am.* non est ita accipiendum quod b. Paulus umquam Laodicensibus misisset epistolam; quia tunc [non] diceret 'epistolam Laodicensium,' sed potius 'quae est ad Laodicenses.' epistola enim mittentis est, non eius cui mittitur. sed Laodicenses apostolo miserant epistolam aliqua reprehensione digna continentem, interrogantes de resurrectione mortuorum et de nonnullis aliis quaestionibus. hanc epistolam ut Colossenses legant hortatur apostolus, ut uideant interrogationes illorum et re-